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The Maasir-ul-Umara.

In[1] the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compa

Boundless praise and countless benedictions are du of kings, for the acts of famous princes and the deeds of great ministers spring from His almighty power and absolute will. He is the Ruler whose commands sway the hearts and hands of mortals. The tiniest atom cannot move without the permit of His glorious power, nor without His stringent order can any movent cease. He is an Arranger who has given grace and glory to Space by the personalities of princes of lofty lineage and thereby made it a cradle of rest and peace. He has associated high-thoughted nobles with enthroned princes so that they may be as limbs to the heart, and may bring to a happy issue the affairs of nations. He is a supreme Ordainer who by the one word "Be" (*Kun*) hath brought worlds on worlds of creations from the secret places of non-existence into the expanse of Being—a consummate Artist, who in His creations has produced such marvellous excellencies that the masters of Wisdom feel helpless before them and are unable fully to appreciate them. As it has been written

Verse.

O God, by Thy commanding, within the universe
Earth is stationary, Heaven movent.
Giver of greatness to men and genii
King of kings of the world art Thou!

Salutations without number to a Leader who after showing his mission to the followers of the Divine commands regarded not

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1 This is the preface to the second edition, but it comes first in the text. It is by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, the son of the original author.

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paucity of adherents nor the plurality of adversaries, but at-
d and routed the misleading heretics and founders of error,
y successive victories requited them according to their deeds,
length his firm faith dominated the world and obtained
l currency. As it has been written

Verse.

Muḥammad, King of Realm and Religion
Whose sword o'erthrew the foundation of malice
Crown-wearer of the company of the apostles
On him is the seal of power and prophecy.

Blessings also upon his holy family and upon his well-born companions for they are the strong pillars of the arch of rule and the gates of approach to him.

Let it not be concealed from the readers of this work that as Mir 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, who afterwards received the title of Samsāmu-d-daulah, the deceased father of the writer of these lines, who had acquired such knowledge in the science of biography, that the accounts of the Indian princes of the house of Timur and of their officers were all on the tip of his tongue, and had such skill in genealogies that many persons applied to him for information about their ancestry, while in retirement in the Quṭbpūra [1] quarter of Aurangabad occupied himself in composing this book which contains an account of the officers of the aforesaid princes. He had made rough drafts of many biographies and had also faired out many notices. Afterwards when Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh (the Nizāmu-l-mulk of Haidarabad) became well-disposed towards him and summoned him to his presence and ordered him to engage in his public business, and also later when the martyred [2] Niẓāmu-d-daulah made over to him the charge of the Diwānī of his establishment (Sarkār), the completion of the book remained wrapped in the veil of abeyance. One day the writer of these words represented to him that a good foundation had been laid, would that it might be completed! That great one replied, "Do you finish it." Afterwards he became the minister of Nawāb

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[1] Maaṣir III, 107.

[2] That is Nāṣir Jang.

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Ṣalābat[1] Jang, and at last gave his life in that service. His [illegible] was plundered[2] and the chapters dispersed. Some years after [illegible] a few portions came to hand. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Azād—[illegible] upon him—who was an intimate friend of the deceased—[illegible] those portions together and wrote a preface and an introduc[illegible] a notice of the author.

After that some other portions were recovered. As [illegible] mand of that great man continued to gnaw at my soul I [illegible] anxiously thinking about it, and at last I made a defect[illegible] 1182 (1768–1769) and compiled from historical works supp[illegible] biographies, and I also supplied a preface which my deceased father had written at the beginning of the work, and which I had copied out into a commonplace book, as well as a preface and introduction which Mīr Azād had written, and four biographies, also written by Mīr Azād. The list of books which I consulted at the time of composition is as follows:—

List.

1. Akbarnāmah by Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl s. Mubārak.
2. Ṭabaqāt Akbarī by Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.
3. Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh by Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī.
4. Gulshan Ibrāhīmī, commonly known as the Tārīkh Ferishta by Muḥammad Qāsim.
5. 'Ālam Ārāī by Sikandar Beg, the secretary (*munshī*) of Shah 'Abbās (the 1st), the ruler of Persia.
6. Haft Iqlīm by Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī.
7. Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh by Nūru-l-Ḥaqq.
8. Iqbālnāmah by M'utamad Khan Bakhshī.
9. Jahāngīrnāma[3] in which Jinnat-Makānī (Jahangir) wrote the account of twelve years of his reign.

[1] A brother of Nāṣir Jang.

[2] Ghulām 'Alī was alive when this was written. He survived the writer of this preface who died in 1196, April 1782, whereas Ghulām 'Alī did not die till 1200, 1786. He is buried at Khuldābād or Rawẓā (Haig, Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 58).

[3] As pointed out in Elliot VI, 279, the (son of the) author does not seem to have had access to a copy of the Memoirs extending beyond the first

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10. Zakhīrau-l-Khwānīn [1] by Shaikh Farīd of Bhakkar.
11. Majma'u-l-Afghānī [2] written by someone for Khān Jahān Lodī.
Pādshāhnāmah by Mullā 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd of Lahore, and Muḥammad Wāriṣ.
'Amal Ṣāliḥ by Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū.
Waqāī [3] Qandahar.
Ālamgīrnāmah, by Muḥammad Kāẓim Munshī.
Mirātu-l-'Ālam by Bakhtawār K. the eunuch.
Tārīkh [4] Āshām.
18. Khulāṣatu-t-tawārīkh, written by a Hindu [5] in the time of Aurangzeb.
19. Tārīkh [6] Dilkushā, written by a Hindu and containing the account of some events of Aurangzeb's reign.
20. Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī, by Musta'ad Khān Muḥammad Shafī.[7]
21. Bahādur [8] Shāhnāmāh, by Ni'amat Khān 'Ālī.
22. Labb Labāb, by Khwāfi Khān.
23. Tārīkh Muḥammad [9] Shāhī.
24. Fatḥiyyah, by Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān.[10]
25. The Taẕkira [11] (anthology) called Majma'u-n-nafāīs by Sirājud-dīn 'Ālī Khān Ārzū.

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twelve years. The Jahāngīrnāmah of Ghairat K., *i.e.* Kāmgār Husainī, is not mentioned in the list, but is referred to at II, 865 in the account of Ghairat K.

[1] Presumably this is the work mentioned by the writer's father, I, p. 8, as being by Shaikh M'arūf of Bhakkar.

[2] This must be the Makhzān Afghānī of Rieu I, 210, 212 and Elliot V, 67. It is by N'īamat Ullah.

[3] Apparently the Laṭāīfu-l-Akhbār of Rieu I, 264b. It is an account of Dārā Shikoh's unsuccessful siege of Qandahar.

[4] By Shihābu-d-dīn Ṭālish, Rieu I, 266a. It is also called Fatḥiyah-i-'Ibratiya. See A.S.B.J. for 1872, p. 51.

[5] The author was Sujān Rai of Batāla in the Gūrdāspūr district of the Panjab. See R.A.S.J. for 1894, p. 733, Rieu 230a and Elliot VIII, 5.

[6] The author was Bhīm Sen. Rieu I, 271. It was translated by Jonathan Scott.

[7] Should be Sāqī, Rieu I, 270.

[8] Rieu 272a.

[9] This may be the Nādiru-z-Zamānī of Khūshḥāl Chand, Rieu I, 128, and Elliot VIII, 70, or it may be the work by Yūsuf Muḥammad K. mentioned in Elliot VIII, 103.

[10] This may be the work mentioned in Elliot VIII, 70, or it may be the Jināna-l-Firdaus of do. 413. See Rieu 138a and III, 1081a.

[11] See Sprenger's Oudh Catalogue, 132.

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26. Mirāt Wāridāt,[1] by Muḥammad Shafī, with the poet the name of Wārid. n is
27. Jahān[2] Kushā, a history of Nādir Shāh. and
28. and 29. Sarv Āzād and Khazāna ʻĀmrā, both alpha- Ghulām ʻĀlī Āzād. —some
30. Mirātu-ṣ Ṣafā,[3] by Mīr Muḥammad ʻAlī of Burha une and
31. Tārikh Bangāla.[4] he ball

by the

My hope is that readers of this work will correct omiss uin for mistakes if they find any, and that they will pardon defect arkable

Be it known that the deceased compiler of this work a xtr the lives according to the date of death, and where, as in some cases, that date was unknown, the date down to which the biography was carried, was treated as the date of death.

Heaven be praised! This delightful work was finished in 1194 (1780) and the chronogram is—

Verse.

The pen decked the garden with a verbal Spring,
Approved by the wise, 'tis the pleasure-ground of every sage.

The sheet produced by the writer's Spring-creating pen dissipated the glories of Irām [5] and emulated Paradise. Reason, the Secretary, wrote the year of completion. Bravo! "Learned Associate (editor) of the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā" (1194=1780).

Preface which the pardoned author (Shah Newāz) of the book wrote at the commencement[6] of his work.

From the beginning of my years of understanding and discretion I had, in spite of the time given to ordinary lessons, a love for

1 Rieu I, 275, and Elliot VIII, 21.

2 The work translated into French by Sir William Jones.

3 Rieu I, 129, and Elliot VIII, 25.

4 Rieu I, 312b. It is observable that in the above list no mention is made of the Mulaskhkhaṣ or Abridgement of ʻInāyat K. ʻAshnā. It is commonly known as the Shāh Jahānnāmah and is referred to in Maaṣir II, 762, and elsewhere. See Elliot VII, 73. The author seems to have used the Mulakhkhaṣ in his account of the taking of Qandahar by the Persians.

5 A fabulous garden in Arabia. Felix.

6 The author states in the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāẓim, III, 721, that he was born on

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estigating biographies and chronicles. Whenever I had any re, I devoted some of it to the instructive annals of former and some to the accounts of highly-placed officials. Sometimes rds of philosophers and saints enlarged my vision, and some- was stirred up by the rhythmical utterances of poets. At , in the third decade of existence, touched with contrition, here is a change in life, Time cast me into the struggles of on ! and my days were spent in the acquisition of a livelihood.

Blessings companions hat, prosperity and pleasure threw me into other occupa- ad I ceased to be in [1] touch with books, and the love of literature left me. Though the thought of my manuscript collections occasionally affected me, and I wished to offer a pilgrim's present to the rising generation, yet time kept saying to me with the tongue of gesture (zabān-i-ḥāl).

Verse.

The brain o'er heaven, the heart at foot of golden idols[2]
How can I speak ; where is the brain and where the heart ?

Suddenly the wondrous working of destiny gave me in 1155, 1742, retirement and solitude. Outwardly the year was pregnant with a thousand troubles and anxieties, but the heart was impledged to calm and composure, and regarded the unexpected leisure as great gain. The same old desire took full possession of my soul and ancient wishes flowered anew. But a revision of my design dissuaded me from composition, for my forerunners had completed books of every kind or fashion which I had thought of, and other subjects had been dealt with by great thinkers and artists both directly and indirectly, and at large or in abridgment. So my heart did not incline towards my compositions, and I judged them as belonging to the class of the common-place. Suddenly there shot into

28 Ramẓan 1111 (8th March 1700), and that he became diwān of Berar in 1145 (1732-33), in his 34th year.

[1] *Masās.* Two B.M. MSS. have *shināsā.*

[2] *Muhrbūtān.* Apparently this refers to the gold coins called *hūn* in the Deccan, the pagodas of early travellers, which were also called *būt-ashrafī* on account of their having an idol or temple represented on them. See Bahār-i-'Ajam s.v. "The brain o'er heaven" seems to refer to his lofty aspirations.

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my heart the thought that if I wrote from the beginning of the reign of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), of which the chronogram is Naṣrat Akbar ("Victory of Akbar" or "Great Victory," and equal to 963, or 1556) to the present time, an account, in alphabetical order, of the lives of great Amirs and exalted nobles,—some of whom had, at the time of their glory, by dint of fortune and good conduct, been the authors of great deeds, and carried the ball of a famous name to an honourable goal, while others had, by the wind of their arrogance and presumption, heaped up final ruin for themselves,—and should append to the biographies remarkable sayings, strange narratives, prudent enterprises, great actions, extraordinary campaigns, and exhibitions of courage, and should incidentally describe the events during two centuries of the illustrious princes of the Timuride dynasty in India—Thanks be to God for their achievements—and should make mention of many ancient families, assuredly a new work would be produced and one which would stand apart from the writings of other authors. Accordingly, my heart firmly decided upon this singular undertaking, and the countenance of purpose displayed itself in a conspicuous manner.

Although a book by Shaikh M'arūf of Bhakar called the Ẕakhīra-al-Khwānīn [1] which contains an account of Amīrs came to my notice at this time, and many of its statements have been included in the present work, yet as it is founded upon hearsay, and is contrary to the ascertainments of the masters of this science, whereas

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[1] Text Khwāqīn, but the entry No. 10, in the list of authorities by author's son, and the reference at II, p. 260, shows that Khwānīn, as given in the variant, is right. It is stated at the last place above referred to (*viz.*, the life of Amānat K.) that the book was written in 1060 (1650). At p. 75 of Vol. III mention is made of a S. M'arūf who was Ṣadr of Bhakar, but probably this was the grandfather of the S. M'arūf, the author. No historical work called the Ẕakhīra-al-Khwānīn is mentioned by Rieu, though at p. 1047a of his catalogue mention is made of an extract from the Ẕakhīrat-ul-Khwānin which is described as another name for the Ẕakhīrat-ul-Mulūk, a treatise on practical ethics, by the Kashmir saint Shāh Hamadān. It is much to be wished that S. M'arūf's book could be found, for apparently it was full of interesting gossip. At p. 288 of Vol. II the author of it is spoken of as Shaikh Farīd Bhakrī. See also the list of works consulted by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, No. 10.

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the basis of my book is trustworthy writings, the originality and superiority of the latter are evident.

As in the time of Akbar, when the limit of rank for Amīrs was 5000—though in the end of his reign two or three persons attained to 7000—royal service had a high value and *manṣabs* were greatly respected, many persons in small positions were possessed of influence and excellence, and therefore I have for that period included officers down to the rank of 500. For the reign of Shah Jahan and up to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign—after which many offices and dignities came into vogue—I have noticed holders of 3000, and the possessors [1] of drums and flags. After that on account of the Deccan campaigns full of contrarieties (*īsāq pūr mashāq*), the increase of servants, and decrease of produce of the country, such superiorities did not continue. Gradually the circle became larger, and for the present time—vacant of goodness or blessing—when many *haft-hazārīs* (holders of the rank of 7000) are at sixes and sevens (*bahaft-u-hasht*, "at seven and eight") and are damaged in reputation and honour, and when in every district and direction many a *shash-hazārī* and *panch-hazārī* (holder of 6000 or 5000) is in preplexity from the buffetings of fortune, I have thought it enough to stop at 5000 or 7000. Many ancestors who had brushed the corner of obscurity have acquired the fame of eternal life as appendages to their celebrated posterity, and many sons and grandsons, who from want of merit did not rise to high office, have had their names blazoned because of their illustrious ancestry. Some who did not obtain to high rank have been noticed on account of their noble qualities.

This work, which is a collection of numerous marks (*iṣār*), has been designated Maaṣiru-l-Umarā, "Marks of Amīrs." In the family of Timuride princes each heavenly father and pure mother received a title; as for instance Ṣāḥib Qirān (Lord of Conjunction) denotes Amīr Timur, Firdūs Makānī is Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar, Jinnat Āshiyānī is Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn, 'Arsh Āshiyānī Jalālu-d-dīn is Muḥammad Akbar, Jinnat Makānī,

[1] From a statement in the Tūzak J. it appears that drums and flags were bestowed on holders of office of the value of 3000.

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Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahangir, Firdūs Āshiyānī and 'Alī Haẓrat, Shihābu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Qirān Ṣānī is Shah Jahan, Khuld Makān, Muḥīu-d-dīn Muḥammad is Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, Khuld Manzil Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad M'uẓẓam Shāh 'Ālam is Bahādur Shāh; while the venerable mother of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), *viz.* Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, has the title of Miriam-Makānī, and the honoured mother of Khuld-Makān, *viz.* Arjmand Bānū Begam, is entitled Mumtāz Maḥal (Tāj Maḥal), and his elder sister, Jahān Ārā Begam, is called Begam Ṣāḥiba. Accordingly, whenever there was occasion to mention them in this book, it was sufficient to do so by their titles. With regard to other princes, their correct names have been given, except that in some places Muḥammad Shāh Pādishāh has been styled Firdūs Ārāmgāh.

Preface[1] and Introduction which Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Azād—may God prolong his life—placed at the head of the chapters after they had been collected.

(*Note of Editor to Second Edition.*)

(As this composition has become well-known, and as it contains a life of the deceased author (Shah Newāz), the writer of these lines ('Abdul-l-Ḥayy the son) has included it in the book.)

Praise to the King of Kings who has bestowed upon kings the exalted position of the rule of the world and has given to their Amīrs, the adorners of the throne, the office of assisting them. And Peace and Salutation be upon the Protector of the world (Muḥammad) who has so gloriously guided the acts of the nations, and has controlled genii and men by the God-given seal of prophecy; and upon the illustrious family who are honourable princes, and on the companions of holy lineage who are sublime Viziers.

But to proceed. This book is charming, and a masterpiece which has no fellow. It is the production by God's help of that congeries of human perfections Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah Shāh Newāz Khān—may God have mercy upon him—who composed it

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[1] This is the preface to the first edition. See account of Ghulām 'Alī in Beale s.v. Azād and in Colonel Wilks' "Sketches of the South of India," I. 237, and 267 n.

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with a magic pen, and for five years devoted all the powers of his intellect to the task.

Those who are acquainted with history can judge how much labour[1] the noble author bestowed upon it, and how far he carried out his researches and strove after accuracy.

But the pages which had been written remained nearly twelve years in the alcove of forgetfulness, and the lovely peacock spread his plumage in the cell of a cage. Time did not allow of the blackness of the rough draft's being changed into the whiteness of the finished page, nor of the long winter night's being converted into a world-illuminating morning. At last they administered to the noble author—mercy be upon him—the cup of martyrdom and placed the children of his lofty genius (his writings) in the dust of orphanhood. The author's house was plundered and the accumulations of his library were at one stroke dispersed. The faquir Ghulām 'Alī—whose style is Āzād Ḥusainī Wāsiṭī Bilgrāmī—was on terms of exceeding friendship with the deceased, and smote his hands in sorrow when the unrivalled masterpiece disappeared, and for a long time pursued the threads of search over the world.

There was no trace of whither it had gone and into whose hands it had fallen. One full twelve month after the martyrdom of the noble author, a clue was found, and the lost Joseph showed his countenance. There was great joy, and I immediately rolled up my sleeve to arrange and whiten and mend the torn garment of the foul draft and to stitch the scattered pages. As the manuscript had taken flight from the library in detachments and had fallen in various places, the chapters did not remain together. They had to be gathered like the leaves of autumn. After great labour the scattered pages were collected, but the biography of Quṭbu-l-mulk 'Abdullah Khān (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha) grand vizier of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, which the author had written, had perished, and the biography of Amīru-l-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the brother of (the said) Quṭbu-l-mulk came to hand with an im-

[1] *Lit.* "How much blood oozed from the vein of his thoughts."

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perfect beginning. The author had not written the biographies[1] of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh and of his successor the martyred Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah. The jealousy of fortune had not granted him leisure for this. The eminence of these four Amīrs was as clear as the sun, and it was imperative that their biographies should be included in the work. By chance I had put together all four biographies in my book the Sarv Āzād. I copied out the biographies of Quṭbu-l-mulk, Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and the martyred Niẓāmu d-daulah from the Sarv Āzād. For the biography of Amīru-l-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān I retained all that came to my hand and supplied the beginning from the Sarv Āzād. Some other necessary biographies were wanting in the chapters, such as the biography of S. Abūl Faẓl,[2] the author of the Akbarnāma, whose pre-eminence does not need to be mentioned. The deceased author used to imitate his style in his compositions. The biography of S'aad Ullah K., grand vizier of Firdūs Âshiyānī (Shah Jahan), was also wanting. The author in several places refers to intended notices, and these are not forthcoming. The inference is that they were written but that the violent blasts of accidents had carried them away.

The noble author, who has been received into mercy, has also in various places recorded his intention of writing (such and such) a notice, but it has not been found at the position indicated. Whatever has been done has been done, and whatever was not done remained undone. Now, who has the brains to compile such notices and to add them as a supplement? The author himself completed his preface, but the writing of praise and prayer was wanting, so I wrote some words of praise and supplication and prefixed them. The first biography in this place is that of the author. After that the body of the work commences. May God grant help!

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1 The lives of Ghāzīu-d-dīn the son of Niẓāmu-l-mulk and of his son 'Imādu-d-dīn seem all to be by Ghulām 'Alī as they appear in his Khazāna 'Āmrā.

2 Apparently the life of Abū-l-faẓl was afterwards found by Shāh Nowāz's son, for there is a long one in the 2nd vol. and the son does not mark it as his, and Ghulām 'Alī does not say he wrote it. The life of S'aad Ullah, the prime minister of Shah Jahan, appears in Vol. II, p. 441, of the Maaṣir under the style of 'Allāmī S'aad Ullah Khān. It is by the son 'Abdul-l-Ḥayy.

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LIFE[1] OF NAWAB SAMSĀMU-D-DAULAH SHĀH NEWĀZ KHĀN SHAHĪD (MARTYRED) KHWĀFĪ AURANGABĀDĪ—THE MERCY OF GOD BE UPON HIM!

His real name was Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, and he was of[2] the family of the Saiyids of Khwāf. His ancestor (great, great, great-grandfather) Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn[3] came to India from Khwāf in the time of Akbar and became one of his chief servants. His son Mīrak Ḥusain was a distinguished servant in the time of Jahangir, and his grandson Mirak M'uīnu-d-dīn received the title of Amānat Khān and obtained high office under Shah Jahan. During the reign of 'Ālamgīr, he became diwān of Lahore, Multan, Kabul and Kashmir, and when the subaḥdārī of Multan was assigned to the Prince Shah 'Ālam, Amānat K. was made naib-subaḥdār in addition to his diwānship. He acted in keeping with his name (amānat, "trust") and served with perfect honesty and trustworthiness. A royal order was sent to him in the time of his Diwānī to send a certain person to court, and he summoned him and pressed him to go. The person said that he would go if Amānat K. would guarantee his being treated with respect. Amānat K. replied that he had no confidence in a person who had behaved in such and such a way to his father and brothers (Amānat referring thereby to Aurangzeb's treatment of his father and brothers), how then could he be a guarantee? Talebearers carried this remark to the king, and he became angry and deprived Amānat of his office and his fief. He remained a long time unemployed, but at last the king was struck with the thought: "This person (Amānat) fears God and regards not me." He became the patron of such a praise-

[1] Translated by H. H. Wilson, Quarterly Oriental Magazine, IV, 269.

[2] By the female side.

[3] No servant of this name is mentioned in the Āīn, but several Kamāls are spoken of in the A. N. III. At p. 259, Vol. I, of the Maasir the author calls his ancestor Mīrak Kamāl and says he was the son of Mīr Ḥasan and came to India with his son Mīrak Ḥusain. Kamāl came to India to his maternal uncle Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī, for whom see Blochmann 445. The statement of Ghulām 'Alī that Mīr Kamāl became one of Akbar's chief servants, or that he became a servant at all, is not borne out by the Āīn or by Shah Newāz's own account of his ancestry, in his life of Amānat Khān. See Maasir I, p. 259.

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worthy officer. The king took him again into favour and restored to him his rank, his fief, and his diwānship. He became impressed by his personality and relied fully upon him for every thing, both for word and deed. When the king was in Upper India and the subaḥdārī of the Deccan was committed to Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh, the diwānship of the Deccan, the paymastership and recordership were given to Amānat Khān. He managed the diwāni with consummate ability, and Khān Bahādur used often to come to his house. He also had charge of the Niẓāmat (the criminal jurisdiction) of Aurangabad.

Four of his sons were distinguished. The first was 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat Khān, the second Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khān; the first was made Diwān-i-tan,[1] and the second, Diwān-i-khālṣa (diwān of the exchequer). Amānat K. (the second son) was also made governor of the port of Surat, and on his death[2] Dīānat K. (his elder brother) succeeded him. This Dīānat K. had been diwān of the Deccan before he became governor of Surat, and after becoming governor, he again became diwān of the Deccan. The third son Mīr 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Wazārat K. had the poetical name of Girāmī[3] and was made diwān of Malwa and diwān of Bījāpūr. He wrote excellent verses and they were collected into a divān. The following are specimens:

Verse.[4]

Ere the caravan-leader of the ecstatics took an omen for the march
Our madman girt up his loins for the desert.

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1 The office of looking after the *tankhwāh* or assignments of land to private individuals.

2 In 1111, 1699—1700. See Maaṣir-i-Ālamgīrī, 412.

3 Girāmī's divān is mentioned in Stewart's Cat. of Tippoo Sultan's Library. See also A.S.B. Cat. 114, and Sprenger Oudh Cat. 412, and Ethé Cat. I. O., p. 889, No. 1625.

4 I found both verses in the A.S.B. MS. of Girāmī's divān. The first occurs before the middle of the MS. (not paged) and the second is towards the end of the volume. In the MS. the second line comes before the first. The divān seems to consist chiefly of love-songs. The poet says he made an ill-timed repentance in the season of flowers as that is the time of enjoyment.

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Another verse.

The flower-season came and I made an ill-timed renunciation
How hard was I on the bowl, and how I abused the glass
Separated from my companions I could not join the march
Alas! I trod the fields of ecstacy alone.

The fourth was Kāẓim K. the Diwān of Multan. Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī the son of Kāẓim K. was the father of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah Shāh Newāz K. On his mother's side Samsāmu-d daulah was descended from Mīr Ḥusain Amānat K. above mentioned (second son of Amanat No. 1) Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī, the father of Samsāmu-d-daulah, died at the age of nineteen[1] and had no opportunity of developing himself.

Be it known that the descendants of Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn Amānat K. became very numerous and occupied a large ward (Quṭbpūra) in the city of Aurangabad. The diwānī of the Deccan and other high offices became appurtenances of the family. A world of men obtained shares in the bounties of the family. The diwānī of the Deccan after Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K. fell to his heir 'Alī Naqī K. and he got his father's title of Dīānat K. After his death this great office fell to his son Mīrak Muḥammad Taqī who obtained the title of Wazārat K. After his death his brother Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K. was appointed. He served in the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh afterwards, and was fully trusted. At last he received the title of Yamīnu-d-daulah Manṣūr Jang. He and Samsāmu-d-daulah were martyred on the same day.

I now proceed to give an account of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah. The virtues of his incomparable Amīr are beyond the powers of the pen to delineate, nor could a wide expanse of parchment contain them. Truly the eye of the world never beheld another Amīr with such a combination of excellencies, nor have the ancient heavens ever weighed in the balance of a vision a statesman of such an universality of talents. From the beginning of his development the marks of rectitude appeared on his forehead, and the lights of

[1] He died in Lahore, and Samsāmu-d-daulah was a posthumous child. Maaṣir. III, 721.

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future excellence shone on the brow of his actions. He was born on 29 Ramzān [1] 1111, 9th March, 1700, in Lahore. As many of his relations were in Aurangabad, he went there in early youth.[2] In the beginning he had an office on the establishment of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and some time after he was appointed to the imperial diwānī of Berar. He was long in this office and discharged the duties well so that the Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh remarked one day, that the work of Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq had vigour and smartness [3] (nimakī dārad). When Muḥammad Shah the ruler of Delhi summoned Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to his presence in 1150, 1737, and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went off to the capital, leaving his son and heir Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah Nāsir Jang as his deputy, Samsāmu-d-daulah became associated with the son. The latter made him diwān of his own office as well as royal diwān, and he conducted the duties of both offices with supreme ability and integrity.

When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh returned from Hindustan to the Deccan, wicked men instigated Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah to oppose his honoured father. Such was not the opinion of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah. On the contrary he urged him to agree with his father. As a great crowd of wicked men were gathered from every side, the words of Samsāmu-d-daulah were of no avail. On the day when the son and the father met in battle, Samsāmu-d-daulah was on a elephant following that of Niẓāmu-d-daulah (*i.e.* Nāṣir Jang). When Niẓāmu-d-daulah's army was defeated and Āṣaf Jāh's men captured his elephant, Ḥarz-Ullah [4] K., the grandson of S'aad

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1 28th. 15 days after his father's death. Maaṣir. III, 721.

2 It appears from 1, 611 that he was in Lahore in 1127, 1715, where he saw Ḥamīdu-d-din. He was then 15. He left for the Deccan in that same year for he tells us at III. 722 that he left for the Deccan in the year that Ḥusain 'Ali the Bārha Saiyid left for the Deccan, and this was in 1127, or 1715. He was made diwān of Berar in 1145, or 1732. In the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāzim the author indulges in much rhetoric about himself. At III, 728 he says he spent about six years in retirement. At p. 740 of Vol. III in the biography of Mubāriz the author mentions that he was with the Niẓāmu-l-mulk in his campaign of 1136, 1724, when Mubāriz was defeated and killed. From the way in which he describes the battle, etc., it would seem that he would have preferred if Mubāriz had been successful.

3 Maaṣir III, 722.

4 See Maaṣir II, 521, apparently he was the great-grandson of Shah

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Ullah K. Vizier—who had an acquaintance with Samsāmu-d-daulah—said to him, "Niẓāmu-d-daulah is going to his father's house, where are you going? You have fulfilled the conditions of loyalty as far as was proper, you should withdraw from this dangerous place." Samsāmu-d-daulah got off the elephant and withdrew.[1] For a time he was under Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's displeasure, and lived in retirement. During this period he engaged in drafting and writing the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā. He spent five years in this way. At last Nawāb Āṣāf Jāh at the close of his reign withdrew the ban in 1160, 1747, and made him diwān of Berar as formerly. Shortly afterwards Āṣaf[2] Jāh died and Niẓāmu-d-daulah sat on the *masnad*. He summoned Samsāmu-d-daulah from Berar and made him his own diwān as formerly. He thoroughly discharged the duties of the entire diwānī which consisted of the viziership of the six provinces of the Deccan. When Niẓāmu-d-daulah at the summons of Aḥmad Shah the ruler of India proceeded towards Shahjahanabad (Delhi) he left Samsāmu-d-daulah in the Deccan, and at the time of departure gave him his own ring saying to him that it was Solomon's seal (indicating that it was the seal of the prime minister). But when the Nawāb had come as far as the Narbadda he, in accordance with the orders of his sovereign, returned to the Deccan. When his army marched to Arcot, and he was victorious over Moẓaffar[3] Jang, Samsāmu-d-daulah represented to him that he should not remain there, but should leave Muḥammad[4] 'Alī K. Anwāru-d-dīn K. Shahāmat Jang of Gopāmau (in Oudh) there

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Jahan's Vizier. See what seems to be a not altogether candid account of the affair in Maaṣir III, 725—726.

[1] He went to the house of Matahawar K., for an account of whom see Maaṣir U. III, 108 in notice of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khweshgī. Matahawar died in 1156. There is a long account of Matahawar K. in the third volume, p. 776. It is stated at p. 793 that the author was enabled by the exertions of Matahawar to take up his abode in the Deccan. Probably this means that he married into Matahawar's family, for he mentions at p. 722 of the same article that he married and so became fixed in the Deccan.

[2] He died in 1161, 22 May 1748 (Beale). Colonel Wilks in his Hist. Sketches I, 258, gives 24 March 1784 as the date, and says it happened on the same day as the battle of Myconda.

[3] His sister's son and the grandson of Aṣaf Jāh. His real name was Hidayat Moḥīu-d-dīn (Wilks).

[4] Burke's Nawab of Arcot.

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along with the English in order that they might chastise the French Christians of Pondicherry. Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah did not listen, and some short-sighted men who wished, for their own selfish ends, to stay there, induced the Nawāb to remain in that country until there happened what happened.[1]

After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah, the rule came to Moẓaffar Jang. He turned away from the country, and was killed[2] near the city of Kurpa (Cudappah). Then Nawāb Ṣalābat Jang Amīru-l-Mamālik s. Āṣaf Jāh became ruler, and proceeded to Karnūl from Kurpa. Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah was with the army up to this point, but in Karnūl he separated and went rapidly to Aurangabad. The writer of this notice accompanied him on this occasion. Samsāmu-d-daulah remained[3] for some time in his house and on 9 Rajab 1165, 12 May 1752, went to Haidarabad in order to appear before Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik (Ṣalābat Jang). He appeared before him and was appointed to the Subaḥdārī of Haidarabad. After some time he was dismissed from this appointment and went into retirement. At last Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik came to Aurangabad, and on 14 Ṣafr 1167, 11 December 1753, he gave him a robe of honour and made him prime minister and gave him the rank of Hafthazārī (7000) together with 7000 horse, and the title of Samsāmu-d-daulah. He filled the office for four years and discharged the duties in gross and in detail in an excellent manner. In spite of the want of materials he did wonders so that the wise were amazed. When he became prime minister, the affairs of Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik were in an extraordinary condition so that from want of money his household furniture had to be sold. Samsāmu-d-daulah put things to right in an admirable manner so that the waters which had departed returned to their channels (a phrase) and disorganization was succeeded by order. The refractory put the ring of obedience in their ear, and the crooked in thought the saddle cloth of rectitude on their

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1 Nāṣir Jang's assassination which took place on 5 December 1750, Wilks *id.* I, 267, note, and Grant-Duff II, 45.

2 February 1751. He was killed at Raichoutee about half of his journey to Golconda, Wilks. I, 272, and Beale.

3 He was dismissed for a time at Bussy's instance and then restored by the same influence.

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shoulder. Peace quickly returned to the country, and the peasantry, and subjects generally, enjoyed repose in the coolness of justice. In the space of four years he equalised the income and expenditure, and he used to say that next year, Please God! the receipts would exceed the disbursements.

To be brief, after he was established in the ministry he set the standards of Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik in motion and proceeded towards Berar in order to chastise Raghū Bhonsla. He defeated him and took five lacs of rupees as tribute. From Berar he proceeded to Narmal.[1] Suryā Rāo, the zamindar of Narmal, had been in rebellion from the time of Āṣaf Jāh and had repeatedly defeated the government troops. Samsāmu-d-daulah contrived to imprison him, and confiscated his territory. He accomplished these two great things in the first year of his ministry. He spent the rainy season in Haidarabad and in the second year 1168, 1755, he brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Mysore and took fifty lacs of rupees from the Rajah of Mysore as tribute. In the beginning of the rainy season he returned to Haidarabad. At this time the Sultan of Delhi 'Ālamgīr the 2nd sent the insignia of[2] Mahī-u-Marātib to Samsāmu-d-daulah. Some one made this versified chronogram.

Verse.

From the Shah of Ind came *mahī* and also *marātib* 1168.
(*Az Shāh Hind āmid mahī u ham marātib.*)

In the third year 1169, he assisted Rāo Bālājī. The circumstances are these. Rāo Bālājī besieged the city of Savānūr.[3] The Afghans strengthened the fort of Savānūr and defended it vigorously. They made frequent sallies and smote the men in the batteries. Rāo Bālājī was in difficulties and asked help from Samsāmu-d-daulah. Good God! Rāo Bālājī who took possession of the territories of the Deccan and of Hindustan, and who shook the emperor

[1] In Telingānah, Jarrett II, 237, the Neermul of Grant-Duff's map; it is E. Nandair.

[2] "The fish and dignities." See Irvine, Army of the Moghuls, 33.

[3] It seems also to be called Bankapūr, Wilks. I, 19. Savānūr is in the Dhārwar district of the Bombay Presidency.

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of Delhi and the pillars of his throne, turned for assistance to Samsāmu-d-daulah! He brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to his help, and conveyed an army to Savānūr. He set up batteries and put artillery in position so that the Afghans changed their tone and proposed peace. After this Samsāmu-d-daulah set about the overthrow of the Christians.

Be it known that when Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah Nāṣir Jang went to Arcot in order to put down Moẓaffar Jang, the latter with the help of the French Christians at Pondicherry showed fight and was defeated. The Christians slunk back to Pondicherry and Moẓaffar Jang was made prisoner. The Christians again made a disturbance with the help of the Afghans, and they martyred Niẓāmu-d-daulah, and raised Moẓaffar Jang to power. As I have described at length in the Sarv Āzād, the Christians before this were confined to the ports and did not stretch their feet beyond their limit. They became bold after the martyrdom of Niẓāmu-d-daulah and perceived the sweets of conquest. Part of the Arcot territory came into the possession of the French, and part was seized by the English. The also prevailed over Bengal and took the castle of Surat, et cetera. Such was the beginning of the Christian power.

In short, after the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah, Moẓaffar took the French Christians into service, and made them his supporters. After he was killed, the Christians became the servants of Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and took as their fiefs Sīkākul (Chicacole), Rajbandarī (Rajahmahendri) and other places, and became powerful. M. Bussy, the head of the Christians, received the titles of Saifu-d-daulah (Sword of the State) and 'Umdatu-l-mulk (Pillar of the Kingdom) and acquired fame. Ḥaidar Jang became the manager of his affairs. Ḥaidar[1] Jang's extraction and position were as follows. His real name was 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, and his father Khwāja Qalandar was of Balkh and came in the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh from Balkh and obtained consideration. He became governor (faujdār) of Machlībandar (Masulipatam), and the government accounts were in his charge. He had in Masulipatam become acquainted with some Christians and owing to this connection he

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1 See Wilks. I, 390.

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went to Pondicherry and lived under the protection of the Christians. Ḥaidar Jang was young then and the governor,[1] *i.e.*, the captain or Ḥākim of Pondicherry, took a great fancy to him. When Moẓaffar[2] Jang became Chief, the governor placed with him a body of Christians under the command of M. Bussy. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān was sent along with M. Bussy to be a link between the Muhammadans and the Christians. As he was a man of ability he got great promotion and had full control of the affairs of the Feringhis and received the title of Asad Ullah (Lion of God) Ḥaidar Jang.

In fine, Samsāmu-d-daulah, after disposing of the affair of the Afghans of Savānūr, wanted to drive out the Christians, and Amīru-l-mamālik at his instigation dismissed them from his service. They went off to Haidarabad, and got possession of it. Nawāb Amiru-l-mamālik followed them and besieged the city for nearly two months. There was fighting, but at last, owing to the treachery of officers, peace was made, and 'Umdatu-l-mulk (Bussy) and Ḥaidar Jang came and had an interview (with the Nawāb). As during the siege the fiefs of the Christians had become disorganised, 'Umdatu-l-mulk and Ḥaidar Jang took leave and went off to Rajamahendrī and Chicacole and put the estates in order. Samsāmu-d-daulah spent the rains in Haidarabad and left it in the fourth year of his ministry 1170, 1756-57. Rām Candra[3] Mahratta held pos-

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[1] Text Kūrundūr كورندور *nām kaptān y'ani hākim.* Wilson l. c. 278 has Captain Graven. There does not appear to have been any such person, but if the word was so written in Wilson's MSS. it might stand for Kerjean or De Kerjean, the Kirjean of Orme, who was Dupleix's nephew and a noted soldier, though he never was governor of Pondicherry. Mr. Irvine has suggested Godeheu who was the governor after Dupleix, but he only came to Pondicherry in 1754 when Ḥaidar could hardly have been very young (*khurd* sāl) and the spelling does not agree. I have no doubt that the word is the Portuguese Governador or Gobernador and that the first letter should be a G, Gāf and not Kāf. The fact of its coming from the Portuguese accounts for the d. See Hobson-Jobson, 2nd ed., 390. In a Persian petition of one Shāh Alāuddīn Muḥammad in the Marsden MSS. B.M. Add., 9585, the word Kūrundūr occurs, as applied to a Portuguese official.

[2] Ghulām 'Alī says in his Khazāna 'Āmra that Moẓaffar was the first man to employ Feringhi soldiers (in the Deccan) and Orme says the same thing.

[3] Rām Candra Jadow, Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, II, 106.

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session, from the time of Aṣaf Jāh, of Bhālkī[1] and other estates appertaining to the province of Bīdar and which yielded lacs of rental. From a bad disposition he did not perform the duties of a subject, and Samsāmu-d-daulah desired to take his estates from him. Rām Candra made preparations for war, but after some vain attempts he put the ring of submission in his ear, and his jagirs, except Bhālkī, were confiscated. In the beginning of the rains Samsāmu-d-daulah came with Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Aurangabad. At this time a force was sent to besiege Daulatabad. The fort was taken from the Bokhara Saiyids who had held it from the time of ʻĀlamgīr (Aurangzeb). After this, the juggling heavens began to turn the page and girded up their loins for the discomfiture of Samsāmu-d-daulah. They took back from him all his wisdom and understanding. The brief account of these events is as follows. The pay of the soldiers was much in arrear. Wicked men stirred them up, and they made clamorous demands. Samsāmu-d-daulah could have quelled the disturbance by the expenditure of two lacs of rupees, but as the time of his downfall had come, he did not exert himself. On 6 Ẕī-l-qʻada 1170, 23 July 1757, the soldiers brought Nawāb Shujā'-ul-mulk Basālat Jang, the son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, out of his house and produced him before Amīru-ul-mamālik. They made him dismiss Samsāmu-d-daulah[2] and give the Khilāt of the prime ministry to Basālat Jang. There was a general riot, and the rabble and the market people made a commotion and wanted to fall upon the house of Samsāmu-d-daulah. But circumstances occurred which postponed the attack till evening. At night the leaders of the riot dispersed. Samsāmu-d-daulah was apprehensive that if on the morrow they made a demonstration, he would not be able to contend with his master. It would be better for him to withdraw. At midnight he put loads of necessary chattels on elephants and left property worth lacs, and various curiosities, and proceeded towards the fort of Daulatabad along with his household, male and female. Of his followers nearly 500, horse and foot, attended him. Torches were lighted, and he came out armed from his

1 The Balkee of Grant-Duff's map. It is N. W. Bīdar and Haidarabad.

2 Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, II, 107.

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house. He took the road to the Ẓafar gate of the city wall. The guards of the gate could not stand against him and fled. They (Samsāmu-d-daulah's party) broke the bolts of the gate and came out. Near morning on the 8, Ẕī-l-q'ada 1170, 25 July 1757, they reached Daulatabad. After his departure some of his goods were plundered, but most of them were confiscated to the government. After some time an army was appointed by the Government and the fort of Daulatabad was besieged, and fighting went on.

Samsāmu-d-daulah was adorned with pleasing qualities and amiable dispositions, but it sometimes happens that the Almighty casts his servants out of public favour, and in order to adjust their final rank places them in the world's judgment-hall, and exposes them to the evils of trial. This was exemplified in Samsāmu-d-daulah's case. In spite of his qualities and merits, he was now abandoned by all, high and low, courtiers and costermongers (darbārī-u bazārī). No one uttered a word except "Seize him and kill him." If anyone stood firm on the path of fidelity and preserved his affection for him, where had he the courage to say anything or to set in motion the chain of investigation? This poor man was the only one who made an agitation, and disregarded the enmity of the whole world. I had interviews with Nawāb Shujā'-ul-mulk and laid the foundations of a reconciliation. In order to bring about peace I repeatedly went to the fort, and by all sorts of stratagems and contrivances protracted the siege of the fort. The terms of peace had not been fully settled, when Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah the 2nd who was Naẓim of the province of Berar came from Elchīpūr to Aurangabad. The Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik made him his successor and gave him the title of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He sent for the writer of this notice, and charged him with conciliatory messages for Samsāmu-d-daulah. He signed the list of his conditions in accordance with his (Samsāmu-d-daulah's) request and made it over to the writer. I took the list and went to the fort, and made Samsāmu-d-daulah eager to come into the Presence. The Nawāb Āṣaf Jah sent the chief officers to welcome him, and Samsāmu-d-daulah came out of the fort on 1 Rabī'-al-awal 1171, 13 November 1757, and had an interview, in the precincts of the fort, with the officers who had come to meet him. On the

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same day he waited upon Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh 2nd, and Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and was the object of various favours.

At this time Bālājī Rāo approached Aurangabad with hostile intentions, and made his son Biswās Rāo his general. Rajah Rām Candra had come from his own country in order to interview Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and had reached[1] Sindkhair, 30 kos from Aurangabad. The Mahrattas besieged him there and put him into straits. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh marched from Aurangabad to Sindkhair and delivered[2] Rām Candra from the whirlpool of danger. There were great fights on the way and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh gave proof of heart and courage. A number of the enemy were slain by the sword. On this occasion Samsāmu-d-daulah waited on his stirrup. Meanwhile news came that 'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy and Ḥaidar Jang had disposed of the affairs of the jagirs and intended to interview Amīru-l-mamālik. They arrived at Haidarabad, and Ḥaidar Jang wrote letter after letter to Samsāmu-d-daulah. He showed such sincerity that Samsāmu-d-daulah fully believed in his honesty. He became quite oblivious of his trickery. The victorious army had returned from Sindkhair and had encamped in Shahgarha when Ḥaidar Jang came to the Presence, and the whole camp came to Aurangabad, and settled down on the north side of the city.

Samsāmu-d-daulah completely surrendered into the hands of Ḥaidar Jang the bridle of control, and the latter moved along the path of deception, gathering up the nets of fraud and deceit. Though acquaintances who knew his trickery, openly, and by hints, told Samsāmu-d-daulah about him, he did not believe them. He relied upon the honesty of foes and did not weigh in the balance of consideration the well-wishing of friends. At last on 26 Rajab 1171, 5 April 1758, Amīr-ul-mamālik[3] went to visit the garden Bagh Begam in Aurangabad. Ḥaidar Jang made ready his plot there, and when Samsāmu-d-daulah and Yamīnu-d-daulah—who has been mentioned—came, in obedience to a summons—to that garden, both of them

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1 It is east of Aurangabad.

2 Grant-Duff speaks of the rescue as a farce, II, 109.

3 "He went to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father some miles from Aurangabad." Wilks I, 390.

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were put under arrest. They were taken to the camp and put into separate tents. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy K., Mīr 'Abdu-s-Sālām K. and Mīr 'Abdu-n-nabī the sons of Samsāmu-d-daulah were also sent for and confined in their father's tent which was surrounded by Christian sentinels. Samsāmu-d-daulah's house was plundered of what had been a second time gathered together and the veiled ladies of the Saiyids were turned out of doors. Samsāmu-d-daulah's connexions and those who were in his confidence and were possessed of abilities were put into strict confinement. Their money was taken from them, and such was the oppressions practised on the Saiyids that the catastrophe of the Karbalā was renewed.

In fact these proceedings did not turn out well for Ḥaidar Jang. The Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh 2nd conceived the idea of wiping out his existence. One reason for this was that Ḥaidar Jang had broken faith with Samsāmu-d-daulah and that he could not be trusted. Another reason was that Ḥaidar Jang had first deprived Āṣaf Jāh of his plumage, and then imprisoned Samsāmu-d-daulah. The account of this is that Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh brought a powerful army from Berar, and took the management of political and financial affairs into his hands. Ḥaidar Jang saw that this influence could not exist along with Āṣaf Jāh's, and set about overthrowing him. By various tricks he separated the troops from the Nawāb, and distributed from his own purse eight lacs of rupees as the soldiers' pay. Thus he reduced the Nawāb to solitude. After that he imprisoned Samsāmu-d-daulah, and so made himself at ease on both sides. He wished to send Âṣaf Jāh to Haidarabad on the pretence of making him the Ṣubaḥdār thereof, but intended to confine him in the fort of Golconda. The field would then be open for his own evolutions. He did not know that fate (taqdīr) laughed at plans (tadbīr). On 3 Ramẓān 1171, 11 May 1758, at about midday[1] Ḥaidar Jang came to the tent of Āṣaf Jāh who had already determined with his councillors to assassinate him. The household servants seized and killed him, and Āṣaf Jāh mounted a horse and came out alone from the camp. The whole park of artillery of the Feringhis remained in empty bewilderment

[1] *Qarib ba istawā.* Istawā is again used in the sense of midday at p. 37.

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and Āṣaf Jāh displayed a courage[1] such as threw into the shade the feats of Rustum and Afrāsyāb. After the slaughter of Ḥaidar Jang, 'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy and the other officers lost their senses. During the confusion, the waiters upon events martyred Samsamu-d-daulah, his young son Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ghanī, and Yemīnu-d-daulah. The good thing was that Ḥaidar Jang, the real murderer of these Saiyids, was killed four hours before them! Samsāmu-d-daulah heard with his own ears of his death and said "Now our safety does not appear to me" (does not look likely) and so he devoted himself to prayer (*lit.* sate fixed in contemplation of the *qibla*). At last Lachmanān, a Hindu, one of the followers of the Christians, came and killed them. Father and son were buried in the grave of their ancestors on the south side of the city, near the shrine of Shāh Nūr,[2] and Yemīnu-d-daulah was buried in the grave of his ancestors at the foot of Shāh Nūr's dome. The writer found the date of the martyrdom of all three Saiyids in the glorious verse. *Wujūh* (*un*) *yaumaiẓ* (*in*) *musfirah*.[3] "On that day the faces of some *shall be bright*" 1171. He also put the death of Samsāmu-d-daulah into this verse.

Verse.

Samsāmu-d-daulah went from the world,
The third of the illustrious month of Ramẓān

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[1] The courage consisted in ordering an assassination, and then flying! The Nawāb fled to Burhanpur 150 m. N. of Aurangabad. Ḥaidar Jang was stabbed to the heart, and not slain by having his throat cut as the translation of the Siyar Mutākhirīn has it., Orme ed., 1778, II, 349, says Niẓām 'Alī fled at midnight to Brampur (Burhanpur) and after he knew of the killing of Shah Nawaz and his son. It was this circumstance which disconcerted his plans. Bussy judged it better not to try to catch the Niẓām and bring him to justice. Ghulām 'Alī repeats his account of these matters in the Khazīna 'Āmra and gives the same details about Ibrahīm K. Gārdī. See his account of Ṣalābat Jang.

[2] A saint who died 2 February, 1693, and is buried near Aurangabad (Beale 367).

[3] This verse is in the 80th Sura, entitled "He frowned", verse 38, and is translated by Sale "On that day the faces of some shall be bright, laughing and joyful," etc. The letters w, j, u, h, y, u, m, i, z, m, s, f, r, h give 1171 (1758) according to *abjad*. The chronogram is a neat one.

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The Saiyid himself declared the year
"Slain we by 'Abdu-r-Raḥman" (1171).[1]

The writer also composed this quatrain.

Quatrain.

Samsāmu-d-daulah the great Amīr, the sage,
Wrongfully slain in treachery's ambush, Alas for the oppresed, alas!
Āzād presents the date. Hear, O friends!
"Wretches martyred the Saiyid" 1171, "We are God's.[2]"

Be it known that Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām remained safe on the day of their father's martyrdom. The reason was that Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy had been separated from his father one day before, and that Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām had been sent from the tent to a house on account of sickness. Because the lives of both brothers were predestined, God put it into the hearts of their enemies to separate them from their father. In the safety of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām, the writer of this notice received the flash of inspiration that "Names descend from heaven." The names Ḥayy (God) and Salām[3] (safety) did their work and preserved both their namesakes.

After Ḥaidar Jang was killed, Amīru-l-mamālik, Shujā'-al mulk, 'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy, and Ẕū-l-fiqār Jang the brother of Ḥaidar Jang—who became his representative—went off to Haidarabad. After coming there Ẕū-l-fiqār Jang went off to his fiefs of Rajamahendri and Chicacole, and 'Umdatu-l-mulk went to Pondicherry. War broke out between the Zamindar of Chicacole and Ẕū-l-fiqār Jang and the latter was shamefully defeated. His soldiers were routed and the contents of his jewel room and wardrobe as well as his elephants and artillery fell into the hands of the Zamindar.

[1] It would have been more correct to say that they were killed by Āṣaf Jāh the 2nd for it was his assassination of Ḥaidar that caused their deaths.

[2] Innā Allah "We are God's, and unto Him shall we surely return" Koran, Sura II, v. 151. (Sale) The words, shahīd nākasan Saiyidrā yield 1171.

[3] Salām is one of the names of God and Ḥayy means "The living" (God); see Redhouse R.A.S.J. for January 1880, on "the most comely names."

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He and a few others saved their lives. Lacmanān[1] the murderer of Samsāmu-d-daulah was killed and also Muḥammad Ḥusain the Jam'adār of the Gārdīs.[2] He had been put in charge of Samsāmu-d-daulah and his friends and connexions, and had ill-treated them, and both he and his men were killed.

'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy who went towards Pondicherry, beseiged Cīnāpatan (Madras) the English port and made several fiery attempts (*ātish kārzāi*). At last the English were victorious and 'Umdatu-l-mulk had to fly, completely broken, to Pondicherry. In a few months retribution[3] for the blood of the Saiyids blossomed out. Or rather, retribution in the case of Ḥaidar Jang's person was heard of by Samsāmu-d-daulah with his own ears.

Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah was a congeries of perfections and was familiar with all the sciences. The questions of every science were present in the treasury of his memory and he was unique in the comprehension of poetry. He knew well the idioms of the Persian tongue, and foreign Mīrzās (Persian literati) who met him were astonished at his idiomatic knowledge. He used to say "I lay claim to two things. One is justice, for in intricate questions I arrive at a right conclusion, and I distinguish between truth and falsehood. The other is a knowledge of poetry." One day he said to the writer "This opening stanza of Faiẓī's is well known.

Verse.[4]

Two griefs have befallen me in love's path
I'm the doomed one, and the beloved is the slayer.

According to the apparent meaning, one grief is that the lover is slain, and the other is that the beloved is the slayer.

1 Grant-Duff II, 114. He thinks he was probably killed at Condore in the battle between Forde and Conflans in December 1758.

2 See Siyar Mutākharīn trans. III, 355 n. Gārdi is from the French garde. See Hobson-Jobson, new edition.

3 Ṣalābat Jang Amīru-l-mamālik also had a violent death. He was imprisoned by his brother Niẓam 'Alī (the same man who killed Ḥaidar Jang) and after two years was murdered by Niẓam 'Alī's orders in 1763. See Beale, Wilks I, 479, and Khazīna 'Amrā 61.

4 The verse is quoted in the Āīn, Blochmann 535, but the translation there given is wrong.

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Therefore escape is impossible. But another meaning occurs to me. One grief is that the lover is the doomed one (*khūngirifta* 'at the point of death'), God forbid that another than the loved one should slay him! The second grief is that the beloved has become a murderer. God forbid that he should kill anyone but the lover! Both of these things are unendurable by the lover!"

He was an unrivalled Secretary, and his letters have a special charm. Alas that they have not been collected! If they were, readers would have an exquisite[1] eye-salve. He was the unique of the age in historical knowledge, especially as regards the history of the Timuride kings of India and their ministers. This book, the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā, is a proof of it which masters of the science will recognise. He had collected a large library of Arabic and Persian books, and he often compared and corrected them with his own hand. At this time his library is in confusion. His virtues were greater than can be described. He had a lofty nature and a firmness of mind such that Aristotle might have been his pupil. He had a sedate and majestic soul, and was also affable, sympathetic, just and modest, faithful, pure, straightforward, truthful. He was very indignant against falsehood and never esteemed a liar. Whenever he got money, he spent a tenth of it on the needy and he had a separate tithe-treasury and disbursed from it to the deserving. He was an office-adorning officer. When he sate on the *masnad* he graced it without formality. Two days in the week, Tuesdays and Fridays, were set apart for the administration of justice. He had plaintiff and defendant brought before him, and exerted himself to get at the real issue. He had at his finger-ends the regulations of the country, and in the matter of consultations about public matters he had no off-time either by day or by night. He had no privy councillor. The wise of the day were mirrors of astonishment on beholding his lofty perception and his powers of reasoning. After reciting the morning prayer he set to business and was occupied till midday when he took a *siesta*. Then he recited the afternoon prayer and again occupied himself with business. Up to midnight

[1] This is very doubtful if, as the writer says, they were modelled on Abūl Faẓl's. See I.O.M.S. Eth^{é}, 1464, p. 143*b*, for Faiẓi's couplet.

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or even later he was engaged in political and financial matters. He examined all applicants face to face and had no one to introduce them. He presided with dignity on the bench, and he was humble and pleasant in privacy.

Nawāb Sālār Jang Bahādur related that Samsāmu-d-daulah after coming out of the fort of Daulatabad said to him "I have come to know that these external[1] circumstances (of prosperity) which have been gathered round me have no permanency." I (*i.e.* Sālār Jang) asked him "how he knew" and he replied "God has informed me." The same Nawāb told that "On the day they took the ministry from him, and there was a great commotion I and many others spent the night in his house and could not sleep on account of anxiety. At dawn when I met him he said 'This night I slept quietly.'" He also told that the Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah said to him "Before going into the fort, stock was taken of the carpet store-room and there were found 200 odd carpet and rugs; on the day I went to the fort not one carpet was found." Under these circumstances there was not the least change in his feelings. The writer of this notice tells that when Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah came to Arcot and was victorious over Moẓaffar Jang, the officers of the district were summoned to the presence. On account of the *Diwānī* a tent had been pitched for them, at Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah's entrance. One day I came out of his tent, and a man came running up and said, "Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr, a former officer says, 'I'm in the hands of the *sazāwals* (apparitors) and am not allowed to move!' Do you push severity to such an extent as this?" I had no acquaintance with the officer in question, but I saw that it would be cruel not to visit him. I went, and he complained about the calling for accounts, and his being confined by the *sazāwals*. I immediately went back to Samsāmu-d-daulah and said, "Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr an officer ('āmil, a collector) who is reckoned among the officers is at the entrance, and you should send for him." The Nawāb replied "It is not according to rule that a collector whose accounts are under examination should

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1 The sentence is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that Samsāmu-d-daulah felt that the present return to favour would not last.

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be brought into the Presence." I said "I don't say that he should be excused his rendering accounts, but still I should like that he should be summoned to your presence." The Nawāb was for refusing, but I persisted. At last the Nawāb sent for him, and saw his condition, and was very sympathetic. He said "To-morrow be present at the door of Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah's house." He also charged the ushers to let him know whenever he came. Next day Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr appeared at the door and the usher (*chōbdār*) reported the fact. Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah represented to Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah. "Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr, a collector among the collectors whose accounts are under examination has been summoned. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī told me he should be introduced, and I said that a collector under examination does not come into the Presence. Though I persisted in my refusal, the Mīr would not let me off, so I was helpless and sent for him. Now I make the same petition to you, *viz.*, that he may be once for all brought into the Presence." Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah ordered that he should be introduced. As soon as he came in at the door, the Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah looked at him, and what did he see? A bowed old man (*pīr*) ninety years of age! He had his tunic (*pīrāhan*) on his breast, a green turban on his head, and a staff and rosary in his hands. He was a saintly figure and an object of compassion. Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah called him to his side and gave him a seat and asked after his health. He put the signature of acquittance on his accounts and assigned him a daily maintenance and gave him a carriage (*sawāri*) from the government store, and then dismissed him.

The description of the virtues of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah which has been made is but a drop from the clouds, and a single ray from the sun. May God receive the deceased into special mercy and adorn the chief place of Paradise with his presence!

Be it known that after the martyrdom of Samsāmu-d-daulah, when the army went to Haidarabad, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy K. was taken with them and imprisoned in the fort of Golconda. Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām K. remained in Aurangabad on account of sickness and was sent to the fort of Daulatabad. Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh Ṣānī (the 2nd) after the killing of Ḥaidar Jang went off rapidly on horse

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back towards Berar. He prepared an army and addressed himself to the chastisement[1] of Jānojī, the son of Raghū Bhonsla. Though he had a small force and the enemy was numerous he was victorious. After that he went to Haidarabad. Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, who had gone to Masulipatam to arrange matters, turned his rein and the two brothers had an interview in Haidarabad. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh according to the former arrangement sate on the *masnad* of the heir apparency, and took the bridle of the management of the political and financial affairs into his hands. On 15 Ẕūl-q'ada 1172, 29 June 1759, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy[2] was brought out of the fort and had fresh life granted to him. His old title was Shamsu-d-daulah Dilāwar Jang, but after coming out of the fort he received his father's title of Samsāmu-d-daulah Samsām Jang and the rank 6000 with 5000 horse, and was an object of favour. Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām K. was also, in accordance with orders, brought out of the fort of Daulatabad, and met his family. May the Peace of God be upon them!

[3]In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.

Praise be to God and peace be upon true believers!

The poor man 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Alḥusainī Alkẖwarazimī Alaurangabādī who from the beginning of the years of understanding, etc.

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1 Grant-Duff II, 118.

2 Ghulām 'Alī has a notice of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy in the K. 'Āmrā lith. p. 296. There his pen-name seems to be given as *Sināram* which might mean 'My plane tree.'' But though Sināram seems to be the reading in the I.O.M.S. of the K.A., No. 2979, p. 224b, it is probable that the true reading is Sārim "a sharp sword" as given in 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's conclusion to the Maaṣir III, 974. He there says that this pen-name was adopted on account of its associations with his other title, and as Samsām means a sharp sword, Sārim seems appropriate. Ghulām 'Ali says 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's pen-name was at first Waqār.

3 This is the pious ejaculation which as Ghulām 'Alī has said above, he added to 'Abdu-r-Razzāq's preface.

This life by Ghulām 'Alī should be compared with Shah Newāz's account of himself and his ancestors in the biographies of his great grandfather Amānat K. and his grandfather Muḥammad Kāẓim K. at Vol. I, p. 258, and Vol. III, 715, of Bib. Ind. ed. of the Maaṣir. See also Elliot and Dowson VIII, 187. At Vol. III, p. 117, the author, in his biography of Qil'adār K. informs us that his grandmother was one of the four daughters of Qil'adār K. by a daughter of M. Jamshīd Beg. At p. 680 of the Maaṣir, Vol. III, Shah Newāz mentions the interesting fact that he was

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[1]PREFACE TO TABLE OF CONTENTS (p. 42 of VOL. I.) (BY THE SON OF THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR).

It should be known that some of the biographies written by the founder of this work were left as imperfect drafts owing to excess of materials and to postponements. I have done my best to complete and correct them, and I have supplied a list of the biographies, and have added in red ink, the letter *qāf* to the supplementary names so that the words of that great man (his father) may be distinguished from those of an insignificant person like myself. The glorious collection contains 730 biographies as the following list shows.

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very intimate with Khāfī Khān, the historian.

For Ghulām 'Ali's own biography see his Yad Baiẓa and his Maaṣir-ul-Ikrām. He was born at Bilgrām on Sunday, 25 Ṣafr 1116, 18 June 1704, and was the son of Muḥammad Nūḥ. He went in 1143, 1730-31, to Scinde and returned in 1147. He went to Mécca in 1150.

[1] This preface is by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. He has marked his additions with *Qāf* as an abbreviation for Ilḥāq "supplement" See Rieu I, 341, col. 2, and Ethé I, O. Cat., pp. 253-55, 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's list does not contain quite 730 biographies, but perhaps the discrepancy is the result of his mode of counting. Occasionally two or more names are put under one head. His list does not always tally with those in the Bib. Ind. ed. in the index vol. In the latter there are one or two omissions, the result of oversight. The total of the lists in the index volume is 720. The total in 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's list according to the total numbers for each letter comes to 726. As a matter of fact the number of the biographies contained in the three volumes is considerably more than 726 for most of the notices end with accounts of the sons and grandsons of the subject of the biography.

At the end of the third volume of the Maaṣir III, 973, 'Abdu-l-Hayy, the son of the original compiler of the work, gives a short account of himself and some specimens of his verses. He says he was born in 1142, 1729-1730, and that in 1162, he received a *mansab* and the title of Khān from the martyred Nāṣir Jang and was made Diwān of the province of Berar, and superintendent of Nāṣir Jang's fiefs there. In the time of Salābat Jang he was made governor of Aurangabad and governor of the fort of Daulatabad Afterwards the Nāwab Niẓamu-l-mulk Nīẓāmu-d-daulah patronized him and he received his hereditary title and was made Diwān of the provinces of the Deccan, and the Nawāb's companion in the battle and the banquet. The title of Samsāmu-l-mulk was conferred on him and he assumed the pen-name of Sārim (a sharp sword). 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy Samsāmu-l-mulk died at the fort of Kaulās, 15th Jumāda I, 1196, (28 April 1782) and was buried in his garden (cemetery ?) at Haidarabad (Rieu I, 342). Kaulās, marked in some maps Kowlass, is in Haidarabad State and N. N. W. of Haidarabad and N. of Bīdar. There is an account of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy in the Yad Baiẓa of Ghulām 'Ali, and also in the Khazīna 'Āmrā lithograph, p. 296, under the name of Ṣārim.

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ʻĀBDU-L-ʻAZĪZ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

Shaikh Maqbūl-i-ʻĀlam (a world-favourite) was descended from S. Farīdu-d-dīn Ganjshakar—May his grave be holy. The abode of his ancestors was the village of Asiya[1] near Bilgrām. His grandfather was called S. ʻAlāu-d-dīn, but was commonly known as S. Alhadiya. They say that Saiyid Abū-l-Qāsim S. Saiyid K. Muḥammad S. Saiyid Maḥmūd of Tatta[2] had three sons. Of them Saiyid ʻAbdu-l-Ḥakīm and Saiyid ʻAbdu-l-Qādir were the offspring of a wife who was one of his kinsfolk. By another wife he had Saiyid Badru-d-dīn who married in the village of Asiya. As Saiyid Badru-d-dīn had no son, his wife adopted her brother or sister's child and he got the name of S. Alhadiya (the gift). When Saiyid Fāẓil S. Saiyid ʻAbdu-l-Ḥakīm was acting as diwān of one of the Amīrs in Daulatabad, S. Alhadiya was with him. The Amīr perceived his capabilities and sent him to the royal camp as his agent. As S. Alhadiya behaved well in business he gradually prospered. He had three sons, and the third of them was ʻAbdu-r-Rasūl K. who was the father of the subject of this notice.

Fīrūz Jang (Ghāzīu-d-dīn) Bahādur introduced him (ʻAbdu-l-ʻAzīz) to royal service in the time of Aurangzeb. Afterwards he obtained suitable rank and the name of Khidmat Ṭalab Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Naldrug in the province of Bijapur, and also of Ausā in the province of Muhammadābād Bīdar. Afterwards he was, in the time of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh, made governor of the fort of Junair, and became a favourite of his. When the Niẓāmu-l-mulk left Nāṣir Jang the martyred in the Deccan and went off to Muḥammad Shāh, and Bājī Rāo, the Mahratta leader, raised the head of sedition, and the carpet of strife was widespread, Nāṣir Jang was concerned about collecting men and summoned ʻAbdu-l-ʻAzīz from Junair, as he was famed for courage and was acquainted with the Mahratta tactics, and consulted with him. After the war with the

1 The Asiyūn of J. II, 178, and the Asīwan in the Unao district of Oudh of the I.G. VI. 13. See also Beames A.S.B.J., for 1884, p. 227.

2 Text Bhata, but B.M.M.S. has Tatta and this is probably the correct reading.

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Mahrattas was ended, he made him Naib (Deputy) Sūbaḥdār of Aurangabad. When after the return of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jah from Upper India there was a disagreement between father and son, and Nāṣir Jang retired to the Khuldābād cemetery (Aurangzeb's cemetery) (Rauẓa) which is two *kos* from the fort of Daulatabad, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz took leave and went off from the Rauẓa to Āṣaf Jāh. He, on perceiving a want of favour, made a pretext to come to Aurangabad, and by letter and message induced Nāṣir Jang to come out of the Rauẓa, so that at last he hasted to Mulhair and collected a force and came against his father in front of Aurangabad, and then there happened what happened. When the business failed, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz went off to Junair. After that, having contrived by various means—the best of which was the clemency [1] and prudence of Āṣaf Jāh—to have his offences forgiven, he secretly wrote and sent verbal messages to the court of Muḥammad Shāh and asked for a *sanad* in his own name for the province of Gujarat, which was in the possession of the Mahrattas. When Āṣaf Jāh had his camp near Trichinopoly, he ('Abdu-l-'Azīz) enlisted many men and proceeded towards the province. The Mahrattas stopped him on the way and a battle took place, and as fate would have it, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz was martyred in 1156,1743. He was a bold man and acquainted with the work of making collections ('amildārī). He had no scruples about getting in money with or without reason. One of his sons was Maḥmūd 'Ālam K., who after his father was made governor of the fort of Junair and stayed there a long time. When the Mahrattas became very powerful, and there was no hope of assistance, he received an estate from the Mahrattas and surrendered the fort to them. At the time of writing he is still alive. Another son was Khidmat Ṭalab K. who was at last made governor of the fort of Naldrug and died. (Q.)

'ABDU-L-'AZIZ KHAN, SHAIKH.

A connection of S. 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf [2] of Burhanpur. As Aurangzeb had many associations with the latter, or rather was devoted

[1] *Cf.* II, 77, nine lines from foot *ḥilm u guzash'*.

[2] Khāfī K. II, 553, etc.

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to him on account of his virtues and piety, the Shaikh recommended 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, and he was enrolled as a servant. In the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh he showed zeal and received one and twenty wounds, and was rewarded with a robe of honour and a horse. When Aurangzeb marched from Agra to Delhi in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz received the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse and the title of Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Raisīn in Malwa. In the 7th year he was summoned to court, and in the same year he was made, on the death of Mīr Bāqir K., faujdār of the Chakla of Sirhind. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Asīr, a dependency of the province of Aurangabad, and in the 20th year when Sīvā Bhonsla got his men up to the top of the fort by means of lassoes, he was active and slew them, and for a long time remained firm there. In the 29th year corresponding to 1096, 1685, he died. After him, his son Abū-l-Khair succeeded him, and in the 33rd year had charge of the fort of Rājgarha. When the Mahratta army[1] sent him a message to evacuate the fort, he became terrified and asked for quarter and came out with his family and necessary effects. The Mahrattas cast aside the agreement and seized whatever property they could get. When this transaction was made known to the emperor, he dismissed Abū-l-Khair and appointed a strict *sazāwal* to see that he went to Mecca. Though his mother made great efforts and obtained a revocation of the order, yet before this came he had already embarked at the port of Surat. On his return he again became an object of favour and received his father's title, and was put in charge of the tomb of Shāh 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf which was in the city of Burhanpur. His son was Muḥammad Nāṣir K. *alias* Miyān Mastī (the mad Miyān), who is serving other people. At last he too has gone to the final lodging. (Q.)

'ABDŪ-L-HĀDĪ KHWĀJA.

Eldest son of Ṣafdar K. Khwāja Qāsim. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he was in the town of Sāronj which was his

[1] Khāfī K. II, 392. On the same page mention is made of 'Abdu-l 'Azīz as a slave who had been brought up by the family of Bairām K. Khān-Khānān and as having been in charge of the fort of the Khaibar.

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father's fief. In the 4th year when Khān Jahān Lodī in concert with Dariyā K. Rohilla hastened from the Deccan to Malwa, and came to that town, he took charge of its protection. Up to the 20th year he had a *mansab* of 900 with 600 horse, and in the 21st year he rose to the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse, and in the 23rd year he had an increase of 200 horse. In the 26th year he went off with Prince Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to take Qandahar. At the time of departure his rank was 2000 with 1000 horse and he had the gift of a khilāt, and a horse with a silvern saddle. In the 27th year he had the distinction of a flag. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066, 1656, he died. His son Khwāja Jāh had in the 30th year the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

'ABDU-L-MAJĪD OF HERAT (ĀṢAF K. KHWĀJA).

He was descended from Shaikh Abū Bakr Tāībādī.[1] When Timur in 782, 1380-1381, conquered Herat which was held by Malik Ghīāṣu-d-dīn, he came to Tāībād and sent to the Shaikh and asked why he did not come to wait upon him. The Shaikh replied, "What have I to do with him?" The Amīr then went in person and said, "Why did you not advise Malik Ghīāṣu-d-dīn?" He replied, "I did advise him, but he did not listen. God has sent you against him, I now advise you to be just. If you do not listen, He will send another against you." The Amīr used to say, "During my Sultanate with whatever darvish I consorted, I perceived that each of them was in his heart thinking about himself, except the Shaikh whom I found separated[2] from himself."

Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Majīd was one of the servants of Humāyūn, and on account of his honesty and skill he was made Diwān at the time of the conquest of India. When the world renewed its youth by the accession of Akbar, the Khwāja was exalted from the diwānī to the rank of commander (sirdārī) and united the sword with the pen. When Akbar proceeded to the Panjab in connection with the affair of Bairām Khān, the Khwāja got the

[1] B. 366. As pointed out by Blochmann, there is an account of Abū Bakr in the Nafḥātu-l-Uns; but it does not tell the story about Timur. See lith. ed., p. 325.

[2] *min khudra dar ḥajāb.*

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title of Āṣaf K. and acquired reputation as governor of Delhi. He received a drum and a flag and an office of 3000. When Fatū K., the slave of Adilī, who had taken possession of Chunār, showed a desire to surrender it, Āṣaf K. in accordance with the king's orders went along with Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and obtained peaceable possession of the fortress. The charge of Sarkār Kara Mānikpūr was made over to him. At that time Ghāzī K. Tanūrī, who was one of the leading Afghan officers, and had for a time served Akbar, absconded and went off with some men to the country of Panah, which was an independent kingdom. There he was in security and set about being seditious. Āṣaf K. in the 7th year conveyed to Rajah Rām Chand, the ruler there, the message that he should become tributary and deliver up the rebels. The Rajah in his presumptuousness joined with those wretches and prepared for war. Āṣaf K. behaved with energy and killed the refugees. The Rajah was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Bāndhū which was the strongest fortress in that country. At last, by agreeing to make submission, and at the intercession of Rajahs who were near Akbar, an order was issued to Āṣaf K. to abstain from attacking the Rajah. Āṣaf therefore withdrew, but as he had acquired much power by his victory he formed the idea of conquering Garha. It was an extensive territory south of Panah and was commonly known as Gondwāna. It was 150 *kos* in length and 80 *kos* in breadth They say that in old times it contained 80,000 villages.

The inhabitants are Gonds, which is a low-caste tribe, and one looked down upon by Hindus. Formerly many Rajahs ruled it, but at this time the power was in the hands of Rānī Durgāvatī. She by her courage, dexterity, and justice had united the whole country. Garha was a great city in that country and Katanga was the name of a village which was subordinate to it. Āṣaf K. ascertained by means of spies the modes of access to the country, and in the 9th year invaded it with 10,000 cavalry. The Rānī, who had not at that time collected her forces, came with a few troops to give battle. She said, "How can I, who have ruled this country so long, think of flying? It is better to die with honour than to live with disgrace." Her officers

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represented that it was a fine thing to resolve upon fighting, but that to cast aside the thread of counsel was not courage. They should strengthen some places until they could collect their army. This was done. When Āṣaf K. took Garha and did not retreat, the Rānī called together her officers and said, "I want war. Whoever desires it, let him come with me. There is no third course. It is a case of victory or death." She turned to fight. When she was told that her son Bīr Sāh had received wounds, she bade them remove him from the battle-field to a safe place, and when she herself was wounded she said to a confidant, "I have been conquered in battle. God forbid that I be conquered in name and fame; do your duty, and put an end to me with a dagger." He had not the courage to do so; and she stabbed herself. Āṣaf K. set off to seize Chūragarha, which was a fort and a capital, and had many buried treasures, and which Bīr Sāh had strengthened. After a struggle in which Bīr Sāh bravely fell, the fort was taken. After this victory, which was the greatest of Aṣaf K.'s achievements, he became possessed of boundless treasures, and grew proud and arrogant. He went astray, and out of 1,000 elephants he sent (only) 200 to H.M. In the 10th year Khān Zamān Shaibānī, in conjunction with the Uzbeg officers in the eastern districts, raised the standard of rebellion and besieged Majnūn K. Qāqshāl in the fort of Mānikpūr. Āṣaf K. came to his assistance with 5,000 cavalry. When Akbar came to that country to put down the rebellion, Āṣaf K. appeared before him, and presented as *peshkash* the rarities of the spoils of Garha, and held a review of his troops. He was again treated with favour and sent to pursue the rebels. But the imperial clerks,[1] who had had a taste of his bribes, out of cupidity and envy, hinted at his accumulation of wealth and his embezzlements, and talebearers exaggerated these remarks and filled Aṣaf K. with fears. On 20 Ṣafr 973, 16 September 1565, he out of vain suspicion took to flight. In the 11th year, when Mahdī Qāsim K. was appointed to the government of Garha, Āṣaf K. left, with many regrets, that country, and with his brother Wazīr K.

[1] Akbarnāmah, II, 256.

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accepted an invitation from the Khān Zamān and joined him in Jaunpūr. On the first interview he perceived the Khān Zamān's tyranny and arrogance and repented of his coming, and when he saw that his cupidity was excited by his possessions he sought an opportunity of leaving him. At this time the Khān Zamān sent him and his (own) brother Bahādur K. against the Afghans, but kept Wazīr K. with himself. Hence both the brothers resolved to fly and went off to Mānikpūr. Bahādur K. pursued them and fought with them. Āṣaf K.'s men were defeated and fled, and he was captured. Suddenly Wazīr K. arrived and learned what had happened. As Bahādur K.'s men were engaged in plundering, Wazīr K. attacked and Bahādur K. fled. He gave a sign to kill Āṣaf K. who was fastened on an elephant. He was struck once or twice, his fingers were cut, and he was wounded on the nose, when Wazīr K. arrived and relieved him. Both brothers in the year 973, 1565-66, came to Kara. Āṣaf K. sent Wazīr K. to Agra to Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in order to obtain pardon through his intervention. Moẓaffar K., who in obedience to a summons went to the Punjab in 974, took Wazīr K. with him and produced him before Akbar in the hunting-field, and interceded for him. An order was given that Āṣaf K. together with Majnūn K. should guard the boundaries in Kara Mānikpūr. In the same year Akbar made a rapid expedition against Khān Zamān and Bahādur K., and slew them. In this battle Āṣaf K. displayed zeal and showed perfect loyalty. In the year 975, 1567, he obtained the pargana of Biāna[1] as his fief in supersession of Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī in order that he might go there and make preparations and act as the advance-force in the matter of Rānā Udai Singh. When in the middle of Rabīu-l-awal of that year, September 1567, Akbar marched from Agra to punish the Rānā, the latter left Jaimal—who was formerly in Mīrtha—in charge of Chitor, and retired to

1 Text pargana Bīāk. B. 368 has read this as Piyag, *i.e.* Allahabad. But the Maaṣir is here copying the T. Akbarī, and that has (see Elliot V, 324) Bīāna, which is on the way from Agra to Chitor. Ḥājī Muḥammad apparently got a fief in Malwa in exchange, A.N. II, 313. Āṣaf and his brother's going on in advance of Akbar's army is referred to in A.N. II, 313.

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the corners of the hills. Āṣaf K. did excellent service in the siege of that fort. Chitor lies on the top of a hill which is nearly a *kos*[1] in height, and this hill is in the midst of an open plain which has no elevation. Its circuit is at the foot six *kos*, and three *kos* where it is walled in. Besides large stone tanks which are filled by rain-water, there are springs high up in it. After 4 months and 7 days the fort was taken on 25 Shābān of the 12th year, 24 February 1568, and the whole Sarkār of Chitor was assigned[2] to Āṣaf K. as his fief.

'ABDU-L-MAṬLIB KHĀN.[3]

Son of Shāh Budāgh K., and one of Akbar's Amīrs of the rank of 2500. At first, he was appointed along with M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain to take Mīrtha, and did good service on that occasion. Afterwards he became one of Akbar's personal attendants. In the 10th year he went with Mir M'uzzu-l-mulk to punish Sikandar K. Uzbeg, and Bahādur K. Shaibānī. When the king's army was defeated and scattered he too took his own road. After that he was sent off with Muḥammad Qulī K. Barlās against Sikandar K. who had made a disturbance in Oudh. After that he for a while lived on his fief in Malwa. When in the 17th year the Malwa officers were ordered to assist the Khān A'ẓim Koka, he came to Gujarat and in the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā bravely engaged in single combats. By orders he came with the Khān A'ẓim Koka and did homage at the time when the king was besieging Surat, and then was allowed to go back to his fief. In

[1] This is taken from the Tabaqāt, see Elliot V, 325; but Niẓāmu-d-dīn must mean that the height, *balandī*, extended for a *kos*, *i.e.*, the ridge was so long, not that the elevation was a *kos*. See account of Chitor in Rājputana Gazetter III, 51. "The fort stands on a long narrow hill.. extreme length of fort from wall to wall 5,735 yards." "The hill averages about 450 ft. above the surrounding country."

[2] A.N. II, 324. The article ends rather abruptly, and, as B. has pointed out, does not mention when 'Abdu-l-Majīd died. B. adds that he must have been dead in 981, 1573-74, as in that year the title of Āṣaf K. was bestowed on another noble. A. F. places him among the holders of 3000. The T.A. adds to its notice of him that he entertained 20,000 horse.

[3] B. 403. 'Abdu-l Maṭallib was the name of Muḥammad's grandfather.

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the 23rd year when Quṭbu-d-dīn K.'s men arrested Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and were bringing him to court from the Deccan, he as a precaution joined them with some Malwa troops. In the 25th year he was appointed along with Ism'aīl Qulī K. to chastise Niyābat K. 'Arab,[1] and displayed zeal and devotion. In the 26th year he was accused[2] of having killed Fatḥ Dost, the son of 'Alī Dost Bārbegī, but after some time was received into favour. In the expedition to Kabul he had command of the left wing. In the 27th year when Akbar went to the eastern districts and came near Kālpī—where 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib had his fief—he at 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's request visited his residence. In the 30th year he went to the south as one of the auxiliaries of the Khān 'Aẓim Koka, and in the 32nd year[3] he went with a large force to punish Jalāla Tārīkī. One day, when Jalāla Tārīkī attacked the men of the rear-guard, though 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib did not mount his horse, the other officers rushed forward and defeated the enemy and slew many of them. But 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib from excessive anxiety and mental disturbance became mad and came to court in a helpless condition. At last he died at his appointed time. Sherzād his son attained to the rank of 500 with 200 horse during Jahangir's time.

'ABDU-N-NABĪ ṢADR. (SHAIKH).

Grandson of S. 'Abdu-l-Quddūs[4] of Gangoh, who was a descendant of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa of Kūfā, and one of the later celebrities of India. He died in the year 944, 1537-38. S. 'Abdu-n-Nabi was the first of his time in literary (naqlīya) sciences, and had a

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1 A.N. III. 328.

2 A.N. III, 354, and also Iqbāl-nāma which tells us that the father of the murdered man declined to prosecute. Fatḥ Dost had just been made a member of the Divine Faith.

3 See A.N. III, 520-521. B. wrongly says it was the son that was attacked. A. F. mentions that the general could not mount his horse, but does not give the reason. Perhaps all that is meant is that he could not get back to the scene of battle. The text of the A. N. spells 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's name as 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib. A.F. says he was sent in as he was insane. He does not say why he became mad. The battle is also described by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. See Elliot V, 456.

4 J. III. 374, where the date of death given is 950, 1543. The Khazīna Aṣfiyā has 945. Apparently 945 is the correct date. Rieu II, 830a XV. For 'Abdullah, see B. 457.

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high place in the science of Ḥadīṯ (tradition). In spite of his great acquirements, he was assiduous in following the practices of the noble order of Chisht. He could so hold his breath that he for the space of a watch (pahār) could without breathing occupy himself in mental utterance (ẕikr qalbī).[1] In the 10th year of Akbar's reign he attained through the influence of Moẓaffar K. the chief diwān, the office of principal Ṣadr [2] of India. In the course of time the chief transactions of State were carried on in accordance with his recommendations. His intimacy with the king became so great that Akbar used to go to his house to hear the Traditions. As at that time Akbar, at the instigation of the Shaikh, showed great zeal in the performance of exemplary acts and the non-performance of what was prohibited, he personally recited the Aẕān (call to prayer) and acted as Imām (leader of the prayers), he even went so far as to sweep the mosque in order to acquire merit. One day on the occasion of the anniversary of the accession,[3] the colour of saffron had been put on the king's clothes. The Shaikh was angry and in open diwān so wielded his staff that it reached the king's skirt and tore it. The king was displeased and went to his mother and complained, saying that the Shaikh should have made his remonstrance in private. Miriam-Makānī said, "My son, don't be vexed. This will be a cause of salvation to you on the last day. Till the day of the Resurrection they will tell how a poor Mullā dealt with the king of the Age, and how the king of happy augury submitted."

As the Shaikh and Makhdūmu-l-mulk every day displeased the king by their censures and bigotry, his heart became alienated from them. Shaikh Faiẓī and Shaikh Abū-l-faẓl perceived this and represented that their science was greater than that of those hypocritical Shaikhs who under the screen of religion (*dīn*) had gathered things of the world (*daniyā*). "If Your Majesty will support us we'll silence them by convincing proofs." Accordingly one day there was food containing saffron [4] on the table-

[1] See account of Zikr in Hughes' Dict. of Islam. Jahangir read the Forty Traditions with 'Abdu-n-nabī.

[2] Badayūnī II. 71.

[3] *Sālgirih*. It may have been the anniversary of the birthday.

[4] Dishes containing saffron are described in the Āīn. B. 59, 60.

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cloth. When 'Abdu-n-nabī partook of it, Abū-l-faẓl said, "Oh Fie, Shaikh, if saffron be licit, why did you make all those strictures on H.M. the Vicar of God, and if it be illicit, why have you partaken of it so that for three days the effects will remain?" There were repeated altercations between them. At last in the 22nd year there was an inquiry into *siyūrġhāl* and other tenures, and it appeared that the Shaikh in spite of his devotion and austerity did not observe the due degrees of moderation and regard to merit. In every province a separate Ṣadr was appointed. And when in the 24th year Akbar had an assembly of 'Ulamā and sages, it was agreed by them that the reigning king "Pādishāh-i-Zamān" was the Imām of the time, and Mujtahid (Doctor) of the world. Whichever of the conflicting opinions of former Doctors he adopted was to be received by mankind; that is to say, in matters of Faith, as to which Mujtahids differed, whatever side His Majesty adopted, for the soothment of the world, and the tranquillity of the men of Islam, was binding upon mankind, and whatever order he might issue which was not contrary to the Law and the *Sunnat*, and was for the good of the people, could not be opposed without incurring loss in this world and in the next. For the rank of a just king was above that of a Mujtahid. A document was drawn up to this effect and it was attested by the seals of 'Abdu-n-nabī, the Makhdūmu-l-mulk Sulṭanpūri, Ghāzī K. Badakshī Ḥakīmu-l-mulk and other 'Ulamā. This [1] took place in the month of Rajab 987, August 1579.

When different statements were made by 'Abdu-n-nabī and Makhdūmu-l-mulk, and it appeared that they were saying that they had been made to attest the document by force and against their will, Akbar, in the same year, made the Shaikh the leader of the caravan and sent him off with a sum of money for the chief men of Mecca, and for the indigent there, and he also dismissed Makhdūmu-l-mulk. In this way he exiled them from his territories, and gave the order that they should always remain there in the practice of devotion and not return unless they were summoned. When the coming of M. Ḥakīm and the rebellion of the officers of Bihar and Bengal caused confusion in India, 'Abdu-n-

[1] B. 186.

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nabī and Makhdūmu-l-mulk—who were watching for such an opportunity—heard exaggerated accounts and resolved to return. In spite of the admonishment of the Shārīf of Mecca, and in opposition to the king's command, they made the voyage, and in the 27th year arrived at Aḥmadabad. Though the Begams of the Harem interceded for them, yet as the rebels renewed their improper language, the Shaikh was sent for, and was imprisoned [1] with great severity on the pretext of his having to render accounts. He was put into the charge of S. Abū-l-faẓl, and he knowing that the king would not question about his murder, secretly had the Shaikh strangled,[2] in consequence of the old enmity, in the year 992, 1584. Or perhaps he died a natural death.

'ABDU-L-QAWĪ (I'TIMĀD K. SHAIKH).

He is famed for his excellency, laudable qualities, piety and orthodoxy. He was long in the service of prince Aurangzeb and was his personal attendant. He[3] was highly honoured and trusted on account of his honesty in speech and act. When Aurangzeb left the Deccan for Agra for the purpose of assuming the sovereignty, he was raised from 900 to a *mansab* of 1500, and was in attendance on Aurangzeb's stirrup at all the battles. After the Accession he attained high office and became an Amīr. In the 4th year he received the title of I'timād Khān, and became a favourite above all his contemporaries. As he advanced in the service and was in the king's confidence and was distinguished for tact, he became more intimate with the king than the other pillars of the empire. They say that he used to sit with the king in private and that his suggestions were listened to and approved of. But he never recommended anybody and kept the gate of liberality closed. On account of his connection with sovereignty and the pride of being the king's teacher he did not pay attention to men, and was very pompous. He was also very bigoted.

[1] Badayūnī. Lowe 321, and also 244.

[2] There is a full account of 'Abdu-n-nabī in the Darbār Akbarī, and in a note at p. 327 it is pointed out that M'ūtamad K. in his Iqbālnāma (Part II) distinctly says that A.F. killed 'Abdu-n-nabī. See also the account in Badayūnī III, 79, where 991 is given as the date of death, but in II. 312 the date is given as 992.

[3] *Cf.* 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 982-83.

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Sa'īdāī [1] Sarmad was a Jew by origin and was regarded as a Rabbī. When he became a Muhammadan he studied under Mīr Abū-l-Q'asim Qandarsakī. He came from Kāshān to Tatta (Scinde) for purposes of trade and there fell in love with a Hindu's son and threw away everything that he had. He did not even cover his private parts. When he came to Delhi, he associated with Dārā Shikoh who had much faith in distracted persons. Afterwards, when the Fates put the reins of power into Aurangzeb's hands, he, who was very strict in religious matters, ordered Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qawī to send for Sarmad, and make him wear clothes. When he was brought, the Mullā said, "Why are you naked?" Sarmad replied, "Satan is powerful," [2] and he recited this quatrain.

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[1] Rieu II, 547*a*, and III, 1089*b*, 'Allah Yār's Ḥadīqatu-l-Aqālīm lith. ed., 109, Bernier II, 124 of ed. 1699, Manucci, translation I, 223 and 384; but the best account of him is in the Dabistān. Cal. lith., p. 298, etc. The author of that work saw him at Haidarabad (in the Deccan) in 1057, 1647. I think the statement that Sarmad was an Armenian is a mistake for Rabānīan, and the meaning is that he was a Rabbi. See Dabistān I (which seems to be the Maaṣir's authority). The word Qanduz in text seems a mistake for Qandarsakī. This is one of the variants, and it is supported by the Dabistan. Sarmad's name was Muḥammad S'aīd, but presumably this name was assumed after he became a Muhammadan. He was put to death in 1071, 1660-61. I have altered the statement in text that Sarmad was reported to be an Armenian. It is Qandarsagī in the Dabistān and in the variant to the text of the Maaṣir, but *qāf* and *fā* only differ by a dot. According to the Burhan Qātī and Vullers II, 693*b*, where Abū-l Qāsim Fandarsagī is mentioned, Fandarsag is a village in the district of Astrabad, on the S.E. coast of the Caspian. But for the statement of Burhān Qātī' one would be inclined to read the word as qandazsagi and to connect it with Abu-l-Qasim of Nīshāpūr and Naṣrabād, about whom a story is told of his giving up the benefit of his forty-five pilgrimages in order to feed a dog. Qandazsag might mean a fox or a dog. See the Ḥadīqa-ul-Iqālīm, p. 398, and the Khazīna Aṣfiyā's notice of Abū-l-Qāsim II, p. 207. It is true that this saint died in 367 A.H., 977-78, but perhaps the passage in the Dabistān only means that Sarmad studied his writings. There is a notice of Sarmad in the Khazīna A. II, p. 352. An Abu-l Qāsim of Andijān in Ferghāna is mentioned as a leading Shaikh and as having come to India in the time of Shah Jahan. See biography of Khwājah 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Maaṣir I, 792. Perhaps it was this Abū-l-Qāsim who was Sarmad's teacher. Apparently Sarmad was still a Jew when the author of the Dabistān met him.

[2] Is there an allusion here to 'Abdu-l-Qawī's name? The words are Shaiṭān Qawīest.

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He is pleased with so debasing me (?),
His evil eye has ta'en the cup from my hand (?),
He lies in wait, and I'm at his beck,
A strange robber[1] has made me naked.

The Mullā and the other lawyers decided that he should be put to death, and the Mullā made this quatrain which denied the Ascension of Muḥammad a reason for this.

Verse.

He who was aided by the Prince of Truth
Was himself wider than the wide heavens.
The Mullā says, "Aḥmad ascended to heaven."
Sarmad says, "Heaven descended to Aḥmad."

The truth is that the main reason for putting him to death was his companionship with Dārā Shikoh, otherwise there were many thousand naked enthusiasts like him in every lane and street.[2]

In short, Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qawī was a very strict censor. In the ninth year, 1077, 1666-67, an unknown Turkoman Calendar killed him with a sword. This event was of a surprising nature. The details are as follows:—When Tarbīyat K. had gone off as ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās the second, he did not perform the duties of the etiquette of an embassy in a proper manner, and made the Shāh, who was of a lunatic disposition, more irritated than ever. The old friendship became clouded over and it came to the leading of armies against one another. At this time Saiyid Amīr Khān, the governor of Kabul arrested some Moghul Turkomans as spies and sent them to court. I'timād was bidden to examine them. He sent for one of these men—who was a Turkoman soldier—and had him brought in to his private room unbound and unchained, and proceeded to examine him. At this time, he, whose daring mind was suffused with ignorance, suddenly moved from his place, and approached a servant, who was keep-

[1] Text *dard* but the MSS. have *dazd* "a thief or robber" and I have adopted this reading.

[2] Ghulām 'Alī Āzād says in the Yad Baiẓa that Sarmad's tomb is near the Jama' Masjid of Delhi.

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ing charge of his weapons outside, and, taking a sword from him, struck the Khān a blow which killed him. The attendants slew him. The deceased Khāfī K. has told the story in a different manner in his history. Although the reliance (*tahaqīq*) which that author—between whom and the writer there was great intimacy—placed upon the Mirātu-l-'Ālam and the 'Ālamgīrnāma[1] is well known, yet as his account[2] was derived by him from the Calendar's companions, and is still more extraordinary (than the current story), it is here set down. It is that the Calendar was one of the professional athletes, *pahlwānān*, and conjurors of Persia. These men by impudence and swagger[3] force money from gentlemen, and then fling it away. This man too had performed wonderful feats in Surat and Burhānpūr. When he came to Delhi in the course of his travels he was received with honour by the Persian Amīrs, and collected together some qalandars. Every day he spent in gardens with music and singing. This became notorious, and some charged him with alchemy and some with thieving and robbery. At last it was represented (to Aurangzeb) that he was a spy of the Shāh. As all knew his courage, the Kotwāl caught him while he was asleep, and conveyed him in chains to the king's presence. I'timād K. was directed to examine him. After examination, although he said that he was a wandering beggar by profession, it was of no avail, and the Mullā used threatening language to him. The doomed man saw that there was no release for him, and said, "If you will assure my safety, I shall tell the truth to the ear of the Nawāb." When he approached, he bent down as if to speak, and though both his hands were bound he quickly seized with his

1 'Ālamgīrnāma 982, Maaṣir A., 57.

2 Khāfī K. II, 203, etc. The text is rather curiously worded. The expression *dar janab* "on the side" or "with regard to" is to me somewhat obscure and some of the MSS. have a different reading, *viz. jinnat* or perhaps *jambat*. I do not think that the writer can mean that Khāfī K. was less trustworthy than the other two writers.

3 *Sargala zadan*, which might mean "striving for pre-eminence," and literally is "acting as head of the herd." The Bib. Ind. ed. of Khāfī K. II, 203, has *sirkalima*, but the true reading seems to be *sirkala-zadan*, which means to butt, or fight with the head and horns like rams or deer. See Bahār-i-'Ajam s.v. Here it seems to mean to extort by threats, to blackmail.

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fingertips a short sword (nīmcha shamsher) which had been left on I'timād's dais (masnad), and so smote him on the head with the scabbard thereof that he was at once slain.[1] The king was much grieved at his death and showed favour to his family and promoted his sons and other relatives to *manṣabs* and showed them other kindnesses.

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM BEG UZBEG.

Brother of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg the guardian of 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. the (eldest) son of Naẓr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh. In the 11th year of Shah Jahan's reign he came[2] from Balkh and did homage. The king gave him a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, and a sword with golden accoutrements and enamelled work, and the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and a sum of Rs. 25,000 in cash. Afterwards[3] he received an increase of 500 with 200 horse and a fief in the province of Bihar, and went off there. After he came there, as owing to the harsh measures of 'Abdullah K. Bahādur, the governor of the province, there was disagreement between him and the governor, he, considering this to be an injury to himself, feigned illness for some days and represented himself as dumb.[4] For a year he entirely refrained from speech, so that even his women did not know what was the matter. When the king heard of this, an order was passed for his coming to court. In the thirteenth year he came[5] and used his tongue. When he mentioned the cause of his dumbness the audience were astonished. As the king was going to Kashmīr this year, he conferred on him the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and directed him to remain in the capital. In the 22nd year he was appointed to accom-

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[1] *bakadū khiyāra gardīd* "made him like a cucumber"(?) The variant is *Ikdu janāza gardīd*. I.O.M.S., No. 628, has *īka janāza gardīd* "he became the same as a corpse." I think there can be no doubt this is the correct reading and that the phrase is an allusion to the inscription on Prince Daniel's gun *bar har ka Khurda tīr-ī tu īka u janāza*, Tūzuk Jahāngīrī, p. 15. "Who'er receives thy ball becomes a corpse." Compare Maaṣir III, 13, last line, where the phrase is repeated. There is an account of 'Abul-l-Qāwī's death in Manucci II, 147.

[2] Pādshahnāma I, Part II, 243.

[3] *id.* 275.

[4] Khāfī K. I, 571.

[5] *id.* 169.

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pany Prince Aurangzeb to Qandahar. From thence he went with Qulīj K. to Bust, and did good service in the battle with the Persians. Consequently, in the 23rd year he attained the rank of 2500 with 1000 horse. In the 24th year he went to Bihar along with J'aafar K. the governor of that province. In the 26th year he went with Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar, and from there he went with Rustum K. to take Bust.

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM [1] OF LUCKNOW. (SHAIKH)

One of the noble Shaikhzādas of Lucknow city. That is a large city in the province of Oudh on the bank of the Gumtī; the tract is called Baiswāra.[2] The Shaikh had the good fortune to enter Akbar's service and by good conduct attained to the rank of 700, which was a high rank in those days. As he was very intimate[3] with Jamal Bakhtiyār—whose sister was one of Akbar's favourite wives—he was led into drinking habits. He became madly addicted to wine-bibbing, and as intoxicants injure the soul and reason, his intellect became clouded, and he shewed signs of folly.

In the 30th [4] year, at the time of returning from Kabul, when the camp was at Sialkot, the Shaikh became deranged in Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ's quarters and wounded himself with the Ḥakīm's dagger. People took it out of his hand, and they sewed up the wound in Akbar's presence. They say the emperor did so with his own hand.

Though experienced physicians considered that the wound was incurable, and it became so bad that after two months he was given up, yet the king always gave him hopes, and when he was yet at the point of death he recovered in a short space of time. Afterwards he died in his native land at the appointed time.

They say he had a Brahman wife who was called Kishnā. That clever woman after the Shaikh's death built houses and

1 B. 470.

2 The country of the Bais tribe of Rajputs. See Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 13.

3 A. N. III, 371. Blochmann, 425, calls the sister the superintendent of Akbar's harem.

4 A. N. III, 470. Badayūnī, Lowe, 359.

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made a garden, a serai, and a tank. She also took villages in farm, and looked after the adornment of the garden in which the Shaikh was buried. Whoever passed by that way—from a *panj-hazārī* to a common soldier—was entertained by her suitably to his rank. And though she became old and blind she did not give up her kindly ways, and for about sixty years she kept her husband's name alive.

Verse.

Not every woman is womanish, or every man manly.

(MĪRZĀ) 'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM KHĀN-KHĀNĀN

son and heir of Bairām K. His mother was of the family of the Khāns of Mewat. When[1] in 961, 1554, Humāyūn became for a second time seated on the throne of India and had established himself at Delhi, he, in order to give assurance and encouragement to the zamindars, instituted marriages with their daughters. When Jamāl K. the cousin of Ḥusain K. of Mewat—who was one of the influential zamindars of India—waited upon Humāyūn, he possessed two daughters. Humāyūn married the eldest, and gave the second to Bairām. On 14 Safr 964, 17 December 1556, in the end of the first year of Akbar's reign, M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was born in Lahore. When his father fell a martyr at the hands of the Afghans in Pattan-Gujarat, 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was four years old. The rioters attacked the Khān's camp. Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna, Bābā Zambūr, and his mother rescued the Mīrzā from that tumult and set off for Aḥmadabad. They fought with the Afghans who followed in the rear and arrived at the city. After four months Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna and some other servants proceeded towards the court with the Mīrzā. In Jalaur an order reached them, summoning the child. In the beginning of the sixth year, 969, 1562, he did homage, and Akbar, in spite of the importunities of evil-speakers and evil-thinkers, perceived in him the marks of nobleness and nourished and cherished him.

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[1] A. N. II, 48. Humāyūn did not reach Delhi till Ramẓān 962, July, 1555, so that the date 961 is wrong.

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When he came to years of discretion he received the title of Mīrzā Khān and was married to Māh Bānū, the sister of the Khān-A'ẓam. In the 21st year he was nominally appointed to the government of Gujarat, while the management of affairs was entrusted to Wazīr K. In the 25th year he was made Mīr 'Arẓī (inspector of petitions). In the 28th year he was made guardian of Prince Sultan Selīm, and in the same year he gained a victory over Sultan Moẓaffar of Gujarat. The details of this are as follows:—Sultan Moẓaffar, in the first Gujarat expedition fell into the hands of the royal servants and was imprisoned. He was sent [1] to Mun'im K. the Khān-Khānān. When Mun'im died, Moẓaffar was sent back to court and was made over to Shāh Manṣūr. In the 23rd year he made his escape and came to Gujarat. He reposed there in the neighbourhood of Jūnāgarh and under the protection of the Kāthīs. The officers regarded him as unimportant and paid no attention to him. When I'timād K. got the government of Gujarat in succession to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, some servants of the late governor became disloyal and raised the head of disturbance. Moẓaffar joined them and became a leader and took possession of Aḥmadabad. Akbar appointed Mīrzā K. with a good force. As there were 40,000 horse with Moẓaffar and the whole of the royal troops was only 10,000, the officers did not advise a battle, and the king also wrote that till Qulīj K. and the other auxiliary officers from Malwa joined, he should not engage. Daulat K. Lodī who was his companion and chief swordsman (Mīr shamsher) said, " At that time you will have partners in victory; if you want to be Khān-Khānān (Lord of Lords), you must win victory alone. 'Tis better to be killed than to live with an unknown name." Mīrzā K. encouraged his companions and made them all keen to fight. A severe engagement took place at Sarkej three *kos* from Aḥmadabad. On every side the heroes contended with one another. Mīrzā Khān was stationed with 300 braves, and 100 elephants, when Moẓaffar came to meet him with 6 or 7000 horse. Some well-wishers seized his rein and wanted to turn him back. Mīrzā K. advanced the foot of boldness, and some of the enemy were slain and many took to

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flight. Moẓaffar, who had been exulting in his arrogance, became confused and fled. He went to Cambay and took goods from the merchants and again raised the head of sedition. Mīrzā K. took with him the Malwa officers who had now arrived, and marched (against Moẓaffar), and several times chastised him (Moẓaffar) Moẓaffar went off to Nadot and there again caused strife. The brave men on both sides fought on foot (*i.e.*, dismounted) and did wondrous things. At last Moẓaffar turned his face from battle and went off to Rajpīpla. Mīrzā K. received from court the rank of Panjhazārī and the high title of Khān-Khānān.

They say that on the day of the Gujarat victory he gave away all that he had. At last, a man came to him and said he had got nothing. A standish had remained over and he gave him that. After he had put the distracted country of Gujarat into order he left Qulīj K. there, and came to court. In the 34th year he presented to Akbar the Memoirs of Bābar—which he had translated from Turkī into Persian—and was much praised. In the same year 998, 1590, he was made Vakīl, and received Jaunpūr in fief. In the 36th year Multan was given him as his fief and he undertook the conquest of Tattah and the territory of Scinde. Shaikh Faiẓī found the chronogram, Qaṣd-i-Tatta (999). "Tatta was the object." When the Khān-Khānān had by skill and rapidity passed by the foot of the fort of Sīhwān which they call Sīviśtān, and got possession of Lakhī—which is the gate of that country,—like Garhī of Bengal, and Bārahmūla of Kashmir,—Mīrzā Jānī the ruler of Tatta—who had come to war—suffered defeat after severe fightings, and in the 37th year proposed terms. The conditions[1] were that he should surrender the fort of Sīhwān—which is on the river Indus—and accept Mīrzā Īrij the son of the Khān-Khānān as a son-in-law, and after the rains go to court. As on account of paucity of provisions the imperial army was also in distress, the Khān-Khānān yielded, and having made over the fort to Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab encamped twenty *kos* from Sīhwān. When the rains came to an end, Mīrzā Jānī made excuses for not

[1] A. N. III, 615.

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proceeding further. The Khān-Khānān was obliged to go to Tattah. The Mīrza (Jānī) came[1] out from the city (Tattah) as far as three *kos*, and tried manœuvres, but all at once the imperial forces were victorious, and Mīrzā Jānī became a suppliant and made over the whole country to the imperialists, and went off with all his family in company of the Khān-Khānān to court. He was received with favour. Mullā Shikebī[2]—who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān—wrote a *maṣnavī* about this victory. This verse is from it.

Verse.

A Humā which was moving over the heavens
You seized and freed from delusion. (*dām*)

The Khan-Khānān gave him a thousand *ashrafis* as a present, and M. Jānī also gave the Mullā a thousand *ashrafis*, and said, "It is by God's mercy that you called me a humā. Had[3] you called me a jackal, who'd have checked your tongue?"

When Sultan Murād at the king's orders set out from Gujarat to conquer the Deccan, he halted in Broach in expectation of the arrival of the auxiliaries. The Khān-Khānān,—who had been appointed to accompany the prince,—made some stay in Bhīlsah, which was his jagir, and then proceeded to Ujjain. The prince was displeased at this and sent him an angry message. He wrote in reply that he was engaged in conciliating Rajah 'Alī K. the ruler of Khandes, and that he was going to bring him with him. The prince became indignant and set off for the Deccan with the troops he had. The Khān-Khānān made over the camp and the park of artillery to M. Shahrukh and went on rapidly along with Rajah 'Alī K. He joined the prince at Candaur thirty *kos* from Ahmadabad. After some time he was admitted to an interview, but no graciousness was shown towards him. The Khān-Khānān became annoyed and withdrew his hand from the work. Though in the

[1] A. N. III, 634.

[2] B. 335n, and 576. Badayūnī III, 253, who styles him Ispahānī. In the Tārīkh Ṭāhirī the poem of Mullā Shikebī is called the Sāqīnāma, and he is said to have been rewarded with a present of Rs. 12,000.

[3] One MS. has *girifta* instead of *gufta* in the first clause. *dām* in the verse also means "a snare."

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end of Rabī'-ul-akhir 1004, end of December 1595, Ahmadnagar was invested, and arrangements were made for erecting batteries and driving mines, yet owing to the prudence and courage of Cānd Bībī Sultan, the sister of Burhān Niẓām Shah and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur, who was defending the fortress in concert with Abhang K. the Abyssinian, and also owing to the treachery of the officers, and their spoiling one another's work, the conquest of the fortress was not one to be easily made.

When the besieged became aware of the discord among the leaders, they proposed a peace to the effect that Bahādur the grandson of Burhān Niẓām Shāh should be brought out of prison and that to this boy should be given the title of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, and that he should be made a servant of the empire. Also that the prosperous territory of Aḥmadnagar should be given to him in fief, and that the territory of Berar should revert to the imperialists. Though men of experience represented the want of food of the besieged and their distress and duplicity, they were not listened to on account of the dissensions. Also at this time it was believed that Suhail K. the eunuch, M'atmadu-d-daula of Bijapur, was approaching to assist the Niẓām Shāh troops, and so peace was made by the intervention of Mīr Murtaẓa, and the army turned away to Bālāpur in Berar. When Suhail K. with the Bijapur army on the right wing, Quṭbu-l-mulkī troops on the left wing, and the Niẓāmu-l-mulk army in the centre became presumptuous and drew up in battle-array, the prince wished to engage them, but the officers disloyally refused to do so. The Khān-Khānān, M. Shahrukh and Rajah 'Alī K. set out from Shāhpūr against the enemy. In the end [1] of Jumāda-al-ākhirī 1005, February 1597, a battle took place near the town of Ashtī, twelve *kos* from Pāthrī. There was a severe engagement, and the ruler of Khandes with five[2] Sardārs and 500 men, who there opposed the 'Adilkhānīs, bravely lost their lives. The enemy thought they were the centre and that M. Shahrukh or the Khān-Khānān was killed, and set about plundering. The Khān-Khānān also routed the force opposed to his own, and in the darkness of the night the hostile forces got

[1] Ferishta has 17 Jamāda-us-sānī.

[2] Thirty-five. A.N. III, 719.

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separated, and halted. Each thought it had gained[1] the victory and spent the night on horseback. At dawn the imperial army, which consisted of 7000 men, as it had spent the whole night with thirst, proceeded hastily to the river. The enemy came forward to meet them with 25,000 horse. Many leaders of the three armies of the enemy were killed.[2] They say that Daulat K. Lodī—who was in the Khān-Khānān's vanguard at the time when Suhail K. had put the elephants and artillery in motion and was advancing—said to the Khān-Khānān, "We are 600 horse in all. To advance in front (of such a force) is to lose ourselves, (yet) I'll[3] attack the enemy's centre." The Khān-Khānān said, "You're losing[4] Delhi." Daulat K. replied, "If we defeat the foe, we shall have made a hundred Delhis, and if we die the work is with God." When he desired to urge on the horse Qāsim Bārha and the Saiyids were beside him. He (Qāsim) said, "We and you are Hindustanis. There is no resource but to die. You should ask the Khān as to what his wish is." Daulat turned round and said to the Khān-Khānān, "There is a great force in front of us, and victory depends on heaven. Tell us where we shall find you if you are defeated." The Khān-Khānān said, "Under the corpses." Daulat K. and the Saiyids penetrated by the centre (*kamargāh*) and drove off the enemy. In a short time Suhail took to flight. They say that on that day the Khān-Khānān had with him 75 lacs of rupees. He gave[5] them all away, and only two camel-loads remained. In spite of so great a victory affairs did not go on well. The Khān-Khānān was summoned to court, and he did homage in the 43rd year. His wife Māh Bānū[6] died in this year.

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1 B. 336. "Each party believing itself victorious." The original is *gumān fīruzī bakhud barda*, and it would seem better sense if the meaning were "each party doubting if it had gained the victory." But see account in Ferishta.

2 Akbarnama III, 719.

3 A. The meaning seems to be, "We shall all be killed but yet I'll attack the centre." See Darbār Akbarī, 618, line 11.

4 The Darbār Akbarī, p. 613, says that the Khān Khānān was much attached to Delhi and used to remark, "If I am to die, I'll die in Delhi."

5 *Lit.* He gave them all away to be scrambled for. *Hamara ighmāī sākht.* See Darbārī Akbarī, 619.

6 She died at Umballa in 1007, December 1598.

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When Akbar consulted the Khān-Khānān about the affairs of the Deccan, he recommended the recall of the prince, and the giving the control of matters to himself. The king did not approve of this and was displeased with him. When Prince Murād died and Sultan Daniel was sent to the Deccan in the 44th year and Akbar resolved to go there himself, the Khān-Khānān was again received into favour and sent to the prince. In the end of Shawāl of the 45th year, 1008, May 1600, the prince in company with the Khān-Khānān besieged the fort of Aḥmadnagar. On every side great efforts were made. Cānd Bībī proposed an agreement, and Cīta [1] K. the eunuch rebelled against this view, and in concert with some wicked people put that noble lady to death. Guns were discharged from the fort, and hostilities were renewed. After thirty yards of the wall had been blown up by a mine, the besiegers entered by the Lailī [2] bastion and put many to the sword. Bahādur the son of Ibrāhīm —whom they had made the Niẓām Shāh—was made prisoner. The fort was taken after a siege of four months and four days. The Khān-Khānān took Niẓām Shāh and presented himself before Akbar in Burhanpur. At the time of the king's return to the capital he gave Khandes the name of Dandes and made it over to Prince Daniel, and gave Jānā Begam the Khān-Khānān's daughter in marriage to that prince. He sent the Khān-Khānān to chastise R'ajū Manā who had set up the son of Shāh 'Alī, the uncle of Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh, as ruler and was stirring up strife. After the death of Akbar a great breach occurred in the Deccan. In the third year of Jahangir 1017, 1609, the Khān-Khānān came to court and undertook [3] that if in addition to the troops already assigned to him 12,000 cavalry were given him, he would finish the affairs of the Deccan in two years. Accordingly, he immediately was given leave to go to the Deccan. Prince Parvez under the guardianship of Āṣaf K. J'āfar, the Amīru-l-umarā Sharīf Khān, Rajah Mān Singh Kachwāha and Khān Jahān Lodī, were appointed one after the other to assist him. When it appeared

[1] Or Jītā. A. F. III, 774, has Ḥabsha Khān. See B. 336. The Lucknow edition of A. F. has Jītā.

[2] Text Balbalī, but see A. N. III, 775.

[3] Elliot VI, 318, and Tūzuk J. 71.

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that the Khān-Khānān had in the height of the rains taken the prince from Burhanpur to the Bālāghāt (the Highlands), and that on account of the discord among the chiefs plans had been neglected, and that the army had been reduced to great straits by the scarcity of corn and the deaths of the quadrupeds, and that the Khān-Khānān had been compelled to make a dishonourable peace, and such as was unworthy of the empire, with the enemy, and then had returned, the affairs of the Deccan were made over to Khān Jahān, and Mahābat K. was sent to recall the veteran general.

When he came to court in the 5th year, he obtained leave to to go to his fiefs in Kālpī and Qanauj in order that he might put down disturbers in that quarter. In the 7th year when a severe defeat happened in the Deccan to 'Abdullah K. (Fīrūz Jang), and the work did not make progress under Khān Jahān, it was perceived to be necessary to send the Khān-Khānān, and so he was despatched there with Khwāja Abū-l-Ḥasan. As on this occasion also, in spite of the presence of Prince Parvez and of leading officers, the work did not take proper form, Jahangir in the 11th year, 1025, 1616, sent off Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) to the Deccan, and gave him the title of Shāh—which no prince had had since the days of Ṣāḥib Qirān (Timur),—and himself in Muḥarram 1026, January 1617, came to Malwa, and took up his abode in Māndū. The prince made Burhanpur his headquarters, and sent capable men to the rulers of the Deccan, and at the same time took in marriage, by Jahangir's orders, the daughter of Shāh Newāz K. the son of the Khān-Khānān. After the arrival of Shah Jahan's envoys, 'Ādil Shāh sent as a present 50 elephants as well as cash and jewels to the value of 15 lacs of rupees, and shewed marks of servitude and obedience. Accordingly, at the request of the prince, he was distinguished by the title of *farzand* (son), and Jahangir with his own hand wrote [1] this impromptu verse at the beginning of the firmān.

Verse.

At Shah Kharram's instance thou'rt become
Famous the world o'er as our son.

1 Khāfī K. 1, 704.

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Quṭbu-l-mulk also sent presents of the same value and was treated with favour. Malik 'Ambar also placed the head of service within the cord of obedience, and made over the keys of the fort of Aḥmadnagar and of other forts, as well as the parganas of the Bālāghāt, of which he had taken possession.

When the prince was satisfied about the arrangements for the Deccan, he made over the government of Khandes, Berar and Aḥmadnagar to the Sipahasālār (the Khān-Khānān), and appointed Shāh Newāz K., the eldest son of the latter, to manage the conquered parts of the Bālāghāt, and assigned every estate in fief to the officers of the contingents and left 30,000 horse and 7,000 musketeers,[1] and in the 12th year waited on his father in Māndū. At the time of the interview Jahangir involuntarily rose up and went two or three steps to welcome the prince. He gave him the rank of 30,000 with 20,000 horse and the title of Shah Jahan and the right of sitting on a chair near the throne, which was a special favour and was not the custom of the dynasty from the time of Amīr Timur. Jahangir himself came down from the *jharoka* and poured a small tray of jewels and a trayful of gold on his son's head. When in the 15th year Malik 'Ambar broke his agreement, and the oppression of his banditti (bargīān,[2] perhaps Mahrattas) made the imperial thānadārs quit their posts, so that Dārā M. returned from the Bālāghāt and came to Bālāpur, and then too could not maintain himself but came to Burhanpur and was besieged there along with his father, Prince Shah Jahan received a kror of rupees for expenses of the expedition and a present of ten krors of *dāms* from the conquered territories and was hastily sent off a second time.

They say that when petition after petition from him (the Khān-Khānān) were produced before the king to the effect that he was in a difficult position and he had determined to follow the custom of *johar* (immolation of self and family, literally "life-

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[1] *topcī*. The word is clearly used in Iqbālnāma 271, line 2, for musketeers. They represented the infantry.

[2] Bargī is the name often applied to a Mahratta, and in Captain James Kerr's History of the Mahrattas, London, 1783, it is stated that Malik 'Ambar was at one time in league with the Mahrattas.

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abandonment''), Jahangir said to the Prince that as Akbar[1] had by a hurried march rescued the Khān 'Aẓam when besieged by the Gujaratis, he should now rescue the Khān-Khanān from his dangerous position. When the Deccanis heard of the coming of Shah (Shah Jahan) they dispersed. The Prince reached Burhanpur and again undertook the administration of the Deccan.

When in the 17th year Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī advanced to besiege Qandahar, the Prince was recalled as quickly as possible. He brought the Khān-Khānān with him. Meantime things took another turn, and by the machinations of foolish persons a household quarrel of such a grave character arose that no thought was given to the commotion of foreigners. The Prince was obliged to return with the Khān-Khānān and to take up his abode at Māndū. Jahangir, at the instigation of Nūr Jahān Begam, appointed Sultan Parvez with Mahābat K. as commander-in-chief. After the treachery of Rustum K.,—whom the prince had sent to encounter the imperial army,—Shah Jahan crossed the Narbada with the Khān-Khānān, and after leaving Bairam Beg Bakhshī to watch the river, proceeded to Burhanpur. At this time a letter of the Khān-Khānan's which he had secretly written to Mahābat K., and which had this verse on the margin, came under the prince's observation—

Verse.

A hundred persons are watching me
Otherwise I'd fly from discomfort.

He sent for the Khān-Khānān and showed it to him. He had no excuse that could be listened to. Accordingly, he and his son Dārāb K. were put under surveillance. When the prince was passing by Asīr he made father and son over to Saiyid Mozaffar K. Bārha and sent them to the fort. Inasmuch as the imprisonment of the innocent Dārāb K. was unjust, and he did not approve of letting him go and keeping the father, he sent for them both and let them go after taking promises from them. When Mahābat K. came with Sultan Parvez to the bank of the

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1 Khāfī K. I. 305.

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Narbada and saw that Bairam Beg had taken off the boats to the other side and blocked the ferries with guns and muskets, he had recourse to fraud, and secretly sent a letter to the Khān-Khanān and led away that old and experienced man. The Khān-Khānān wrote to the prince that the heavens were unpropitious. If he made a truce for some days the servants would certainly obtain repose. The prince, who was always desirous to compose disputes, regarded this occurrence as a great gain, and called the Khān-Khānān to a private interview. Again he took an oath from him on the holy book, and when satisfied about this, let him go, in order that he might stay on this side of the Narbada and do what was right for both parties. As by the arrival of the Khān-Khānān and the rumours of peace there had come to be slackness in the guarding of the ferries, Mahābat K.—who was awaiting his opportunity—caused a number of active young men to cross over the river at night. The Khān-Khānān was deceived by the false letters of Sultan Parvez and Mahābat Khan, and from love of the world behaved disloyally and forgot his recent oaths and joined Mahābat K. The prince was helpless and did not think it right to remain in Burhanpur and went off to Bengal by the route of Telingāna. Mahābat K. came to Burhanpur, and having joined with Khān-Khānān crossed the Taptī and pursued Shah Jahan for some way. The Khān-Khānān wrote to Rajah Bhīm (son of the Rānā of Udaipur), who was one of Shah Jahan's officers, that if the prince would release his sons he would contrive to turn back the imperial troops. Otherwise affairs would become difficult. Rajah Bhīm wrote in reply that they had still five or six thousand devoted followers, and that whenever he approached, his sons would be put to death, and he himself would be attacked, After the Prince had settled the affairs of Bengal he proceeded to Bihar and released Dārāb K. and made him governor of the province (Bengal). Mahābat K., at the time when he proceeded to Allahabad to oppose the Prince, kept the Khān-Khānān under surveillance, as he doubted him on account of his trickery and duplicity. In the 20th year Jahangir summoned him to the Presence from being with (*i.e.*, from being under the charge of Mahābat) Mahābat K., and forgave him. He himself apologised,

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saying, "All this has been the result of fate. It was not in your or our power, and I feel more ashamed than you." He gave him a lac of rupees and confirmed him in his rank and title, and the jagir of Malkūsah.[1] The old man who, from love to the world had given name and fame to the winds, engraved this verse on his ring—

Verse.

By the help of God, the kindness of Jahangir
Has[2] twice given me life and twice the Khān-Khānānī.

Mahābat K. apologised when he was summoned to court, and did not fail to provide him with equipages and strove to remove the cloud from his mind. As it happened, the Khān-Khānān had taken leave to go to his *jagir* and had halted in Lahore, when Mahābat K. turned back and came to Lahore to see the king. The Khān-Khānān made no inquiries after his health, and Mahābat K. was disgusted at his want of courtesy, and when he was dominant at the bank of the Jhelam he appointed men to make him go back (from Lahore). The Khān-Khānān cast anchor in Delhi. At the same time the juggling heavens played another trick. At the time of the king's returning from Kabul, Mahābat K. became a vagabond. Nūr Jahān Begam summoned the Khān-Khānān and appointed him to follow Mahābat with an army. She presented him from her own stores with twelve lacs of rupees, with elephants, horses and camels. She also assigned to him Mahābat Khān's fief. But life did not give him time. He fell ill in Lahore, and came to Delhi and died there at the age of 72 in 1036, 1627, at the end of the 21st year of Jahangir. The chronogram is Khān Sipahsālār ko, "Where's the Khān Commander-in-chief?" (1036). He was buried near Humāyūn's tomb.

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1 Malkousah of Supp. Glossary. II. 90. It was in Qanauj, J. II. 184. There is an account of the Khān-Khānān's interview with Jahangir in Kāmgār Husāinī. B.M.M.S.—Or. 171, p. 187a. It occurred in the 20th year. See also Tūzuk J., p. 398. But the expression of Jahangir that he felt more shame than did the Khān-Khānān occurs in the annals of the 10th year Tūzuk, 141. Apparently the author of the Maasir has mixed up the two incidents.

2 Referring to his having been twice forgiven. Tūzuk 141 and 398.

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The Khān-Khānān was in respect of ability the unique of the age. He was versed in Arabic, Persian, Turkī and Hindī. He understood poetry well, and wrote it. Raḥīm was his *takhallaṣ*. They say that he could converse in most of the languages of the world. His liberality and magnanimity are proverbial in India. Some extraordinary stories are told of him. They say that one day he was signing *barāts* (orders on the Treasury). On the warrant [1] (*barāt*) for a foot-soldier (*piāda*) he had signed for a thousand rupees instead of for a thousand *tankas* (pice), and he did not alter it. He several times weighed poets against gold when giving a present. One day Mullā Naẓīrī [2] (B. 579) said: "How big a heap is a lac of rupees? I have never seen it." The Khān-Khānān ordered the amount to be brought from the treasury. When they had brought it together, the Mullā said: "Thank God that by means of my Nawāb I have seen so much coin." He ordered all to be given to the Mullā, so that he might now give thanks to God. He continually, both openly and secretly, gave large sums to dervishes and to learned men, and yearly sent money to people at a distance. The gatherings of men eminent in every science in his time were like the time of Sultan Husain K. and Mīr 'Alī Shīr.

In fine, he was in courage, generosity, and political skill the greatest man of the age. But he was malevolent, worldly and time-serving to a very great extent. His favourite saying (bārgīr kalāmash, "The burden of his song") was, "Enmity to an enemy should come out under the guise of friendship." This stanza was composed about him—

Verse. [3]

A span in height and a hundred twists in the heart,
A tiny handful of bones, and a hundred frauds.

[1] For *barāt* see Irvine A. of M. 56. It was an order on the Treasury for payment. A *tanka* here probably means the same thing as a *dām*, viz., $\frac{1}{40}$th of a rupee.

[2] See Khazāna 'Amirā, page 437, where it is said that the story is told in the Ẓakhīra-ul-Khwānīn. Naẓīrī died in Ahmadadad in 1021, 1612.

[3] It would appear from this couplet that the Khān-Khānān was small of stature. There is a play on the word *girih* in the first line, as it means both a knot or twist, and a cubit. There is also a play on the word *ishkil* in the second line which means frauds, and also may mean 'figures' (*iskhāl*).

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He served in the Deccan at intervals for thirty years. Whenever any of the princes or officers came as his auxiliaries they saw the obedience and loyalty of the Deccan princes to him, and ascribed to him hypocrisy and sedition. So much was this the case that S. Abū-l-faẓl frequently gave judgment (fatwa) against him as a rebel. In the reign of Jahangir he was suspected of friendship for Malik 'Ambar, and so was dismissed. Muhammad M'aṣūm[1] a confidential servant of his became unfaithful to him and denounced him to the king, saying that the correspondence of Malik 'Ambar was with Shaikh 'Abdu-s-Salām, of Lucknow, who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān. Mahābat K. was ordered to inquire into the matter. He tortured the poor man, who died without opening his lips.

The Khān-Khānān was one of the great officers of the Sultanate. His name is perpetuated in the writings of the period. In Akbar's time he did great deeds. Among them there are three conspicuous ones,—the victory of Gujarāt, the conquest of Scinde, and the defeat of Suhail K., of Bijapur. These have been described at length in their place. With all his wisdom and ability he had to endure mortifications. He did not withhold his hand from the love of splendour. They say that he had a great avidity for court-news, so that every day two or three persons sent him journals by relays of couriers. There were spies appointed in the court-houses, and offices and terraces (cabūtra), and even in the market-places and streets, who wrote every popular rumour. In the evening he read them all and then burnt them. They say that many things were in those days peculiar to his family,—for instance, the feathers of the humā which no one wore except princes.

Though his father was an Imāmīya in religion he professed to be a Sunnī. But people suspected him of reserve (taqīya). But his sons were bigoted Sunnīs. He had other sons besides Shāh Newāz K. and Dārāb K. One was M. Raḥmān Dād, whose mother belonged to the Saudha tribe of 'Amarkot. In his youth

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1 M'aṣūm is mentioned in the Tūzuk J. 81 as being 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm's vakīl and as having brought to Jahangir on his behalf a valuable copy of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha.

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he was adorned with splendid qualities, and his father loved him much. He died in Mahkar [1] about the same time as Shāh Newāz K. (*i.e.*, M. Īrij) passed away. No one had the courage to report it to the father. At the request of the ladies, Ḥaẓrat Shāh 'Īsā, of Scinde—may his grave be holy—came to the house of the Khān-Khānān and condoled with him and comforted him. Another son was Mīrzā 'Amr Ullah, who was the offspring of a slave-girl. He remained without education and died young.

The best of the Khān-Khān's servants was Mīyān Fahīm. Though it was reported that he was a slave he was really a Rajput by descent. He was brought up like his son and possessed great ability and steadfastness. To his last breath he never failed in the night prayer, the forenoon prayer, and the prayer at sunrise. He loved dervishes. He ate with the soldiers like a brother, but he was of a hot disposition. The sound of the whip was ever loud.

They say that one day he saw that Rajah Bikramājit [2] Shah-Jahānī was reclining beside Dārāb K. on the same sofa. He abused him and said: "Does a brahman like you sit alongside of the grandson of Bairām K. Would that this one (Dārāb) had died instead of M. Īrij." Both of them made excuses. When at last the Khān-Khānān's disposition had became alienated from him, he was brought to account about the faujdārī of Sarkār Bījāgarh. He behaved very rudely to the Nawāb and slapped the face of Ḥāfiẓ Naṣr Ulla who was the Diwān, and then left the city. They say that the Khān-Khānān went himself at midnight and brought him back. He was proverbial for courage and rash daring. When Mahābat K. was planning the imprisonment of the Khān-Khānān, he in the first place wanted to seduce Fahīm by the bribe of high rank and other promises. He did not agree. Mahābat K. said: "How long will you plume yourself upon your soldiering?" Though Fahīm said to the Khān-Khānān that fraud and deceit

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[1] Sarkār Mahkar in Berar. J. II. 230, 237. The Tūzuk 315 says he died in Bālāpūr. I do not know why B. says (339) he was dissolute. Can he have read *khabīsat* for *haiṣiyat*? The Tūzuk gives him a high character and describes him as dying under heroic circumstances. He died at Bālāpūr.

[2] Rajah Rai Rayān Sūnar Dās. He was a brahman. See Maaṣir II. 183.

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were being practised, and that he should be on his guard against falling into disgrace and contempt; he should arm himself and be ready to go to the Presence; the Khān-Khanān did not agree. When he was put under arrest, Mahābat K. previously sent the king's men against Fahīm. Fahim said to his son Fīrūz K.: 'Watch the men for some time until I have performed my ablutions and said two prayers in peace." After finishing them he with his son and forty of his servants gave up their lives for honour.[1]

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM KHĀN.

Fifth son of Islām K. of Mashhad. After his father's death he received a suitable rank, and in the 30th year of Shah Jahan was made superintendent of the pages (*darogha-i-khwāṣṣān*). In the second year of Aurangzeb he had the title of Khān, and in succession to Himma K. Badakhshī was made darogha of the *ghusal-khana*. In the 23rd year he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Bahramand K., and in the 24th year he was removed from this post and made third bakhshi and received a jade inkstand In the 25th year corresponding to 1092, 1681, he died.

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM KHĀN (KHWĀJA).

His ancestors belonged to Andījañ in the country of Ferghaña (Kokhand). His father Abū-l-Ḥāsim was one of the leading Shaikhs of that country, and in the reign of Shah Jahan came to India. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was in his youth a favourite of Dārā Shikoh. After the accession of Aurangzeb he obtained service with him, and as he was observant of the Law he acquired consideration and received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year he was appointed to the chamberlainship (*ḥajābat*)[2] of Bijapur, and on returning from there he received the present of an elephant. In the 32nd year he was appointed, in succession to

1 B. 338-339. See Darbārī A 646. The Darbārī A. says his name is still proverbial in India for courage.

2 Maasir A. 228 and 255. Apparently hajābat here and in other places means being sent as an envoy. Bijapur had not been conquered then. In the 20th year we find 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm taking part in the conversion of two Hindu boys. Maasir A., p. 273. For other notices of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm see also pp. 312, 335 and 349.

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Muḥsin K., to the charge of the Biyūtāt (household matters). When in the 33rd year the fort of Rāhīrī was taken he was appointed to take possession of the effects there. Afterwards, on the death of M'utamid K., he was appointed also superintendent of the branding and the verification [1] (*dāgh u taṣḥīḥa*). In the 36th year corresponding to 1103, 1692, he died. He had several sons. The second son was Mīr N'aamān K., and his son Mīr 'Abdu-l-Mannān came to the Deccan and was for a time a servant in the household of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. At last he confined himself to his house. He composed poetry, and his pen-name was 'Itrat (a ball of scent). This verse is his :

Verse.

How shall I tame thy wild-deer eyes,
Haply I may make the knots of my heart a net for thee.

The eldest of his ('Abdu-l-Mannān's) sons was M'utamidu-d-daula Bahādur Sirdār Jang. He was Ṣalābat Jang's diwān, and died in 1188, 1774-75. His second son Mīr N'aamān K. was killed in a Mahratta battle in the time of Ṣalābat Jang. The third Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir died of disease in his youth. The fourth, Aḥsanu-d-daula Bahādur Sharza Jang, and fifth, Mafawwaẓ Ullah K. Bahādur Jang Īkatāz, are still alive, and are friends of the writer.

'ABDU-R-RAḤMĀN, AFẒAL KHĀN.

He is the son of Āllāmī Fahāmī (the very learned) Shaikh Abū-l-faẓl. He was brought up in his father's service. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign the brother's daughter of S'aādat Yār Koka was given to him in marriage. When a son was born, the king gave him the name of Bishotan, which was the name of Isfandyār's brother who was one of the heroes of Persia. At the time when S. Abū-l-faẓl was commander-in-chief in the Deccan, Ābdu-r-Raḥmān was the "arrow at the mouth of the Shaikh's quiver." Whenever there was any work to be done, and wherever there was an urgency, the Shaikh sent off 'Abdu-r-Rahmān there, and he by courage and smartness accomplished the task. In the 46th year

[1] B. 250, n. 3, who says it is "life-certificate" : see Irvine 46 and 53.

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when Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian captured 'Ālī Mardān Bahādur the governor of Telingāna in battle, and took possession of that country, the Shaikh sent[1] him from the bank of the Godavery with a brave army in that direction. He also sent Sher Khwāja, who was in Pāthrī,[2] to help him. S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān in conjunction with Sher Khwāja crossed the Godavery near Nander, (Nandair of I. G.) and engaged Malik 'Ambar near the river Manjara and obtained a victory.[3] Certainly S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was by skill and bravery the fortune (rozgār) of the Shaikh (A. F.). In spite of the feelings which he on account of his father entertained towards Jahangir he served the latter well and was favoured by him. He received the title of Afẓal K. and the rank of 2000. In the third year he was promoted by an increase of rank and by being appointed to the charge of Bihar and Patna in the room of Islām K. (A. F.'s brother-in-law). As Gorakhpur, which is 60 *kos* from Patna, was given to him in fief, he left S. Husāin Banarasī and Ghiyāṣ Beg, who were the *bakhshī* and the *diwān* of the province, in charge, along with a number of other officers, and went off to Gorakhpūr. By chance an unknown man by name Quṭb[4] from Ūch came to the country of Ujaina (Bhojpūr), which is near Patna, in the disguise of a dervish and gave himself out as Sultan Khusrau and enticed the seditious there by various devices, and got them to join him. In a short time he collected a force and proceeded on the wings of swiftness to Patna and entered the fort. S. Banarasī was too bewildered to make the fort secure. Together with Ghiyāṣ Beg he got out by a window on to a boat and fled. The rebels took possession of the Afẓal K.'s goods and of the royal treasure, and after proclaiming the administration of justice set about collecting men. As soon as Afẓal K. heard the news he

1 A.N. III. 789.

2 Patri of the maps, W. Nandair.

3 A.N. III. 791, but the fruits of the victory were soon lost. See l. c. 796.

4 See Elliot VI, 321, and Tūzuk J. 83, 84, and B. XXXV, XXXVI. The affair occurred on 4 Ṣafr 1018, 18 April 1610. Bishotan the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān died in 15th year of Shah Jahan's reign. B. XXXVI. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān died in 1613. Though Gorakhpūr is the name given here and in the Tūzuk as the fief of 'Abdu-r-Raḥman, I believe that it should be Kharakpūr, for it was that place which was given him as fief.

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hastened to punish the rioters. The impostor strengthened the fort and prepared for battle on the banks of the Pun-Pun. After a short struggle his troops were dispersed, and he came to the fort a second time. Afẓal K. followed close at his heels and entered the fort. The impostor after causing the deaths of some people was captured and executed. When Jahangir heard of the affair, he issued [1] an order that the bakhshi and dīwan and the other officers who had shown slackness in protecting the city should have their heads and beards shaved, be clothed in women's head-dress (*m'ijar*) and be placed on donkeys with their faces to the tail and sent off to court Also that they should be pilloried in the cities and towns on the road, so that they might be a warning to other cowards and short-sighted men. At the same time Afẓal K. was attacked by a sudden illness and was summoned to court. After he had paid his respects he suffered from an abscess for a long time and died in the 8th year.

'ABDU-R-RAḤMĀN SULTAN.

Sixth son of Naẓr Muḥammad K. In the 19th year of Shah Jahan Prince Murād Bakhsh went with a large army and—after Naẓr Muḥammad K. with his two sons Subḥān Qulī and Qutlaq Muḥammad had fled—took possession of Balkh; he summoned Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the sons of Naẓr Muḥammad, and his grandson Rustum, who was the son of Khusrau, and made [2] them over to Lohrāsp K. In the 20th year S'aīd Ullah K., who, after the resignation of the Prince, had been appointed to settle the country, sent in accordance with orders all three to court along with Rajah Bethal Dās and others. On their arrival the Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr Saiyid Jalāl received them at the *Khiyābān* (avenue) and brought them into the Presence. The king presented Bahrām with a robe of honour, a *cārqab* sewn with gold, a jīgha (turban-ornament), and a decorated dagger, a *phūl* kaṭāra, and conferred on him the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse, and two horses with golden saddles, ten [3] *taqūz* (nine pieces) of cloth and a lac of *shāhīs*, which

1 Khāfī K. I. 261. This punishment was witnessed by Hawkins. Hawkins' Voyages, Hakluyt Society, 1878, p. 434.

2 Pādshāhnāma II. 541.

3 B. 364, note 2. qu. 90 pieces.

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amount to Rs. 25,000. To 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān he gave a robe, a jīgha, a decorated dagger, a horse with golden trappings, and five *taqūz* (nine pieces) (45?) of cloth. To Rustum he gave a robe of honour and a horse. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, who was the youngest of the brothers, had a daily allowance of Rs. 100 and was made over to Dārā Shikoh.

The Begam Sāḥib (Shah Jahan's eldest daughter) sent for the Khān's (Naẓr Muḥammad) wives and soothed and comforted them in various ways. Afterwards, at various times he received presents of horses, elephants, and cash. When Balkh was given back to Naẓr Muḥammad, he, after various disturbances with the Uzbegs and Almānān, and after putting them down and acquiring a settled power, moved the king for the return of his sons and their connections (wives, etc.). Inasmuch as Khusrau had been on bad terms with his father before the taking of Balkh and Badakhshan and had come to the Presence, he was neither sent for by his father nor was he willing to go to him. Bahrām, too, would not turn away from the pleasures of India. In the 23rd year 'Abdu-r-Raḥman received a robe of honour, a decorated jīgha, a sword and dagger, and a shield with ornamented armour, and two horses with gilded saddles and Rs. 30,000 in cash, and went off with his father's ambassador Yādgār Chūlāq. When he came to his father, the latter gave him the territory of Ghorī. Subḥān Qulī the fourth son was displeased and came to Balkh with 1000 cavalry and put the Khān into difficulty, so that he was obliged to recall 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān was going back when the Qalmāqs—who were on good terms with Subḥān Quli—blocked the road, made him prisoner and took him before Subḥān Quli. He imprisoned him, but 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān won over his guards and in the 24th year arrived at court and was given a robe of honour, a decorated jīgha, a *phūl katāra*, and the rank 4000 with 500 horse, a horse with gilded saddle, an elephant, and Rs. 20,000 in cash. In the 25th year, when news came of the death of Naẓr Muḥammad K., Khūsrau, Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥman his sons received mourning dresses. In the 26th year, when he showed improper conduct, the king grew displeased with him and sent him to Bengal. After Aurangzeb sate on the throne, he was in the army-centre in the battle with Shujā'

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(and on his side). When Shuja' fled, he joined the king. Up to 13th year he and Bahrām were alive and occasionally received presents in cash and horses and elephants from the king.

'ABDU-R-RAZZĀQ K. LĀRI.

At first he was servant of Abū-l-Ḥasan K. ruler of Haidarabad, and had the title of Muṣṭafa K. When Aurangzeb in the 29th year of his reign invested the fort of Golconda where Abū-l-Ḥasan had taken refuge, most of the servants of the latter owing to the necessity of the time turned to Aurangzeb and received high posts and titles. But 'Abdu-r-Razzāq was faithful to his salt, and continually sallied from the fort and attacked the batteries, and never spared himself. A royal firmān holding out hopes to him, which was sent in order to conciliate him, was rejected by him on account of his loyalty, and he tore [1] it in pieces with expressions of disgust. One night when the king's officers, in concert with some of the garrison, entered the fort, and there was a great uproar, he without stopping to gird up his loins, got upon a horse with a *chārjāma* (a saddle-cloth, a saddle without a tree) and a sword and shield, and with some 10 or 12 followers rushed [2] to the gate. When the royal troops had negotiated the gate of the city-wall and were advancing to the citadel like a flood of evil, 'Abdū-r-Razzāq met them and smote with his sword every one who approached. He was wounded by the imperial troops and had twelve wounds on his face, till at last the skin of his forehead covered his eyes, and his horse carried him off to under a (cocoanut) [3] tree near the citadel. Someone recognised him and had compassion on him and took him to his house. When the occurrence became known to the officers, and by them was told to the king, he approved of his loyalty and sent surgeons [4] to him.

They say that when a hope of his recovery was reported to Aurangzeb, he sent him a message that he should send his sons for service and that he himself too would obtain service. He after

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[1] Khāfī K. II. 360.
[2] Do. 362.
[3] Do. 363. and Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzeb, pp. 185-87.
[4] "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khāfī K. 366.

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returning thanks said [1] that though his tough existence had not come to an end, yet he was wounded hand and foot and could not serve. Even if he could serve, one whose flesh and skin (gosht u post) had been nourished by Abū-l-Ḥasan's salt could not serve King 'Ālamgīr. The king's countenance showed displeasure at this reply, but from a feeling of justice he ordered that when he had quite recovered, his condition should he reported. When he had recovered, an order was sent to the governor of Haidarabad that he should comfort him and send him to the Presence. As he again refused, an order was given to send him as a prisoner. Khān Fīrūz [2] Jang interceded for him and summoned him before himself. He kept him for some time with him and brought him round. In the 38th year he received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was enrolled among the servants, and received the title of Khān, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made faujdār of Rahīrī. In the 40th year he acquired renown as faujdār [3] of the Konkan 'Ādil Shāhī', which is on the sea-shore and near the port of Goa. Afterwards, he by urgency obtained leave to go to Mecca, and set off. After coming to his home in Lār (Persia) he went into retirement there. The king, on hearing of him, sent his ('Abdu-r-Razzāq's) son 'Abdu-l-Karīm with a firmān, summoning him and a thousand young [4] men of Lār. Meanwhile news came that he, at the summons of the king of Persia, had left his home and died on the road. Two sons, one Razzāq Qulī K., and the second, Muhammad Khalīl, were in Aurangabad and lived and died on their jagīrs. The writer was acquainted with the second one.

(SAIFU-D-DAULA) 'ABDU-Ṣ-ṢAMAD KHĀN BAHĀDUR DILER JANG.

A descendant of Khwāja Āḥrār. His uncle Khwāja Zechariah had two daughters, one of whom he gave to him in marriage, and

1 "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khāfī 367.
2 Do. 373.
3 Maasir. A. 387.
4 Do. 459. A cheque on Surat for Rs. 50,000 was also sent. There is a good account of 'Abdu-r-Razzaq in Major Haig's Historic Landmarks of the Deccan.

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the other was the wife of I'tmādu-d-daula Muḥammad Amīn K. Bahādur. Saifu-d-daula came to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and at first had the rank of 400. In the reign of Bahādur Shāh his rank rose to 700. In the battle of the four princes, the sons of Bahādur Shāh, he joined with Ẓū-l-fiqār K. and distinguished himself in the slaying of Sultan Jahān Shah. In reward he got high rank. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar his rank was 5000 with 5000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and was made governor of Lahore. He was appointed to finish the campaign against the Sikh Gūrū who from the time of Bahādur Shāh had practised various kinds of oppression in that country over both Muḥammadans and Hindus. The Khān-Khānān Mun'im K. had been sent with 30,000 cavalry to chastise him and had besieged him in Lohgarha, and the emperor had himself gone in that direction, but the Gūrū had escaped from the fort. Afterwards Muḥammad Amīn was sent in pursuit of him with a large force, but was not successful.

The history of the Sikh tribe is this. Formerly Nānak Rām, a faquir, became notorious in that country. He attracted many followers, especially from among the Khettris of the Panjab. His followers were called Sikhs. A large number collected, and they proceeded to oppress the country-side. They laid hands on and plundered everyone whom they found from the city (Delhi) up to near Lahore. Some faujdārs left their parganas and came to court, and some who remained lost their property and their lives. At the time of writing also the province of Lahore and part of the province of Multan are in possession of this tribe. The Shāh Durrānī armies which are in possession up to Kabul have once or twice suffered defeat at their hands and have withdrawn from attacking their country.

Diler Jang showed courage and skill in this affair and established himself with a large force near Garhī (Gūrdāspūr), which is the residence of the Gūrū. The Sikhs came out several times and had hand-to-hand fights. The Khān remained firm and stopped the coming in of supplies. After a long time, when they were in straits from want of grain, and many had been reduced to misery, they sent a message asking that their lives should be spared and

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brought[1] their leader, with his young son, the diwān, and those who had escaped the sword. He put a number to death and brought the Gūrū (Banda) and some others to court. For this good service he was rewarded by the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and the title of Saifu-d-daula (Sword of the State). On the day of arrival at the capital he by orders put some of the prisoners into collars (takhta-u-kalah) and caps and brought them into the city. This affair occurred in 1127, 1715. In the 5th[2] year of Farrukh Siyar and while Saifu-d-daulah was governor (of the Panjab), 'Īsā K. Mabīn was put to death. He had gradually come from the position of a zamindar to that of a royal servant and had become a leader, and behaved with haughtiness (exhaled the breath of "I and no other)." An account of him has been given in his biography.[3] When Ḥusain K. Khweshgī, the talūqdār of Qasūr, which is 18 *kos* from Lahore and on the way to Multan, became rebellious and indulged in presumptuous ideas, in the time of Rafīu-d-daula, Saifu-d-daula took the field against him, and after much fighting put an end to him. In the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shāh he came to court and was graciously received. In the 7th year when the government of the province of Lahore was given to his son Zechariah, who was the brother-in-law of I'tmādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn K., he was made governor of Multan. He died in 1150,[4] 1737-38. He was a valiant commander, and cultivated much the men of his own country.

'ABDU-L-WAHĀB AQẒĪU-L-QAẒĀT QĀẒĪ,[5]

grandson of S. Muḥammad Ṭāhir[6] Bohra who lived in Pattan-Gujarāt. Muḥammad Ṭāhir was adorned with excellences and

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1 Khāfī K. II. 761, etc., and the Siyar Mutākharīn, translation I. 861, etc. Elliot, VII. 456.

2 The executions took place in Muḥarram 1127, January 1715. It was the 4th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign.

3 Maaṣir, II, 825.

4 Beale says he died in 1739, 1151-52, during the invasion of Nādir Shāh.

5 "Most remote, *i.e.*, highest or best of Qāẓis."

6 See biography in Mirāt Aḥmadī lith. ed., Part II, 77, and in Khazīna Aṣfiyā, I. 436. S. 'Ali Muttāqī is mentioned in Rieu, I. 356*a*. There is a notice of him in the Safīnau-l-Auliyā. There is a notice of 'Ali Muttāqī Chishtī in the K. Aṣfiyā, I, 429.

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perfections and went to the holy places (Mecca), and (there) met in with Shaikh ʿAlī Muttaqī—May God have mercy on him! He became his disciple, and succeeded in becoming the unique of the age for piety, asceticism and the science of Tradition. When he returned to his native country, he did away with the heresies in belief and practice which had become prevalent in his tribe, and laboured to put down the Mahdavī sect of the followers of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. For the use of students of theology he drew up a Rule (Midād) in accordance with the last precepts of his Shaikh, and gave expository lectures thereon. He used to say why should one man be hindered [1] by another (?). The Mujma'-al-baḥār gharība-l-laghātu-l-Ḥadīth, "The gathering of the seas of the rare words of Tradition", is a well-known work of his. In 986, 1578, a number of men attacked him on the road between Ujjain and Sārangpūr and killed [2] him. They say he had made a vow that until the blackness of Shīism [3] and other heresies had been cleansed from the hearts of his tribe he would not bind his turban on his head. When in 980, 1572-73, Akbar entered Gujarāt, he had an interview with the Shaikh and with his own hand fastened on his turban, and said, "The satisfaction of your vow is in my charge." He appointed M. ʿAzīz Koka to the government of that country, and the Shaikh, with the help of the Mīrzā, abolished many of the customs of his tribe. After some time, when the government fell to one of the Persian Amīrs, that set with his (the new governor's) help became perverted again, and the Shaikh took the turban off his head, and set off towards Agra. In spite of the warning of Saiyid Wajī-u-d-dīn [4] Gujrāti, he would not be dissuaded, and then there happened what happened (*i.e.*, his murder). His body was taken from Malwa to

[1] Perhaps the meaning is, "Why should one not be benefited by the knowledge of another?"

[2] The Mirāt Aḥmadī II. 77 gives date as Shawāl 986, 6 December, 1578. The same work also states that the name of the son of ʿAbdu-l-Wahāb who is known as Shaikh-ul-Islām was Muḥammad Ikrām.

[3] *tashiya'*. Perhaps it means here sectarianism or heresy, and not the special doctrines of the Shias.

[4] It appears from the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī, lith. ed., pp. 393, 395, that there were two saints of this name.

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Nahrwāla, which is another name for Pattan, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors.

Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-Waḥāb had great skill in the science of theology, and in the time of Shah Jahan was for a long period Qāẓī of Pattan, which was his birth-place. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed to the government of the Deccan the Qāẓī hastened to serve him and was received with honour. From the time that Aurangzeb sate upon the throne of India 'Abdu-l-Wahāb acted as Qāẓī of the army and was highly considered. None of his predecessors held such a dignified position as he, for the king was disposed to uphold religious principles, considering that the maintenance of so wide a country depended upon the penal laws (for heresy). The qāzīs of the cities and towns used in concert with the governors and magistrates to sell the right of retaliation[1] for gold. The Qāẓī of the Presence—who shewed himself as an ascetic and a stickler for religion—reformed matters in every particular and spread out the banner of "I and no other." The high officers were afraid of him and burnt with envy. Yet with all this (piety, etc.) they say that the Qāẓī had a long arm for hauling and snatching, and collected large sums of money. Mahābat[2] Luhrāsp was famous for his audacity, and once when he was sent off to the Deccan campaign and had halted for some days in the vicinity of the capital to get advances[3] for the troops he found out that three or four lacs of rupis worth of Kashmir and Agra goods, which had been purchased by the Qāẓī, were being sent along with the goods of merchants to Ahmadabad. He was on bad terms with the Qāẓī and he laid hold of all the things and gave them to the soldiers as maintenance. When this was reported to the king, Mahābat replied that out of necessity he had borrowed the goods from the merchants and that he would return them with the profit thereon. The Qāẓī saw that he could do nothing but wink at the transaction. In the 17th[5] year on account of continued illness

[1] *Sār ba zar mī farokhtand* "sold blood for bullion." But there are various readings.

[2] Khāfī K., II. 216. He was the second son of the Mahābat of Jahangir's reign.

[3] *masā'ada*. See Blochmann, 265.

[4] Khāfī K. adds that Mahābat proposed that the Qāẓī should estimate the profit!

[5] Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 143.

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he was obliged to go from Ḥasan Abdāl to the capital. Saiyid ʿAlī Akbar Qāẓī of Lahore was appointed as his deputy. In the beginning of the 19th year, 18 Ramẓān 1086, 26 November 1675 o.s., he died [1] in Shahjahanabad (Delhi).

He had four sons. The eldest was Shaikhu-l-Islām who was made Qāẓī of the capital. He came to the king in obedience to a summons on the death of his father and was made Qāẓī of the camp. There was no hypocrisy in his piety. He did not take a single *dám* of the property left by his father and which amounted to a lac of *ashrafīs* [2] and five lacs of rupees, besides jewels, etc., but distributed his share to the other heirs. He led a good life. He perceived the turbulence of the age in which men were prone to lying and violence, and did not decide disputes upon evidence and witnesses but exerted [3] himself in order to bring plaintiff and defendant to an agreement.

They [4] say that the king asked his advice about the lawfulness of the expeditions against Bījāpūr and Haidarabad, and that he gave a reply contrary to the king's wishes. In the 27th year he had a divine call [5] and withdrew from service and shook out worldly affairs from his skirt. In spite of royal favours, and instigations, he would not turn back or withdraw from his abandonment of service. At his recommendation, the office of Qāẓī of the camp (Urdū) was bestowed on Saiyid Abū Sʿaīd, the son-in-law of Qāẓī ʿAbdu-l-Wahāb, who was in the capital. In the 28th year he took leave to go to Mecca, and on his return to Surat, Aurangzeb sent for him and lavished favours on him. For instance [6] he several times with his own blessed hands smeared ʿaṭr on his garments, and pressed him to accept the Qāẓīship and the office of Ṣadr. He refused, and begged to be allowed to go for a while to his home, in order that he might visit the tombs of his ancestors and see his family, and then come back. After that he used to pray to God that he might not again be defiled by the king's business. In the 42nd year an affectionate order was sent along with his brother

[1] *id.* 148.
[2] Khāfī K., II. 247, who says there were two lacs of ashrafis.
[3] Khāfī K., II. 379.
[4] Khāfī K., II. 343.
[5] Maaṣir ʿĀlamgīri, 239.
[6] Khāfī K., II. 414.

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Nūru-l-ḥaqq to the effect that on coming to the Presence he would get the office of Ṣadr if he would take it. As he was helpless he unwillingly set out from Ahmadabad, for he was always eager to be with the real Lord and anxious not to mix in state-matters. At the same time he was taken dangerously ill and he died in the year 1109, 1698 (*lit.*, he hastened to the quarter to which he had been attracted). The king grieved for his death and said, "Happy he in that after pilgrimage he has not defiled himself with worldly affairs." In this Timuride dynasty of 200 years there has been no Qāẓī like him for honesty and piety. While he was Qāẓī he was always seeking to retire. The king did not let him go till on the occasion of the affair of Bījāpūr, which was a war against Muhammadans, he withdrew himself. [1]

Those who sell religion for worldliness (*dīn ba danyā*, "faith for fortune"), regard this noble office as a very easy one and spend money in bribes (to obtain it) in order that by doing away with the rights of men they may extort a hundred times more. They regard *nikāḥāna* (fees on marriage) and *maḥrāna* (fees on dowers) as more their due than their mother's milk. What shall be said of the hereditary Qāẓīs of the townships, for to be in touch with science is the lot of enemies (*i.e.*, is a misfortune), and the registers of the *despāndya* (village-accountants) and the words of zamindars are their law and holy books. Though in honour of Qāẓīs there is the "tradition" with reference to knowledge and practice that out of every three Qāẓīs one is paradisaical, Khwājah Muḥammad Pārsā—may his tomb be holy—has said in the Faṣl-ul-Khiṭāb, "Yes, that paradisaical Qāẓī is there, but he is a Qāẓī of paradise" (*i.e.*, not an earthly Qāẓī). Who can estimate the irregularities and darkness of this tribe who are worse than ignorant?

That deceased (the Shaikhu-l-islām) had four children. Among them was Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn who was the diwān of Berar. He renounced [3] the imperial pay (?) and at last assumed the cloak of

1 See Khāfī K.'s eulogium II, 438-39.

2 Rieu Cat. II. 862, 864. The book is an account of the twelve Imāms. He died in Medina 822 A.H., 1419 A.D.

3 *Zirhāī pādshāhī ba ṣarf āwarda.* "He turned away from the royal moneys." (?)

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a dervish, and became the disciple of Khwāja ʿAbdu-r-Raḥmān who for a long time had said goodbye to rank and income and had knocked at the door of reliance upon God and become a master of ecstacy and vision. After the death of Aurangzeb he came with his Shaikh to the capital and died at his appointed time. Another son was Muḥammad Ikrām who was long the Ṣadr of Ahmadabad. He got the title of Shaikh-al-Islām and at last became blind and retired to Surat. He died in the time of the present sovereign (Khusrau-i-Zamān).[1] Among the sons of Qāẓī ʿAbdu-l-Wahāb were Nūru-l-Ḥaqq and ʿAbdu-l-Ḥaqq who were extremely like one another in appearance. One day the king was in doubt as to which was which. The elder was Provost-marshal (*iḥtisāb*) of the army, and the other was *darogha* of the Presence. The son of ʿAbdu-l-Ḥaqq Muḥammad, Muḥammad Mʿuālī Khān was addicted to drink and enamoured of music. He himself used to perform without any shame. He was very fond of hunting. He was for a long time during the present reign *faujdār* of Malkāpūr in Berar, which is 18 *kos* from Burhānpūr. Eighteen years ago, more or less, he died.

It should be known that *bohara* means a merchant in the Indian language. As many of this tribe are merchants they have become known by this name. They say that about 450 years before this, at the exhortations of a learned man named Mullā[2] ʿAlī, and whose tomb is in Cambay, a number of the people of Gujarāt, who at that time were for the most part idolaters, embraced the Muḥammadan religion. As that person belonged to the Imāmīya sect they all joined it. After that when Sultan Aḥmad, who was a confidential officer of Fīrūz Shāh, the king of Delhi, came to the country and spread the Muḥammadan religion, some of the people aforesaid became Sunnīs at the teaching of the ʿUlamā of the time who were all of that religion. As between the two parties there have prevailed from of old strife and contention, the dust of dispute has arisen between them.

[1] Mr. Irvine observes that *Khusrau-i-Zāman* means reigning sovereign, and therefore means here Muḥammad Shah.

[2] Mirāt Aḥmadī, II. 86, where there is a long account of the Borahs.

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[1] Those who have remained Shīas always adhere to a pious and learned man of their own tribe and bring before him the questions of the Law. They send one-fifth of their property to the Saiyids of Medina, and they give alms to the learned headman above spoken of, and he distributes them among the poor of the tribe.

(SAIYID) 'ABDULLAH K. BĀRHA,

also called Saiyid Miyān. At first he was servant of Shah 'Ālam Bahādur. He was appointed along with Rūḥ Ullah K. in the affair of the Konkan, and in the 26th year of Aurangzeb he received the rank of 1000 with 600 horse and entered the royal service. In the 28th year he went with the abovementioned prince to chastise Abū-l-Ḥasan, ruler of Haidarabad, and in that campaign did good service, and was wounded. [2] One day when he had charge of the rear-guard, and there was a hot engagement, he drove off the enemy and came to the assistance of his own right and left wings. When on that day the enemy had wounded Bindrāban [3] the prince's diwān and were driving off his elephant, Abdullah attacked them and after a struggle released the diwān and brought him with him. As during the siege of Bijapur the prince became an object of suspicion to his father, and some of his companions were ordered to be dismissed, an order was also issued about 'Abdullah, and he was [4] imprisoned. Afterwards, by the intercession of Rūḥ Ullah K., he was made over to him to be kept under surveillance; gradually by Rūḥ Ullah's influence his faults were forgiven. When during the siege of Golconda, Rūḥ Ullah K. came to court, upon summons, from Bijapur, 'Abdullah was left there as his deputy. After some time he was made substantive governor there. In the 32nd year, when news came that [5] Rāmā, the brother of Sambhā Bhonsla, had fled from the fort of Rāhīrīgarha which Ẓūlfiqār K.

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[1] Compare this with the Mirāt Aḥmadī l.c., p. 87, which seems to ascribe these customs both to the Sunnīs and the Shīas of the Borah tribe. Manucci refers to 'Abdu-l-Waḥāb, I. 381, II. 5, 188, and there is a portrait of him at III. 210.

[2] Khāfī K., II. 303.

[3] Author of the Lubbu-t-tawārīkh. Elliot, VII. 168, and Rieu, I. 228*b*.

[4] Khāfī K., II. 321.

[5] Rajah Rām M. 'Ālamgīrī, 327.

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was besieging, and of his having taken refuge in the territory of the ruler above mentioned (Abū-l-Ḥasan), an order was sent to 'Abdullah to search for him and to arrest him. He marched three days and three nights and came upon him. Many influential leaders were seized, but Rāmā himself escaped. On this account, in spite of such great services, the king was not pleased. Besides this, as an order had been given for confining the prisoners in the citadel of Bijapur, and several of these escaped from such a place, 'Abdullah was in that year removed from Bijapur. In the 33rd year he was made *faujdār* of Nandair in succession to Sirdār K. He died at his appointed time. He had many sons,[1] two of whom were highly distinguished, *viz.*, Quṭbu-l-mulk 'Abdullah K. and the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. Of the others there was Saiyid Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī K. Accounts of all three have been given.

(SAIYID) 'ABDULLAH KHĀN,[2]

son of Mīr Khwānanda. From his early years he was cherished and employed by Akbar, and attained to the rank of 700. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with other officers, to pursue 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, who had fled from Malwa to Gujarāt. In the 17th year when there was an intention to conquer Gujarāt, and the Khān Kalān was sent on in advance, he was chosen as one to accompany him. In the 18th year he was sent off with Moẓaffar K. who had been appointed to Malwa. In the 19th year, when the king went in person to the eastern districts, he was one of his attendants. Afterwards when the Khān-Khānān was appointed to conquer Bengal, he accompanied him. On the day of the battle with Dāūd the son of Sulaimān Kararānī, he was in the van-guard with the Khān 'Ālam. From there he for some reason came to court. In the 21st year he was sent off by relays of horses to the eastern districts to convey to the officers the news of the king's approach. In the middle of that year he brought the news of victory and travelled a great distance in eleven days and arrived at court and was received with favour. So much gold and silver was poured into his skirt that he could not carry it off.

[1] The famous Saiyids of Bārha.

[2] B. 465.

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They say that when the king had sent him off, he said to him, "You'll bring news of a victory." In the 25th year, when Khān A'ẓim Koka was appointed to Bengal to put down the rebellion, the Khān in question was sent off along with him. He was in the left wing at the battle between Shahbāz K. and M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. As things did not go right in the province,[1] he was, in the end of the 31st year (995), sent off to Qāsim K. who had been appointed to the government of Kashmir. One day, when it was his turn to be on duty, he cleared a small hill of the enemy, but as he was returning without proper arrangements, when he came to the defile, the rebels assailed him on every side with arrows and bullets, and nearly 300[2] men lost their lives. The Khān died in the same province of fever in the 34th year, 997, 1589.

'ABDULLAH KHĀN S'AĪD KHĀN.

Fourth son of S'aīd K. Bahādur Ẓafar Jang.[3] As by good fortune and good service his father was continually being advanced, he attained a suitable rank. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made the protector of Lower Bangash. In the 17th year his rank was 1000 with 400 horse and he was given leave to join his father in Qandahar. When his father died in the 25th year, 'Abdullah's rank was 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the end of the same year he had the title of Khān and the gift of a horse with a silvern saddle. He was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed for the second time to the Qandahar campaign. Afterwards he was for a long time in charge of the city of Kabul. In the 31st year his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse and he had the gift of a flag and drum, and afterwards he had an increase of 500 and the gift of a drum. He was attached to Sultan Sulaimān Shikoh who had been appointed to act against Sultan Shujā'. Afterwards, when the heavens assumed a new aspect, and Dārā

1 *viz.* the eastern districts. See A.N. III. 516.

2 A.N. III. 522. According to B. 465 he was killed on this occasion. The circumstance is not mentioned by A. F. The statement in the Maaṣir is derived from Badayūnī, Lowe 380, who says that Saiyid 'Abdullah, whom he calls Chaugānbegī, died of a fever a year after the engagement with Y'aqūb.

3 Blochmann 466.

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Shikoh after the battle of Samogarh fled to Lahore, he separated from the above-mentioned prince and entered the service of Aurangzeb. He received a robe of honour, and the title of S'aīd K. and his rank became 3000 with 2500 horse. No further account of him appears.

'ABDULLAH K. UZBEG.[1]

One of the officers of Humāyūn, and he was among those who were magnanimous and jeoparded their lives. In Akbar's time, after the victory over Hemū he received the title of Shujā'at K., and was made fief-holder of Kālpī. As in the conquest of Malwa he had assisted Adham K. and had become acquainted with the country, in the 7th year, when Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī, the governor there, was drowned in the Narbada, and Bāz Bahādur laid hold of Malwa as his hereditary property, Akbar raised 'Abdullah Uzbeg to the rank of 5000 and appointed him to chastise Bāz Bahādur and to settle the country. He was given full powers there. When 'Abdullah went properly equipped to conquer Malwa, Bāz Bahādur was unable to resist him and fled, and the country came again into the imperial possession. 'Abdullah K. came to Māndū—which was the capital of the rulers of Malwa—and distributed the cities and townships among the officers.

As power soon corrupts those deficient in loyalty 'Abdullah K. quickly became haughty and rebellious. In the 9th year, 971, 1563-64, in the height of the rains, Akbar came to Narwar and Siprī on the occasion of elephant-hunting—which were then plentiful there—and thereafter went on rapidly to Māndū. The thunder and lightning and the rain, the floods and the mud, and the holes, and hollows which exist in Malwa made the march difficult. The horses had to swim like sea-horses, and the camels had to traverse tempestuous seas like ships. The animals' feet sank in the mud up to their chests, and many of the porters of the camp stuck in the ground. But Akbar hurried on from Gāgrūn, as the object of this terrific journey was to come suddenly on 'Abdullah K., who did not think it possible that troops could come to Malwa

[1] B. 320.

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at such a time. Ashraf K. and I'timād K. were sent ahead to give him—who was apprehensive on account of his evil actions—the good news of the royal grace and to bring him into doing homage, so that he should not become a vagabond in the fields of misfortune. Akbar in one stage travelled 25 Malwa *kos* which are equal to 40 of the ordinary Delhi *kos*, in all the mud and water, and reached Sārangpur. When he came to Dhār he learnt from his envoys that though they had urged him (to come in) they had not succeeded on account of his fears. He had made some wild suggestions, and had then fled with his family and belongings. Akbar turned his rein from Māndū and sent on a number of his officers as van-guard that they might block 'Abdullah's path. He himself pressed on still more. When the van-guard came up with 'Abdullah, he thought that, as they had come a long march, there would be few men present and so turned round and fought. When the engagement grew hot and the arrows of the enemy passed over the king's head, Akbar ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and said to Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān that there was now no time for delay, and that the enemy must be attacked. The Khān-Khānān said, "It is good, but it is not the time for combating singly; when I have collected the men, I shall attack." Akbar got angry and was on the point of attacking. I'timād K. in the excess of his zeal seized his rein, and the king got angry with him and pressed on. As the Divine protection watched over him, the enemy fled; though 'Abdullah K. had more than one thousand cavalry and Akbar had not more than 300, yet he suffered his chief men to be killed, and quitted the field, and went by the way of Ālī[1] Mohan to Gujarat. Akbar sent a body of troops under Qāsim K. of Nīshāpūr after him. The land-owners of the neighbourhood joined the force out of loyalty and fell upon 'Abdullah's camp near the defile[2] of Campānīr. He got bewildered and turned[3] off his women into the desert, and taking his son with

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1 Text wrongly has Abī. Ālī Mohan or 'Alī Rājpūr is a native state in S.W. corner of Central India. See also J. II. 251 and A.N. II. 228.

2 A hill or defile, from which Campānīr is visible. A. N. II. 228. The troops did not enter Gujarat.

3 Left them in the desert. A. N. II. 229.

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him went off. The officers seized all his belongings—especially his women and elephants—and halted there. The king traversed 'Alī [1] and came there and after returning thanks to God returned with much spoil. 'Abdullah K.—who had escaped half-alive from the battle-field—went off to Gujarat and joined Chingez K. who was powerful there. Akbar sent Ḥakīm Ainu-l-mulk to Chingez K. to request that he would either send the wretch to court, or expel him from his country. He petitioned to the effect that he was not averse to submitting to the royal command, and that he would send him to court if Akbar would forgive him. If Akbar did not agree to this, he would expel him. When the message was repeated, Chingez K. turned him off and he came to Malwa and raised a disturbance. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K.—who had been previously sent to manage Malwa—led a well-equipped army against him in the 11th year. 'Abdullah was nearly being captured. After a thousand difficulties he joined [2] 'Alī Qulī K. Khān Zamān and Sikandar K. Uzbeg, and died there (*i.e.*, in Bengal or Bihar) a natural death.

(KHWAJA) 'ABDULLAH KHĀN.

His family was from Tūrān. At first he and his brother Khwāja Raḥmat Ullah K. were in attendance on 'Imādu-l-mulk Mubāriz K., and both held the collectorships of Sīkākul (Chicacole) and Rajendrī. When, after Mubāriz K.'s being killed, Niẓāmu-l-mulk Aṣaf Jāh came to Haidarabad, both brothers appeared before him. 'Abdullah was made Khānsāmān together with the management of the Rajendrī estates, and his brother was made diwān of Āṣaf Jāh's establishment. Khwāja Raḥmat Ullah soon died. After his death Khwāja 'Abdullah became diwān, and when Āṣaf Jāh went to the capital (Delhi) for the second time he left Khwāja 'Abdullah in the Deccan as guardian of his son the martyred Nāṣir Jang. When Aṣaf Jāh returned to the Deccan he was always a confidential courtier. When S'aādat Ullah K. the t'alūqdār of the Carnatic Haidarabad died, and Dost 'Alī K. his brother's son and Ṣafdar 'Alī K. (Dost 'Alī's son) came to their end [3] in the man-

[1] Text *abī*, "a stream."
[2] B.A.N. II. 271.
[3] They were killed in battle with the Mahrattas, vol. II, 513.

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ner described at length in the account of S'aādat Ullah K., and the fort of Trichinopoly—which is a famous fort in that country—came into the possession of Murār[1] Rāo Ghorpura, Āṣaf Jāh appointed Ḵẖwāja 'Abdullah to the said t'alūq of the Carnatic and addressed himself to the taking of the fort of Trichinopoly. When he returned[2] after taking it, he conferred a drum upon 'Abdullah and sent him off to the t'alūq. On the same night, 1157, 1744, he was relieved from the troubles of this world by a sudden death. *Naqqāra-i-ākẖir*, "The last drum," is the chronogram. He was of a saintly family (*wilāyat zai*) and a man of a quiet disposition, and famed for his charities, but he was of an irascund nature. If he were angry with anybody, and another person chanced to come in, he treated him with harshness and severity. The best of his sons was Ḵẖwāja N'iamat Ullah K. who after his father's death was for some time collector of[3] Rajbandarī. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was made deputy-governor of Bijapur and had the title of Tahawwur Jang Bahādur. After a while he became mad and rolled up the carpet of life. Other sons were Ḵẖwāja 'Abād Ullah K., and Ḵẖwāja Sa'd Ullah K. who were in the service of Shujā-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā. The second had relations with learning Q

'ABDULLAH KẖĀN (SHAIKH).[4]

A worthy son of the great Shaikh of the Shaṭṭārī order S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Gwalior. Of the sons of that saint S. 'Abdullah and S. Ziyā Ullah were the most distinguished. The first was known by the name of S Badrī. In the science of incantations (d'awat) and *takṣīr*[5] (increasing?) he was his father's pupil and in the guiding and directing of men he took his father's place. By fate's decree though he was a faquir and a dervish he entered into the king's service and became one of the great Amirs. In the campaigns he continually did good service, and jeoparded his life

1 The Merari Row of Orme.

2 "to Ṣaḥan Buniyād." Is this Arcot, or another name for Aurangabad? Mill mentions a report that 'Abdullah was poisoned.

3 There is the variant Rajendrī.

4 B. 457.

5 Apparently this is a mistake for *tashīr*, enchantment. See Badayūnī, Ranking, 459.

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in battle. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he attained the rank of 1000. They say he attained to the rank of 3000 and died in the prime of his age.

The second son was Ẓiyā Ullah; he did not serve, but lived as a dervish. In his father's life-time he went to Gujarat, and waited upon Wajīu-d-dīn[1] 'Alawī who was very learned in exoteric sciences and had written valuable commentaries upon many books, and was a disciple of his (Ẓiyā Ullah's) father. Under him he acquired science, and in the town of Pattan he obtained from S. Muḥammad Ṭāhir[2] Muḥaddiṣ (traditionist) Bohra a knowledge of Ḥadīṣ (traditions). At that time he received from his father a certificate and the grant of the *khirqa* (robe) of succession. On the death of his father, which took place in 970, 1562-63, he took up his abode in Agra, and made a house and a *khānqa* there. For a long time he applied himself to the attainment of final reward, and professed Sufism in a pleasing manner. On 3 Ramẓān 1005, 10 April 1597, he died.[3]

They say that in the year when Akbar was wounded[4] at Lahore in the testicles by a deer's horn, when he was watching their fight, and he was in great pain, many leading men came from various quarters to visit him (and prescribe for him). One day the king said, "S. Ẓiyā Ullah has not remembered me." S. Abū-l-faẓl informed Ẓiyā Ullah of this remark and he came to Lahore. By chance, after some time, one of Prince Daniel's wives[5] became pregnant, and the king ordered that she should be taken for her confinement to the Shaikh's house. The latter remonstrated, but in vain, and the lady was brought. As the Shaikh was disgusted with life, he died a week afterwards.

As the opportunity has occurred, some account will now be given of the honoured father[6] of those two brothers. S. Muḥam-

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[1] Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 336. His shrine is in Ahmadabad.

[2] Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 436. He was a Bohra by caste and was killed in 984. The Mirāt Aḥmadi says he was killed in 986, 1578.

[3] There is a reference to Ẓiyā Ullah in Badayūnī, Lowe, 204. Akbar gave him a lodging in his Ibādatkhāna. See Persian text, p. 202. See also Badayūni III. 121. See also A.N. III. 723.

[4] A.N. III. 712.

[5] One of his wives gave birth to a son in 1005. A.N. III. 729.

[6] Badayūnī, III. 4.

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mad Ghauṣ and his elder brother S. Bahlūl [1] were descended from S. Farīd 'Aṭṭār, and they were among the noted saints of the time. Both of them were of perfect skill in incantations by the Names (of God) and could hold their breath. S. Bahlūl was a disciple of Shah Qamīṣ [2] who is buried in Sādhaurah (in Sarkār Sirhind). Humāyūn became his follower, and though he had been the pupil of Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd the grandson of Khwāja Naṣīru-d-dīn Aḥrār he broke off the connexion, and became a pupil of the Shaikh. The Khwāja was indignant, and abandoned Humāyūn's companionship and went off from India to his own country. And he recited this verse.[3]

Verse.

Say, O Humā, ne'er cast thy shadow
In a land where the parrot is less accounted than the kite.

When in the year 945, 1538-39, Bengal was conquered, the climate suited Humāyūn and he opened out the carpet of enjoyment, and became absorbed in sensual pleasures. M. Hindāl the younger brother of the king had received Tirhut as his jagir. By the companionship of some intriguers he became imbued with evil thoughts and went off, in the height of the rains, to the capital without obtaining leave. Mīr Faqīr 'Alī the governor of Delhi—who was one of the pillars of the empire—came to Agra and by good advice brought the Mīrza back to loyalty, so that he soon went to Jaunpūr to chastise the Afghans. Meanwhile some officers fled from Bengal and joined the Mīrzā in Jaunpūr.[4] They suggested the reading of the Khuṭba in his name, and his ascending the throne,

1 Phūl in text but the variant Bahlūl is preferable.

2 The Khaẓīna Aṣfiyā mentions I, p. 135, Shah Qamīṣ Gilānī who died in Bengal in 992, 1584, and is buried in Sālūra Khiẓrābad. 'Abdu r Razzāq commonly called S. Bahlūl was his disciple. Sālūra seems a mistake for Sādhaurah. He died in Bengal, but his body was brought away and buried in Sādhaura. The I.G. XXI, 347 mentions Shāh Qumais' shrine in Sādhaura in the Ambāla division.

3 T. Rashīdī, Ney Elias and Ross 399, and Badayūnī, Lowe 45. The Humā here stands for Humāyūn; M. Ḥaidar generally calls Khwāja Khāwand, Khwaja Nūra.

4 It does not appear that Hindāl went to Jaunpūr. The officers joined him in Agra. See A.N. I, p. 336, etc. This Nūru-d-dīn is the father of Salīma Sultan Begam who became the wife of Bairām and afterwards of Akbar. She was born in this very year of 945, 1538-39, as the chronogram, *khūsh ḥāl*, preserved by M. Muḥammadī, shows.

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and the Mīrzā resumed his evil thoughts. When Humāyūn heard of this, he sent S. Bahlūl to give the Mīrzā advice. The Mīrzā went out to receive him and brought him to his quarters, and treated him with respect. The officers were perplexed and annoyed by the Shaikh's arrival, but at last they united on condition that he should be put to death, for until the veil was removed from their actions there would be no harmony. M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad seized the Shaikh in his tent on the charge of his being in concert with the Afghans, and beheaded him in a sandy place near the royal garden. S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ found the chronogram, *Fa qad māta shahīda*, 945, 1538-39. "Verily he was martyred." His tomb is in the vicinity of the fort of Bīāna, on the top of a hill.

Humāyūn was much grieved at the slaying of the Shaikh, and condoled with his brother Muḥammad Ghauṣ. The latter was a pupil of Ḥājī Ḥamīd of Gwalior and Ghazni, who, again, was the pupil of S. Qāẓan[1] Bangālī, who was the pupil of S. 'Abdullah Shaṭṭārī. His proper name was Abū-l-mūīd Muḥammad, and he had the title of Ghauṣ from his father's side. He lived[2] in the hill-country of Chunar in Bihar as a hermit (*pīr*), and in the year 929, 1523, wrote in that retirement the famous book called the Jawāhar[3] Khamsa (The five jewels). At that time he was 22 years of age. When Sher Shah in the year 947, 1540, conquered Upper India, the Shaikh became alarmed on account of his connexions with Humāyūn and fled to Gujarat. There he built a lofty *khānqa* (monastery) and communicated spiritual advantages to many men of that country. When in the year 961, 1554, the standards of Humāyūn were unfurled in India, the Shaikh resolved to return there and in 963[4]—which was the commencement of Akbar's reign—he came to Agra *viâ* Gwalior.

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[1] Qāzan in Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 332.

[2] Badayūnī, Lowe 28, who says he saw in Chunar the cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years. Perhaps the cave is the one described in Fuhrer's Inscriptions of the N.W.P., etc., Vol. II of Archæological series, p 260.

[3] See account of this book in Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. D'awa. As stated in text, Abū-l-Mūīd or Muwayyid is another name for M. Ghauṣ. The date of the book given in Hughes is 956. If M. Ghauṣ was 80 when he died, as Badayūnī says, he must have been about 40 in 929.

[4] Badayūnī, Lowe 28, says he came to Agra in 966.

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The king welcomed him, and showed him much respect. S. Gadai Kambū the Ṣadru-s-Ṣudūr, on account of his old enmity with the Shaikh, again girded up the loins of animosity and brought to the notice of Bairām K. the treatise (*risāla*) [1] which the Shaikh had written in Gujarat, called M'i'rājiyya, and which gave an account of his own M'irāj (ascent), and which the learned men of Gujarat had denounced. Gadai made the Khān averse to the Shaikh and so he did not give the Shaikh the royal reception which he had expected. So he took his leave and returned in displeasure to his residence at Gwalior. On Monday, 17 Ramẓān 970, 10 May 1563, he left this dustbin of a world. The chronogram is *Banda-i-Khudā shud.* "He became a servant of God." (970). They say that he [2] received from Akbar a pension of a *kror* of *dāms*. In the Ẓakhīra-ul-khwānīn it is stated that the Shaikh had a jagir of nine lacs of rupees, and that he had forty elephants. It appears even from the Akbarnāma that it is true, as is reported, that Akbar was his pupil, though S. Abū-l-faẓl, from the rivalry of Shaikhs, or from prejudice, or from consideration of the king's disposition, has represented the matter differently. He has stated that in the 4th year, 966—which some have mentioned as the date of the Shaikh's return from Gujarat—Akbar came out of Agra to hunt and arrived at Gwalior. It appeared that Qibcāq [3] (Tartary) cattle had come from Gujarat along with S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and an order was given that they should be purchased from the merchants at a proper price. It was represented that the Shaikh and his people had better cattle than these, and that if Akbar at the time of returning from hunting should pass by the Shaikh's quarters, he would certainly present them as an offering (peshkash). When Akbar visited him, the Shaikh regarded his coming as a great honour, and as an amulet against his ill-treatment by Bairām

1 See Badayūnī, Lowe, 28 and 62.

2 Badayūnī says in his history a kror without specifying the coins, but doubtless it was *tankas* or *dāms* and not rupees. Badayūnī III. 5 says it was a kror of *tankas*.

3 So in text, but I think there must be some mistake, for I am not aware that Gujarat cattle have anything to do with Tartary. The MSS. in B.M. have a word which I can't read, but which certainly does not begin with a Q. The A.N. which is the Maaṣir's source has *be-badl* "unequalled."

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K. He presented all the cattle his men had, and other curiosities and rarities of Gujarat. He also produced sweetmeats and perfumes. At the end of the interview he asked the king if he had given the hand of fealty to anyone. H. M. replied "No." The Shaikh stretched [1] out his own arm and laid hold of the king's, and said, "We have taken your hand." The king smiled and departed. It is reported that the king said, "On that same night we returned to our tents and had a wine-party and enjoyed ourselves, and laughed over the way to catch bullocks, and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm."

Verse.

'Neath their varied robes they hold nooses
See the long arms of those short-sleeved gentry.

Afterwards this self-pleasing simpleton exulted in public over what he had done. He (A. F.) also added some [2] words to the narrative, but to copy them out here would be improper.

Abūl-Faẓl has written still more (strangely) about S. Bahlūl, *viz.*, that as Humāyūn was interested in incantations the Shaikh was honoured by being allowed to practise them, and that he sometimes claimed Humāyūn as his disciple and sometimes boasted of being his loyal servant. In fact (says A. F.) the two brothers were destitute of excellencies or learning, but at one time had sate in hermitages in the hills, and practised incantations by the Divine names; and made this the means of their own renown, and influence. By companionship with princes and nobles they succeeded in their craft by the help of simpletons and put up the things of saintship to sale and by specious pretences acquired villages and hamlets. In fact all this talk [3] is S. Abu-l-faẓl's abuse such as he practised towards the great Shaikhs of the time because of a secret grudge and the envy of a rival, for his father was also one of the religious leaders of the time, and claimed to be equal to M. Ghauṣ, though he was not accepted as such. Or it was the result of the

[1] See the story in Akbarnāma II. translation, p. 133.

[2] Referring to A.F.'s reflections on the occurrence and on the Shaikh's conduct.

[3] M. Ghauṣ is included in the Āīn among those who understand the mysteries of the heart. B. 539. Badayūnī III. 5 says that Akbar became M. Ghauṣ's disciple.

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eccentricity and unbridled speech which is opposed to good-will and rejects the common opinions. Whatever may be the case with regard to the saintship and the *ghauṣiyat* (Aid) which see hidden things, it is perfectly clear that Humāyūn believed in those two brothers. The letter which Humāyūn wrote to S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ after Sher Shah's victory, and which has been copied into the Gulzār-i-Abrār [1] (the rosarium of the pious), and the reply of the Shaikh, will show this, and they are therefore set down here.

THE KING'S LETTER.

"After respects and kissing of hands I beg to represent that the favour of the Almighty together with the guidance of your Reverence and of all the dervishes have brought me out from the defiles of difficulty into ease. What has occurred from intriguing fate has not grieved me further than that it has excluded me from serving your Reverence. At every breath and at every step my thought was how will those demon-natured men (Sher Shah and the other Afghans) behave to that angelic personage. When I heard that your Reverence had at about the same time departed to Gujarat my heart was somewhat relieved from this anxiety. My hope in God is that as He has brought you out from the trouble of that worthless one, He will also free me from the pain of seeming separation. Good God! How shall I render thanks for His goodness in guiding me? In spite of many calamities which to outward appearance have involved me, in the core of my heart, the abode of worship of Oneness, there has not been a tittle of rift or failure. May the path of coming and going always be trodden and be wide enough for the transit of the caravan of my good wishes!"

REPLY.

"The arrival of the distinguished letter of the sovereign, and the perusal of the honoured writing of Humāyūn have brought the blessing of life to the faithful in this country. It conveyed also the intelligence of the health and wealth of the servants of the stirrup. What has been written is in accordance with the essence of things. There is no grief for what has occurred.

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1 Rieu III. 1041*b*.

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Verse.

The word which comes from the heart assuredly settles in the heart (of the recipient).
My prayer is, May my lord's crowned head be not disturbed by the sad events!

Verse.

To the traveller in the right path whatever happens is for his good.

Whenever God designs to lead His servant to perfection He cherishes him both by His beautiful and His terrible attributes. The beautiful attributes have had their cycle; now, for some days, is the time of the terrible ones. As has been said, "With pleasures come pains, with pains come pleasures." The time of the beautiful attributes will soon come again, for according to the Arabian [1] Canon, One pain comes between two pleasures. And because the extent of the enclosed is less than the extent of the enclosing, the bride of success will soon take her seat on the marriage-dais. May God grant this, and praise be to God both now and hereafter."

In short S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ was one of the later leaders among the Shaṭṭārī in India. He had many distinguished successors and disciples. Saiyid Wajīu-d-dīn of Gujarat, who wrote commentaries on didactic books, and was very learned in exoteric sciences, was his disciple. One said to the Saiyid, "Why have you, with all your learning and wisdom, given the hand of adherence (*ināhat*) to the Shaikh (who does not possess so much learning)." He replied, "It is a thing to be thankful for that my Prophet (Muḥammad) was ignorant (*umī*) and that my Pīr is so [2] (also)." The Shaṭṭārī order goes back to the Sulṭānu-l-'Ārifīn Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī. Accordingly in Turkey this order is called the Bisṭāmī. As one of the links of this order was S. Abū-l-ḥasan 'Ishqī—May his

[1] By the expression "Arabian Canon," *Qānūn 'Arabiyya* the Shaikh means the Koran. The reference is to Sura 94, vv. 5 and 6. "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease." The repetition is taken to mean that for every difficulty there are two pleasures.

[2] See Iqbālnāma. 109.

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grave be holy—the order is called the Ishqīya in Persia and Tūrān. They call the Pīrs of this order Shaṭṭārī [1] because they say that they are keener and more enthusiastic than the leading Shaikhs of other orders. The great men of this order in the Arabian and Persian 'Irāq continually light the lamp of guidance for travellers on the Path. The first person who came to India from Persia was S. 'Abdullah Shaṭṭārī, who by five descents was connected with the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shāikh Shihābu-d-dīn Sahrawardī, and by seven descents with Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī—May his grave be holy! He took up his abode in Māndū in Malwa and died in 890,[2] 1485, and is buried there. His successors are occupied in various parts of India in instructing pupils.

(MULLĀ)[3] 'ABDULLAH ANṢĀRĪ MAKHDŪMU-L-MULK.

Son of S. Shamsu-d-dīn of Sultanpur. His ancestors came from Multan to Sultanpur and adopted it as their home. Mullā 'Abdullah studied under Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir of Sirhind, and acquired a complete knowledge of the sciences of Law and Theology. The renown of his learning spread over the world. He wrote scholia (*ḥāshiya*) on the Mullā's [4] commentary, and the Minhājū-d-dīn (Highway of Faith) on the life of the Prophet. The Peace of God be upon him and on his family! The princes of the age paid great respect to him, and Humāyūn was devoted to him. When Sher Shah's turn came, he gave him the title of Ṣadru-l-Islām. They say [5] that one day Selīm Shah saw him in the distance and said, "Bābar Pādishāh had five sons, four went away and one

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1 Shaṭārat means fearlessness, and Shāṭir means a courier.

2 Beale says he died in 809 or 1406, and refers for an account of the Shaṭṭārīs to J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 216. There is an account of 'Abdullah Shaṭṭārī in the Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 306, and it is stated there that he died in 832 (1429).

3 B. VII. 172 and 544. The family originally came from Herat. For other notices see Badayūnī III. 70. Darbārī Akbari 311, Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 448-49 of ed. of 1894, and Ṭabaqāt Akbarī, end of account of Akbar's reign.

4 B. 544, copying Badayūnī, says his works were the 'Aṣmatu-l-Anbiyā, and a commentary on the Shamāilu-n-nabī. The Mullā referred to in text is perhaps the Tirmīẓī referred to by D' Herbelot under the heading of Schamail-Al-Nabi. But possibly the work of Jamālu-d-dīn Aṭā Ullah is referred to, as 'Abdullah said he had written scholia on it; Badayūnī III. 71.

5 Badayūnī, Ranking, 534.

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remained." Sarmast K. said, "Why keep such an intriguer?" He replied, "I can't find a better man." When the Mullā came near him, Selīm Shah placed him on his throne (takht) and gave him a rosary of pearls worth Rs. 20,000 which he had just received. As the Mullā was a great bigot—which people called being a defender of the faith—he under the guise of holding the Faith displayed great animosity. For instance, the putting to death of [1] S. 'Alāi was brought about by the exertions of the Mullā. S. 'Alāi was the son of Shaikh Ḥasan who was one of the great shaikhs of Bengal. He acquired exoteric and esoteric knowledge from his father, and after visiting Mecca he settled in Bīāna, and undertook the practice of what was right and the rejection of what was wrong. At this time S. 'Abdullah [2] Niyāzī settled in Bīāna. He was one of the followers of Selīm Chistī, and after returning from Mecca joined himself to Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr who claimed to be the Mahdī. S. 'Alāi approved of his methods and took from him the practice of holding the breath, which is a rule among the Mahdavīs, and acquired the fame of working miracles. He spent his days, with a great number of followers, in trusting in God. At night he would leave the household vessels—even the water-jugs—empty, and in the morning there was a new supply. Mullā 'Abdullah accused him of innovations in religion and heresy, and induced Selīm Shah to summon him from Bīāna and to order him to hold a conference with the Ulama. S. 'Alāi was victorious. As in that conference S. Mubārak (Abu-l-faẓl's father) took his part, he too was accused of Mahdīism.

Selīm Shah was impressed by 'Alāi and whispered to him to deny Mahdīism, and then he would make him religious censor in his kingdom; otherwise he must leave the country, as the Ulamā had given judgment for putting him to death. The Shaikh went off to the Deccan. When Selīm Shah went towards the Panjab to put down the Niyāzīs, Mullā 'Abdullah represented that S. 'Abdullah was the Niyāzī's Pīr. Selīm Shah sent for him in 955,

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1 B. VIII. 1.

2 He was of Sirhind. See Badayūnī III. 45. It was on the site of his cell that Akbar made his 'Ibādatkhāna. See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, p. 508.

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1548, and had him so scourged[1] and kicked and cuffed that he fainted. They say that as long as his senses remained, he kept saying, "Lord, forgive us our offences."[2] When his senses were restored, he renounced Mahdīism, and in the year 993, 1585, entered the service of Akbar who was proceeding towards Attock. He received some land in Sirhind for his maintenance in the names of his sons, and he died at the age of ninety in the year 1000,[3] 1592.

When Selīm Shah had disposed of the Niyāzī affair, Mullā 'Abdullah again instigated him, and he summoned S. 'Alāi from Hindia. Selīm Shah repeated what he had formerly said, but the Shaikh would not agree. Selīm Shah said to the Mullā, "You and he know (what to do)." The Mullā ordered him to be scourged. At the third stroke of the whip he died, and his body was tied[4] to the leg of an elephant and publicly exposed. They say so strong a wind blew that day that men thought it was the Judgment-day. So many flowers were scattered on the Shaikh's body that it became as it were entombed. After this Selīm Shah's reign did not last two years. When Humāyūn came again to India and took Qandahar he gave the Mullā the title of Shaikhu-l-Islām. Afterwards, when the sovereignty of India came to Akbar, the Mullā received the title of Makhdūmu-l-mulk, and Bairām K. gave him a rich *pargana*[5] as *tankwāh* with a rental of a lac of rupees and raised his honour above all the great notables. He became one of the chief pillars of the State. After the lapse of some months and years the disposition of the sovereign became alienated by sundry occurrences from the learned men of the age, and in the 24th year, 987, he sent off him and S. 'Abdu-n-Nabī the Ṣadr—between whom there had long been strife and enmity—to the Ḥijāz as if they were to be companions to one another. In spite of that, there never was concord between them, either on the journey, or in the exalted stations (at Mecca), nor was the dislike removed.

As the Makhdūmu-l-mulk had been honoured from the time of

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1 B. VIII. The Darbārī Akbarī has a notice of him at p. 811. See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, 508, etc.

2 Qoran III. 141.

3 Badayūnī I. Ranking 520.

4 Badayūnī I. 408. Ranking, 524.

5 *pargana-i-tānkwāla.* The D. Akbārī says it was near Mānkot. It seems to be *tānkwāla* in all the MSS.

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the Afghans to that of Akbar, and was famed for his good judgment and experience of affairs, and the report of his wisdom had spread everywhere, the Shaikh Ibn Ḥajar [1] known as the Muftī of Mecca came out to welcome him and showed him much respect, and opened the door of the K'aaba for him, out of season. When the agitation of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm the (half) brother of Akbar was heard of, 'Abdullah believed that the untrue account of the confusion in India was correct, and from a desire of pre-eminence and a love of glory he returned with 'Abdu-n-Nabī, the Ṣadr, to Aḥmadabad. When the king learnt that they had spoken improperly about him in assemblies, owing to secret malice, he privately appointed some persons (to arrest them) as the Begams of the Harem were siding with them and interceding for them. Makhdūmu-l-mulk died of fright in 991.[2] They say he was poisoned at Akbar's instigation. His body was secretly brought to Jālandhar and buried there. Qāẓī 'Alī was appointed to confiscate his effects. Much buried treasure was found in Lahore. Among it some chests containing bricks of gold were taken out of his tomb which had been buried on the pretence that they contained corpses. On this account his sons suffered severities for some time in the search for property. Three krors of rupees were found.

S. 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī writes[3] in his history that Makhdūmu-l-mulk gave an opinion (*fatwa*) to the effect that at this time the pilgrimage was not lawful for the people of India, as security was a condition thereof, and the journey had either to be made by sea—and this could not be effected without Feringhi passports, which bore the figures of Mary and Jesus, which was an infringement of the law and a sort of idol-worship,—or it was by the route of Persia, where there was unsuitable society (the Shias of Persia). They say that Makhdūmu-l-mulk, on account of his bigotry, burnt the third volume of the[4] Rauẓat-al-Aḥbāb, as it

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1 Apparently this was a title of the Sharīf of Mecca.

2 Should be 990, 1582. The statement that he was poisoned is also made in the Khazīna-ul-Aṣfiyā.

3 B. 172 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 206. Badayūnī does not say that he heard 'Abdullah say this.

4 "The Garden of Lovers" by Jamālu-d-dīn 'Aṭā Ullah. Rieu I. 147*a*. See Badayūnī III. 71. Badayūnī expresses the opinion that the

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contained some deficiencies and mistakes in the account of early times, and that on this account this volume is scarce.

'ABDULLAH K. FĪRŪZ JANG.

His name was Kh̲wāja 'Abdullah, and he was a descendant of Kh̲wāja Obed Ullah Nāṣīru-d-dīn Aḥrār, May his grave be holy!—and a sister's son of Kh̲wāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. In the latter part of Akbar's reign he came from a foreign country (Wilayat) [1] to India, and for some time served with Sher Kh̲wāja (a relation of his) in the Deccan. Wherever there was fighting he distinguished himself. Afterwards he left the Kh̲wāja and joined prince Sultan Selim in Lahore and was made one of the Aḥadīs. When the prince was in Allahabad, and from independence and presumption began to distribute *manṣabs* and titles, and to give fiefs to his servants, he received a *manṣab* of 1500 and the title of Kh̲ān. But as he could not get on with Sharīf K., who was the prince's manager, he in the 48th year (of Akbar) proceeded [2] to court, and the king (Akbar) perceiving his good qualities, gave him the rank of 1000, and the title of Ṣafdar Jang. His brothers Kh̲wājas Yādgār and Barkh̲ūrdār also received suitable posts, and after Jahangir's accession he got a drum and a flag.

As the matter of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) did not make progress under Mahābat K., 'Abdullah was in the 4th year appointed to the command of the army, and in that affair he acquired [3] a name.

third volume was not by Jamālu-d-dīn.

[1] He came from Ḥiṣār in Transoxiana in 1000 A.H. along with his two brothers Yādgār and Barkh̲ūrdar. Najību-nisā, daughter of M. Ḥakīm, was married to his uncle Kh̲wāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. See M. Hādī's preface to Tūzuk J., p. 6, and A.N. III. 823.

[2] Kh̲āfī K., 220, 227. Tūzuk J., 11, where Jahangir comments on the impropriety of his leaving his service.

[3] The account here given does not agree with Jahangir's account in the Tūzuk J. According to him 'Abdullah was for a long time unsuccessful, and though the Rānā was ultimately obliged to submit, this was not till the 8th year and then it was Prince Kharram, *i.e.*, Shah Jahan, who was the chief Commander. The elephant 'Ālam Gumān, or 'Alam Kamān, was not sent in till the beginning of the 9th year: see Tūzuk J. 127. Tod calls the Rānā Umra Singh. See Elliot VI. 336 for the statement that 'Abdullah was unsuccessful until Jahangir left Ajmere. Mihrpūr is not mentioned in Kh̲āfī K. as the Rānā's seat. Udaipūr is mentioned there,

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He attacked Mihrpūr, which was the place of refuge of Rānā Amar Singh, and got possession of the elephant ʿĀlam Gumān which had no equal. In Kombalmīr he established a station and routed and plundered Bairām Deo Solankhī who was a leader among the Rajputs. In the 6th year, 1020, 1611, he was made governor of Gujarat and an auxiliary force was also given him from the court. The arrangement made was that he should march to the Deccan with the Gujarat army by the route of Nāsik and Trimbak, and that the Khān Jahān along with Rajah Mān Singh, the Amīru-l-Umarā and M. Rustum should go by the Berar route, and that the two armies should keep in touch with one another, and on a fixed day should surround the enemy. It was probable that in this way the enemy would be annihilated.

ʿAbdullah[1] K. had with him 10,000 well-mounted cavalry, and in his pride and presumption he entered the enemy's territory without having any tidings of the second army. Malik ʿAmbar, who was much afraid of him, chose out men and sent them to extirpate him. Every day they skirmished (*bargīgarī mīkardand*) round his camp, and they did this from night till morning. As he approached nearer to Daulatabad the numbers of the enemy increased. When he got there no sign could be seen of the second army. He thought it proper to retreat, and marched towards Aḥmadabad *viâ* Baglāna. On the march the enemy pressed upon him, and there was a battle every day. ʿAlī[2] Mardān Bahādur did not approve of having the stain of flight put upon him and fought manfully and was made prisoner. As to the report[3] that Malik ʿAmbar colluded with the Khān-Khānān and detained him by wiles, it is not true, for at that time the Khān-Khānān had left

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I. 278, as his capital. For the account of the Rānā's submission see Elliot VI. 339. ʿAbdullah's appointment in the 4th year is mentioned in Tūzuk J. 74, and it is stated there that he got the title of Fīrūz Jang.

1 Khāfī K., I. 273, etc.

2 B. 496. Khāfī K., I. 275.

3 Apparently the author has confused two events, and he has repeated this at I. 718 in the account of Khān Jahān Lodī. The charge against the Khān-Khānān was not that he had colluded with Malik ʿAmbār at the time of ʿAbdullah's disaster. On the contrary, Jahangir sent him to retrieve affairs. The charge was that he colluded with Malik ʿAmbar in the 4th year when Khān Jahān was sent. Jahangir believed this and recalled the Khān-Khānān. ʿAbdullah's affair was later.

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the Deccan and gone to court. When the Khān-Khānān heard the sad news he returned and in ʻĀdilābād joined Prince Parvez.

They say that Jahangir had portraits taken of ʻAbdullah K. and the other officers, and that he took them into his hand, one by one, and made comments on them. Referring to ʻAbdullah's portrait he said, "To-day no one equals you for ability and lineage, with such a figure and such abilities, and lineage, and rank and treasure, and army you should not have run away. Your title is Garez Jang (the fugitive from battle)." When in the 11th year (of Jahangir), ʻAbdullah[1] sent for ʻĀbid K., the son of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad Bakhshī (the author), and who was Wāqa' Nigār (reporter) of Aḥmadabad, and insulted him on account of his reports, Dīāṅat K. was sent from the court to bring ʻAbdullah on foot to court. He, before the order reached him, went off on that way (on foot) and by the intercession of Prince Sultan Kharram was pardoned his offences. When the heir-apparent Prince Shah Jahan went to the Deccan for the second time, ʻAbdullah was sent with him, but he left the Deccan without permission and went to his fiefs. On this account he was censured and deprived of his jagir and I'timād Rai was made the *sezāwal* to carry him to the Prince. When the Prince was summoned from the Deccan to the court for the affair of Qandahar and, on account of the rains, stopped in Māndū, and the king, on account of the instigations of make-strife people, became alienated from such a son, and the matter came to fighting, ʻAbdullah came from his jagir and waited on the king in Lahore. When the Prince retired from opposing his father and left his army under Rajah Bikrāmājīt facing the royal army, so that he might check a force if it was sent after him, it was contrived by Khwājah Abū-l-Hasan that

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1 See Maaṣir I. 663 in account of Niẓāmu-d-din's son, where he is called the bakhshī of Gujarat. The story seems to be wrongly told there. See my note 3. Perhaps the apparent mistake is only due to the author's confused style, or to the omission of a clause by a copyist. See Khāfī K., I. 286. The story of ʻAbdullah's coming to sue for pardon and his walking 60 miles on foot is told by Sir Thomas Roe. There is also a reference to ʻAbullah's acts of tyranny in the Tūzuk J. 208. There it is said that he cut down the trees of a garden that Niẓāmu-d-dīn had planted at Aḥmadabad in order to spite the son ʻĀbid. For this his allowances for horses were reduced.

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'Abdullah should be appointed to the vanguard of the royal army. As soon as the two sides met, 'Abdullah[1] galloped off and joined the Prince's army. By chance, at that time a bullet from an unknown hand killed Rajah Bikramājīt. Both armies fell out of order and went off to their own places. As the Rajah had held the government of Gujarat, the Prince gave it to 'Abdullah, and he appointed a eunuch named Wafā[2] as his deputy with a small force there. M. Ṣafī Saif K. assumed the part of a well-wisher of the king and with the help of people appointed there arrested the eunuch and took possession of the city. 'Abdullah took leave from the Prince in Māndū and without looking for auxiliaries went off there in hot haste. When an encounter took place between the parties, 'Abdullah was defeated,[3] and he had to come to Baroda and then to Surat. He collected a force and joined the Prince at Burhanpur. After that he was always in the van in that time of struggle and contest.

When in the 20th year the prince returned from Bengal to the Deccan, and taking Yāqūt K. Abyssinian and other Niẓām Shāhī servants with him attacked Burhānpur, 'Abdullah vowed that whenever he got possession of that city he would make a general massacre. When the prince, without attaining his object, withdrew from the siege, 'Abdullah perceived that the prince was not favourably inclined towards him, and shut his eyes to all the kindnesses he had received and went off, and joined Malik 'Ambar. As the latter did not patronise him as he had expected, he, by means of Khān Jahān, entered the king's service. They say that when he came to Burhānpur, Khān Jahān went as far as the garden of Zainābād to welcome him, and received him with respect. He adopted a fawning and humble attitude, wore a *farjī*[4] like the Uzbeg darvishes, had a beard hanging down to his navel and came unarmed, and when an hour of the night was remaining, to the Khān Jahān's diwānkhāna and sate down. When the Khān Jahān went, according to orders, to Junair he accompanied him (?) and wrote to Malik 'Ambar that if he now fell upon the

[1] Khāfī K. I. 335-36.
[2] Wafā-dar, Khāfī K., I. 337.
[3] Do. 339. There is a fuller account of 'Abdullah's defeat in the Tūzuk J. 364, etc.
[4] See B. 89.

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Khān Jahān he would get the better of him. By chance they intercepted the letter. The Khān Jahān put it into his hand and he confessed. According to orders he was imprisoned in Āsīr. Ikrām K. of Fathpūr, the governor of the fort, treated him badly and at the instigation of Mahābat K., who was then in power, repeated orders came to blind him. The Khān Jahān would not consent. He wrote in reply that he had come in upon his word and that he would bring him to court.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, he was pardoned at the intercession of that distinguished member of the Naqshbandī order, 'Abdu-r-Rahīm Khwāja,[1] who was the successor of Khwāja Kilān Khwāja Jūībārī, who was thirty removes from Saiyid 'Alī 'Arīz's, the Great Imām (Imām Hamām) J'aafar Sādiq,[2]—Peace be upon him,—and was one of the glorious Saiyids of Tūrān, and an object of faith and reverence with the Uzbeg Khāns who are entirely devoted to this family. 'Abdullah K. then wore in his mental ear the ring of discipleship to Khwāja Kilān. In the time of Jahangir he ('Abdu-r-Rahīm) came from Imām Qulī K. the ruler of Tūrān as an ambassador, and was received with great honour. He was allowed to sit by the side of the throne and was treated with great respect by all the nobles and grandees of Persia, Tūrān and India. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he came from Lahore to Agra and received more honour than ever. It was because 'Abdullah was connected with the Naqshbandī order that he was pardoned[3] and raised to the high rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, and had the gift of a flag and a drum, and had Sarkār Qanauj given to him in fief.

When, in the same first year Jujhār Singh Bandīla fled from court to his home in Undcha (Orcha), a force under the command of Mahābat K. was appointed. The Khān Jahān Lodī from Malwa and 'Abdullah K. from his jagir with the officers of various quarters entered his country and opened the hand of violence. When Jujhār was hard pressed he approached Mahābat and expressed a wish to kiss the threshold. 'Abdullah and Bahādur K. and a number of other officers with 9000 cavalry came to the

[1] Khāfī K., I. 400.

[2] The 6th Imām. He died at Medina in A. H. 148, 765. Jarrett III., 359n.

[3] Khāfī K., I. 400.

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fort of Īrij which is thirteen *kos* from Undcha, and was in the eastern part of the country and in the possession of Jujhār. By alacrity and energy they took the fort. When Shah Jahan came to Burhānpūr in order to extirpate Khān Jahān Lodī, 'Abdullah went to the Deccan from his fief of Kālpī and joined with the army which had been put under the command of Shaista K. When he had recovered from a swelling which he had in his abdomen he came to the Presence and was appointed to chastise Daryā K. Rohilla who was making a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Chālīsgāon. An order was given that he should stay in Khandes and pursue without delay Khān Jahān and Dariyā K. whichever way they had gone.

When in the 4th year Khān Jahān and Dariyā K. went off to Malwa from Daulatabad, he followed close after them and gave them no rest anywhere. At last, on the bank of the Sehonda[1] (tank) Khān Jahān stood firm and was killed. In reward of this great service he received the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse, and the title of Fīrūz Jang. In the 5th year he was made governor of Bihar.[2] 'Abdullah resolved to chastise the zamindar of Ratnpūr[3] and went to that quarter. Bābū Lachmī the zamindar there got frightened and was admitted to quarter through the mediation of Amar Singh, the ruler of Bāndhū. In the 8th year he brought tribute and did homage in company with 'Abdullah. When 'Abdullah went off to his lands, Jujhār Bandīla again rebelled. In accordance with orders 'Abdullah turned back on his road and proceeded to chastise him. Khān Daurān joined from Malwa, and Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha did so also. When they were encamped one *kos* from Undcha, that miserable wretch got frightened, and went out of the fort with his family and his servants and some silver and gold, and went off to the fort of Dhāmūnī which his father had made very strong. The royal troops, after taking Undcha, pursued him and when they came to within three *kos* of Dhāmūnī they learnt that he had

[1] Text Sindhiya, but see B. 505, and Maasir, I. 729, in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.

[2] It would appear from an inscription mentioned by Buchanan that 'Abdullah built or repaired the Patna fort in 1042, 1633.

[3] In Sarkār Rohtās J., II. 157.

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gone off with his goods and chattels to Cūragarh, and was waiting for a letter from the zamindar of Deogarh. If the latter would give him a passage through his territory he would go to the Deccan. The royal forces took Dhāmūnī, and Saiyid Khān Jahān chose to remain there to settle the conquered country. 'Abdullah went on with the vanguard of Khān Daurān Bahādur. Jujhār fled by the route of Lānjī, which belongs to the territory of the zamindar of Deogarh. 'Abdullah marched every day ten Gondah *kos* and sometimes twenty, which are about double the ordinary *kos*, and came up with him on the borders of Cāndā and fought with him. The wretch took the road to Golconda.[1] After much marching 'Abdullah came up with him (again), and the father and son in fear of their lives fled to the jungle. There they gave up their lives at the hands of some Gonds. Fīrūz Jang cut off their heads and sent them to court.

When in the 10th year Rajah Pratāp[2] Ujjainya—who had received the rank of 1500 with 1000 horses—got leave to go to his own country—as had long been his desire—he withdrew from obedience and took the path of ruin. 'Abdullah K., in accordance with orders, went off from Bihar to punish him. He first besieged the fort of Bhojpūr which was the zamindar's seat, and where Pratāp had taken refuge. He, after struggles, became terrified and had recourse to supplications. He put on a *lungī* (waist-cloth) and took his wife in his hand, and through the mediation of one of the eunuchs of Fīrūz Jang made his appearance. The Khān imprisoned him and his wife and reported the matter to the Presence. An order came to put the scoundrel to death and to take possession for himself of the wife and the property. Fīrūz Jang gave some of the spoil to his brave men, and made the wife a Muḥammadan and married her to his grandson. In the 13th year he was appointed to chastise Prithīrāj, the son of Jujhār Singh, and Campat Bandīla, who were making a disturbance near Undcha. Though by the efforts of Bāqī K.—whom Abdullah had sent—Prithīrāj was made prisoner, yet[3] Campat—who was the originator of the commo-

[1] A mistake for Gondwāna. See Pādishāhnāma I., Part II, p. 262, and Khafi K., 512, etc The name of the son was Bikramājīt.

[2] B. 513 note. Khāfī K., I. 544-45. [3] Pādishāhnāma, II. 136.

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tion—managed to escape. This was ascribed to Fīrūz Jang's negligence and love of comfort, and so he was deprived of his fief of Islāmābād and censured. In the 16th year he was made governor of the province of Allahabad in succession to Saiyid Shujā'at K. After some time Shah Jahan removed him from his rank, and gave him a lac[1] of rupees by way of support. At the same period, he again became favourable to him and restored him to his rank. He was nearly 70 years of age when he died on 17 Shawāl of the 18th year, 1054, 7 December 1644.

In spite of his cruelty and tyranny men believed that he could work miracles, and used to make offerings to him. He spent 50 years as an Amīr. He was often removed from office and then restored and had the same magnificence and power as before. To serve him had something lucky about it. In his life-time many of his servants became *panjhazārīs* and *cārhazārīs* (5000 and 4000). They say he looked well after his soldiers but that they did not get more than three or four months' pay in the year. But compared with other places this three months' pay was equal to a year's. No one was able to represent his case to him personally; he had to speak to the diwān and the bakshī. If the latter delayed to report the matter, he cut[2] off their beards (?). His regular practice was that when engaged in a difficult[3] expedition he marched 60 or 70 *kos* a day. He kept a trustworthy rear-guard. If any one lagged behind, his head was cut off and brought to him. Fifty Moghuls—who were *yesāwals* (lictors) of the Mīr Tūzuk (Provost-Marshal)—were dressed in uniform and had adorned staves and kept order. They say that in the affair of the Rānā he had with him 300 troopers with gold-embroidered dresses and decorated armour, and 200 footmen consisting of *khidmatgars*, *jilaudārs* (runners), and *cobdārs* dressed in the same style. He was very pleased to see any one who had a wounded face. He was very dignified in manner. At the end of his life he used to begin his diwān in the last watch of the night. He also had by this time ceased to be cruel.

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[1] It was an annual allowance. Pādishāhnāma II. 348.

[2] *Safāī reṣh mī bakhshīd*. The phrase is not given in the dictionaries.

[3] Text *dar yūraṣh u sowārī*, "In expeditions and ridings." But I.O. MS. 628 has *yūraṣh dushwārī*, which seems preferable.

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S. Farīd [1] Bhakari says in the Ẕakẖīra-ul-kẖwānīn that, "At the time when 'Abdullah was kept under surveillance by Kẖān Jahān Lodī the latter sent through me 10,000 Rs. for his expenses. I said to 'Abdullah, 'The Nawāb has done much as a holy warrior in the path of God. How many infidels' heads have you caused to be cut off?' He said, 'There would be 200,000 heads so that there might be two rows of minarets of heads from Agra to Patna. I said, 'Certainly [2] there would be an innocent Muhammadan among these men.' He got angry and said, 'I made prisoners of five lacs of women and men and sold them. They all became Muhammadans. From their progeny there will be krors by the judgment day. God's apostle used to go to the house of the cotton-carder [3] (naddāf) and beg him to become a Masalmān. I at once made five lacs of people Masalmāns. If justice [4] were done, there would be even more followers of Islām.'" When I reported this conversation to Kẖān Jahān he said, "It is strange in this man that he boasts of his evil deeds and his non-repentance!" His sons did not do well. M. 'Abdu-r-Rasūl was appointed to the Deccan.

(MĪR) ABŪ-L-BAQĀ AMĪR KẖĀN.

The best son of Qāsim [5] K. Namakīn. By knowledge of his duties and of affairs he was superior to all his brothers. He distinguished himself during his father's life-time and attained the rank of 500. After his death he attained high rank. In the time of Jahangir he rose to the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse and was appointed governor of Multan as deputy for Yemenu-d-daulah. In the 2nd year of Shah Jahan when Murtaẓā K. Anjū the Ṣubāhdār of Tatta died, he got an increase of 500 horse and was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, and made governor of

[1] If this is the author of the book he must be identical with the S. M'arūf mentioned in Shāh Newāz's preface. Perhaps it is to this man that Stewart refers in his history of Bengal, p. 177, as Fereed Addeen Bokhary.

[2] One MS. has 'O God' (Allah) instead of *albatta*, and neknāmī "respectable," instead of begunah.

[3] *Naddāf*. I do not know what convert is referred to here.

[4] Perhaps "If a correct calculation were made." 'Abdullah's remark reminds us of the boasts of the Portuguese pirates about the number of Christians they had made.

[5] B. 470 and 472.

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that province. In the 9th year at the time of the return of the prince (Shah Jahan the king) from Daulatabad to the capital he was appointed to the fief of the Sarkār of Bīr in the Deccan and for some time was among the auxiliaries (*kamakīān*) in that territory. In the 14th year he was sent off to Sivistan in succession to Qazāq [1] K. In the 15th year he was for the second time put in charge of the province of Tatta in succession to Shād Khān. He died there in the 20th year of the reign, 1907, 1647, and was buried in his father's tomb called the Ṣafa-i-Ṣafā (dais of purity) on the hill which is opposite to Bhakar fort and on the south side. He was more than one hundred years old and there was no decline in his intellect or strength. In the time of Jahangir he was known by the name of Mīr Khān. Shah Jahan, by the addition of an alif to his title, took one lac of rupis from him as *peshkash*, and gave him the title of Amīr [2] Khān. He like his father had many children. His eldest son 'Abdu-r-Razzāq was of the 900 class under Shah Jahan. In the 26th year he died. Another was Ẓīyāu-d-dīn Yūsuf who at the close of Shah Jahan's reign held the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and afterwards had the title of Ẓiyāu-d-dīn K. His grandson Mīr Abū-l-Wafā in the close of the reign of Aurangzeb held [3] the office of darogha of the oratory along with other offices, and was known to the appreciative monarch for his intelligence and honesty. Another son who perhaps was the ablest of them all was Mir 'Abdu-l-Karīm Multafat K., who was an intimate associate of Aurangzeb and had his father's title. His biography is given separately. The daughter of the deceased Khān was married to Prince Murād Bakhsh, but this connection took place long after the Khān's death. On account of the prince's having no child by the daughter of Shāh Newāz K. Ṣafavī, Shah Jahan in the 30th year gave this chaste lady, who was worthy to be married to a prince, a lac of rupees in jewels, etc., as a marriage present, and sent her to Aḥmadabad to be married to the prince who was then the governor of the province (Gujarat).

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[1] B. 472. Qarāq.

[2] See the story in the life of his son Abdul-Karīm.

[3] Maaṣir. A. 459.

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ABŪ-L-FATḤ.

[1] Ḥakīm Masīḥ-u-d-dīn Abū-l-fatḥ, s. Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq of Gīlān, who had great insight in matters of contemplation and devotion. For years the Ṣadārat (chief ecclesiastical authority) of that country was in his charge. When Gīlān came into the possession of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī in 974, 1566-67, and Khān Aḥmad the ruler of that country fell into prison on account of his want of tact, the Maulānā from his truthfulness and orthodoxy ended his life in imprisonment and torture. The Ḥakīm and his two brothers Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn—each of whom was distinguished for quickness of apprehension and ability in the current sciences and for external perfections—chose departure from their native land and came to India. In the 20th year they entered into Akbar's service, and all three brothers received suitable promotion.

As Abū-l-fatḥ possessed unusual excellence and had tact and knowledge of the world he obtained promotion at court and in the 24th year was made Ṣadr and Amīn of Bengal. Afterwards, when the seditious officers of Bengal and Bihar united, and got rid of Moẓaffar K. the governor, Ḥakīm and many others of the loyalists fell into prison. One day he saw his opportunity, and threw himself down from the top of the fort and reached safety with difficulty and blistered feet, and went on pilgrimage to the Presence. When he kissed the threshold, he surpassed all his equals in influence and intimacy. Though his rank was not higher than 1000 yet in degree he was more than a vizier or vakil. When in the 30th year Rajah Bīrbar left to reinforce Zain K. Koka, who had been appointed to chastise the tribe of the Yūsufzai, Ḥakīm was also made leader of a separate auxiliary force. But they did not take account of one another and did not act with concord. The result of conceit and duplicity was that the Rajah was killed and that the Ḥakīm and the Kokaltāsh escaped with great difficulty and presented themselves at court. For some time they remained under censure. In the 34th year, 997, 1589, at the time when Akbar was marching from Kashmir to Kabul, Ḥakīm died a natural death in the neigh-

1 A.N. III., 144.

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bourhood of Damtūr. In accordance with orders, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī carried his body to Ḥasan Abdāl and committed it to the dust under a dome which he had built for himself. As some days before this, the very learned Amīr Aẓdu-d-daula of Shiraz had died, Ṣarfī [1] Savajī found this chronogram.

Verse.

This year two scholars departed from the world,
One went before and the other went after
Until both agreed (*i.e.*, met) together.
The chronogram "both went together" did not arise.

Akbar, who was exceedingly gracious to him, visited him during his illness, and after his death expressed his sorrow by saying the *fātiḥa* for him at Ḥasan Abdāl. The Ḥakīm was an acute, wise and active-hearted man. Faiẓī says about him in his elegy:

Verse.[2]

His writings were an exposition of fate's decrees,
His thoughts an exposition of fortune's records.

In studying and managing the dispositions of men he did not spare himself. Whatever came from him was found of weight in wisdom's balance. He was generous, and the beauty of the age, and for perfections he was the unique of the world. He was the subject of panegyric by the poets of the day. Especially did

[1] The words of the chronogram are, *Har do baham raftand*, which make 997, 1589. The Darbārī Akbarī quotes the lines with some differences of reading (apparently improvements) at p. 679. The text has Ḥarfi, but Ṣarfī is the right name and means grammatical. See Badayūnī III. 266, where he is called Sarfī Savajī and is stated to have been for a time with Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in Gujarat. He lived for a time in Lahore and was a man of dervesh manners. He went with Faiẓī to the Deccan and died there. According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow ed. 400, his name was Ḥarfī Savahjī and he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. See also B. 586 and note. Savahji means that he came from Savah (in Persia). See Sprenger, Cat. 382, who calls him Salāu-d-dīn Ṣarfī, and refers to the Maaṣīr Raḥīmī about him. There was also a Ḥarfī of Sawah, do. 30. Perhaps the second line of Ṣarfī's quatrain means that one scholar was higher in rank or abler than the other, but that now they have met together. Abūl Fatḥ's tomb still exists at Ḥasan Abdāl.

[2] See A.N., III., 563, line 14

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Mullā 'Urfi of Shiraz write many brilliant odes in his praise. The following lines are from one of them.

(Here follow eight lines of poetry.)

His (youngest) brother Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn with the takhallaṣ of Qarārī was an eloquent man and a good poet.

This verse is his

Verse.[1]

What reck I of death? A shaft from thine eyes hath pierced me

And shall aye torture me though I die not for another century.

An extraordinary [2] perturbation seized him, and by Akbar's orders he was sent to Bengal where he died without obtaining advancement.

The following are among his sayings:[3] To show off your ability before another man is to shew off your ambition (?)." "To watch over a rude servant is to make yourself ill-mannered." "Whomever you trust, he is trustworthy" (*i.e.*, none is really trustworthy). He called Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ a man of the world, and Ḥakīm Ḥamām a man of the other [4] world and kept aloof from them both. A separate account has been given of Ḥakīm Hamām. Another brother, named Ḥakīm Laṭf Ullah, who had come from Persia (afterwards) was, by the influence of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ, enrolled among the royal servants and attained the rank of 200. He soon died. Abū-l-fatḥ's son Fatḥ Ullah was an able man. As Jahangir was unfavourable [5] to him, one day Diānat [6] K. Lang charged him with disloyalty and said that

1 B. 587 who translates: "I doubt Death's power; but an arrow from thine eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years." The lines and their context occur in Badayūnī, III., 313. They are more vigorous than most of his quotations.

2 This is taken from the Aīn. I. 252, but the Maaṣir has separated the expression from its context. See B. 586 and note 4. Badayūnī seems to say, *l.c.*, that Qarārī was sent off to Bengal as a punishment because he would not conform to the rules about military service. See Darbārī A., 671, etc.

3 The sayings are obscure. See Darbāri A., 666 and 672.

4 *mard-i ākhirat.* "A man of the end of things. See B., *l.c.*, line 2.

5 Iqbalnāma 28.

6 Tūzuk J. 58 where it is stated that his former name was Qāsim 'Alī. B. 465 (?) but B., *l.c.*, note says Qāsim 'Alī should according to the Maaṣir be Qāsim Beg. See Maaṣir, II. 8. The Iqbālnāma J. 30 calls him Qāsim K.

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at the time of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau, Fath Ullah had said to him that the proper thing was to give Khusrau the Panjab and so stop the contention. Fath Ullah denied he had said so, and the parties were put to their oaths. Fifteen days had not elapsed when he reaped the result of his false oath, for he had joined Nūru-d-dīn [1]—the cousin of Āṣaf K. Ja'afir—who had arranged with Khusrau that he would bring him out of prison on a fitting opportunity. By chance, in the second year when Jahangir was returning from Kabul to Lahore, the plot was revealed to the emperor. After enquiries, Nūru-d-dīn and others were capitally punished and Ḥakīm Fath Ullah was pilloried, being made to ride on an ass backwards and so conveyed from stage to stage. After that he was blinded.[2]

ABŪ-L-MAKĀRAM JĀN NIṢĀR KHĀN.[3]

He was Khwāja Abū-l-makāram. At first he was one of the confidential servants of Prince Sultan Muḥammad M'uazzam. When Sultan Muḥammad Akbar had prepared the materials of rebellion, and was, in conjunction with ignorant Rajputs, about to march with a large force against his father, as information about his army had not fully reached the emperor, Khwāja Abū-l-makāram went as a scout on the part of the prince (M'uazzam) and fell in with the scouts of Prince Akbar. A fight ensued and the Khwāja escaped with wounds. In this way he became known to the emperor and afterwards obtained the rank of 900 and the title of Jān Niṣār K. In the campaign of Rāmdara [4] he was appointed to accompany the said prince (M. M'uazzam afterwards Bahādur Shah), and in the siege of Sāmpgāon [5] he distinguished himself, and stamped the diploma of bravery with the inscription

[1] Iqbālnāma, J. 27.

[2] B. 425 says he was put to death, and refers to the Tūzuk 58, but it is not said there that he was killed. Jahangir says he intended to do so, but refrained and contented himself with imprisoning Fath Ullah and putting to death some others. The Iqbālnāma 29, last line, says that Fath Ullah was pilloried, etc. He does not say he was blinded. From Khāfī K., I. 233, line 7, where mention is made of a plot to *makḥūl u maḥbūs* (blind and imprison) Jahangir, it is clear *makḥūl* does not mean to kill.

[3] Apparently he was son of Iftikhār K. 'Ālamgīrnāma, 247.

[4] Khāfī K., II. 280, 291.

[5] Text Sātgāon, variant Sāpgāon. The real name appears to be Sāmpgāon. See Khāfī K., II. 291. It is described there as a strong fort and

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of wounds! When the prince returned from there, he was appointed to attack Abū-l-ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, and Jān Niṣār accompanied him. In accordance with directions from the prince he proceeded to take the fort of Saram[1] and established a thāna. He repulsed a sally of Abū-l-ḥasan's troops, and he distinguished himself in the siege of Golconda and was wounded. In the 33rd year he was presented[2] with a dagger with a hilt, etc. (u sāz) of jade and sent off to chastise the vile foe. Next year he received a robe of honour and an elephant. As he had repeatedly distinguished himself the emperor used to show him favour. Afterwards when there was a battle between Sānta Ghorpura and the imperialists in a village of the Carnatic, the latter were defeated by the evil assistance of fate. The Khān was wounded but managed to escape. After that he became *faujdār* and *qil'adār* of Gwaliyar and chose the corner of contentment.

When Aurangzeb went to paradise, though the Khān was an old servant of Bahādur Shah and was hopeful of promotion from him, yet as he saw that A'ẓim Shah was at hand he, from inconsideration,[3] wrote petitions to A'ẓim Shah and Sultan Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (Bahādur Shah's son) to the effect that he wished to join, but that the opposite party had appointed a force to carry him off, and that he would come in as soon as he had got carriage, etc. Meanwhile he learnt that Bahādur Shah had arrived at Agra, and went off posthaste to join him. As the emperor had previously expected that Jān Niṣār K. would have gone over to Muḥammad 'Aẓīm[4] with 4 or 5000 horse, he was displeased. But after Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh was killed, he, on perceiving signs of penitence in Jān Niṣār, after some delay admitted him into his service. He received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and the gift of drums.

After Bahādur Shah had gone to paradise, the Khān served on the right wing of Jahāndār Shah in the battle with Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards he served Farrukh Siyar. When Ḥusain 'Alī

Jān Niṣār was wounded at the taking of it. See Elliot, VII. 314.

1 Sairam in Khāfī K., II. 302.

2 M. Aalamgiri, 331.

3 Text *beparwagi* but the variant *bepardagi* "effrontery" seems more likely to be correct. He wrote to both sides.

4 There is the variant A'ẓim, but apparently the text is right. Bahādur Shah thought that Jān Niṣār should have joined his son earlier.

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K. the governor of the Deccan came to the taluqs[1] and made peace with the enemy on the agreement to grant one-fourth of the revenue and ten per cent. *desmukhī*, and this arrangement was not approved of by the sovereign, Jān Niṣār—who was vexed (*mizāj girifta*, qu. "tactful"?) and was a man of the world (*saḥbatdīda*), and the adopted brother of 'Abdullah[2] K. Saiyid Miyān took leave in the 6th year to go as governor of Burhānpur, in order that he might make Ḥusain 'Alī K. listen to reason and bring him into the right way. After coming to the ferry of Akbarpūr (on the Narbada), Ḥusain 'Alī after perceiving that he would not be of his party (?), sent a body of troops and summoned him to his presence at Aurangabad. Though in appearance there was much cordiality, and food was sent every day and he was always treated with respect, and he was addressed as 'Ammū Ṣāhib "Sir Uncle," yet he put off admitting him to Burhānpur. After the harvest of the cold-weather crop he was admitted on condition that he should send his eldest son Dārāb K. to Burhānpur, and himself accompany him (Ḥusain 'Alī). When Ḥusain 'Alī K. showed a design to go to the capital, as he was not confident about Jān Niṣār, and the people of Burhānpur complained about Dārāb K., he appointed Saifu-d-d-dīn[3] 'Alī K. in his room, and took him (Dārāb?) with him. It is not known what finally became of Jān Niṣār. He had two sons. One was Dārāb K. and the other was Kāmyāb K. Both were with Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh in the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī K. The second son was wounded, and the eldest—who was son-in-law of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh 'Ālamgīrī, and whose sister (Jān Niṣār's daughter) was married to I'timādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn K.—was addressed by his father's title and in Muḥammad Shāh's time became *faujdār* of Sarkār Karra Jahānābād in the Allahabad province. He remained there for seven years and in the 14th year was killed by the hand of Bhagwant Singh the zemindar of that place.

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[1] *ba taaluqa rasīda.* Apparently this means the territories of Rajah Sāhū the Mahratta. See Maasir, I. 330, line nine from foot.

[2] The father of the two Saiyids. See P. 392. He is also called Tihanpūrī. Perhaps the meaning of *mizaj-girifta* is that Jān Niṣār had understood the feelings of Farrukh Siyar about the convention.

[3] A younger brother of Ḥusain 'Alī, B. 392.

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ABU-L-FATH K. DECCANĪ AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE MAHDAVĪ RELIGION.

He was descended from Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. On account of his being connected by marriage with Jamāl K— the Abyssinian (he was his son-in-law), he rose to high rank in the world. He was distinguished for courage and generosity. They say that when in the reign of Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh, Sultan Ḥasan B. Sultan Ḥusain of Sabzawār, who was a native of Aḥmadnagar, received the title of Mīrzā Khān and became the Peshwah of the dynasty, he, from wickedness and folly, brought Mīrān Husain the son of Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh aforesaid from Daulatabad to Aḥmadnagar and made him king. He also put[1] Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh to death by torture and became more powerful than ever. After some time intriguing persons alienated Mīrzā K. and Mīrān Husain from one another. As Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh (*i.e.*, the Mīrān Husain aforesaid) from carelessness and inexperience uttered menacing words, Mīrzā Khan observed the maxim of "remedy a fact before the fact occurs," and so he imprisoned Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh in the fort and raised to the throne Ismáīl, the son of Burhān Shāh, who (Burhan) at that time had fled from his brother Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh and had become a servant of Akbar.

On the day of the accession Mīrzā K. summoned the other Moghul officers to the fort and held rejoicings. Suddenly Jamāl K. the Abyssinian, who was the centurion[2] (Ṣada) *manṣabdār*, joined with the Deccanis and the Abyssinians and made a tumult at the gates of the Aḥmadnagar fort. They said that for some days they had not seen Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, and that he should be shown to them. Mīrzā Khān from exceeding arrogance replied by engaging in battle. When this did not answer, he, being desperate, had the head of Ḥusain Niẓām put on a spear and stuck above the fort. He then proclaimed, "Here is the head of the man for

1 The history of these occurrences is fully given by Ferishta who was an eye-witness. It was Mīrān Ḥusain who put his own father to death. See also A.N., III. 539 and 587.

2 Ṣada means "one hundred", and it would seem from Ferishta that there were a number of officers so styled. Originally perhaps it meant the captain of a hundred men.

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whom you are clamouring, our king is Ismáíl Niẓām Shāh." Some on seeing this wished to turn back, but Jamāl K. said that now he would exact retribution from this man (Mīrzā Khān) and put the reins into the king's own hands, otherwise their fortunes and their honour would be ruined. By his endeavours there was a general riot, and fire was set to the gate of the fort. Mīrzā K. became helpless and fled to Junair. The rioters entered the fort and proceeded to slay the foreigners. M. Muḥammad Taqī, Nazīrī Mīrzā, Ṣādiq Urdūbādī,[1] Amīn A'zzu-d-dīn Astrabādī—every one of whom had acquired court office and rank, and had not their equals in the seven climes in that age for the customary excellencies—and many of the Moghuls, high and low, servants as well as merchants, were slain. Mīrzā K. too was brought from Junair, cut to pieces, and his limbs hung up in the bazaar.

Jamāl Khān was a follower of the Mahdavī religion. When he arrived at power, he made Ismáíl Shāh—who was young [2]—a member of the same faith, and abolished the proclamation in the name of the twelve Imāms and exerted himself to promote the Mahdavī [3] sect. He gathered together nearly 10,000 horses of this party, and at this time the latter flocked from every quarter to Ahmadnagar. Saiyid Ilahdād—who was a descendant of the Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr who had proclaimed Mahdavism—came to the Deccan with his son Saiyid Abū-l-fatḥ. As Saiyid Ilahdād was renowned for his austerities, and the purity of his life, Jamāl Khan gave his daughter in marriage to his son Saiyid Abū-l-Fatḥ. That son of a Saiyid at once attained to great fortune and became master of goods and of undertakings. When Burhān Shāh heard of the confusion in the Deccan, and of the accession of his son, he took leave of Akbar and came to his hereditary country. With the help of Rajah 'Alī Khān Fārūqī and of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh he fought a battle with Jamāl K. in the neighbourhood of Rohankhīra,[4] and gained the victory. It happened by fate that

[1] Urdūbād is a town in Azarbaijān and is on the Aras, a tributary of the Kur. The province is now known as Erivan.

[2] Ferishta says he was only 16.

[3] For an account of the Mahdavī religion see Blochmann, Āīn, Preface, p. iii, etc.

[4] Ferishta calls the place Ghāt Rohangīr and says that when Jamāl K. found that pass closed against him he went by another and more difficult

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Jamāl K. was wounded by a bullet and killed. Ismāīl Niẓām Shāh was made prisoner. The verse "The currency of religion seized the head of Jamāl" enigmatically[1] gives the date of the event, 999.

Burhān Niẓām Shāh revived the Imāmiya religion and put to death the Mahdivies and plundered their property. In a short time no trace of them remained. Saiyid Abū-l-Fatḥ together with his wife's brother, who was Jamāl K.'s son, was seized and for a long time kept in prison. Afterwards he escaped and collected Jamāl K.'s scattered troops and took possession of the territory of Bijapur. Ibrāhīm[2] 'Ādil Shah sent 'Ali Āqā Turkoman against him. It chanced that 'Alī Āqā was killed and that Abūl Fatḥ got possession of his horses and elephants and became master.

'Ādil Shāh was helpless and conciliated him by bestowing high office on him and assigning to him the revenues of pargana Gokāk.[3] After some time 'Ādil Shāh meditated treachery against him, so he put his wife and mother on horseback and fled to Burhānpur. The Khān-Khānān ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm) regarded his arrival as an honour, and procured him the rank of 5000 and the gift of drums. After that he was given Mānikpūr in fief and the government of Allahabad, and acquired a name there for courage. In the 8th year of Jahangir he was appointed to march with Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) against the Rānā, and in 1023, 1614, he fell ill

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route to attack Burhān. See also A.N. III. 587 where the scene of the battle is called Fardāpūr. It is near the Ajanta caves. The battle was fought on 13 Rajab 999, 27 April, 1591. It is described in Major Haig's Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 167. The place is there called Rohankhed, and the date given is May 18, 1591.

1 The two words مذهب مروج *Murawwaj mazhab* yield the date 996, and they "take the head", that is, add the first letter ج of Jamāl which gives 3, and so the whole becomes 999, 1591. Apparently there are several puns in the line. *Mazhab* means religion, and *muzhab* means gilded, *i.e.*, flowery, and *muruj* is the plural of *marj*, a meadow. *Murawwaj* also means a dealer, and so *Murawwaj mazhab* might mean dealer in the current religion. Further *Sir-i-Jamal* may mean both "the head of Jamāl" and "a beautiful head." The line therefore might be translated "The golden meadows put on a beautiful appearance." The chronogram is given by Ferishta at the end of his account of Ism'ail of Aḥmadnagar's reign, and he says it was composed by Muḥammad Sharīf Karbalāi.

2 Cānd Bībī's nephew.

3 In the Belgaum district I G. xii, 306.

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at the *thāna* of Kombhalmīr,[1] and died in the city of Pūr Mandal.[2]

Mir Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr was the fountain of the Mahdavī movement. He was an Avīs,[3] and from his abundant spirituality became possessed of esoteric and exoteric learning. Many regard him as a disciple and successor of Shaikh Daniel, who was the successor of Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh of Mānikpūr. He was a Ḥanafī in religion. In the end of 906,[4] 1501, he, owing to confused brain and the influences of the age, proclaimed Mahdism. Many persons became his adherents and displayed their eccentricities. They say that when he became convalescent he repudiated his doctrines, but many who did not attain to sanity remained in the same ideas. Some maintain that his statement "I am the Mahdī" meant that he was the forerunner of the Mahdī and not that he was the Mahdī promised in the Law.[5] Some say that in fact God made a revelation to the Saiyid by a secret voice, which said, "Thou art the Mahdī," and that consequently he knew that he was the promised Mahdī. He held this belief for a long time, and then went from Jaunpūr to Gujarat. Sultan Maḥmūd the elder (Sultan Maḥmūd Bigarha) received[6] him graciously. On account of envious people he could not go to India, and set out for Persia, in order that he might go by that route to the Ḥijāz. On the way it was made plain to him that his idea of being the Mahdī was a complete delusion, and he said to his

[1] J. II. 258. Kumalgarh of Rajputana Gazetteer, III. 52.

[2] Pūr Mandal. In the Rajputana Gazetteer, Pur and Mandal are described as two separate towns, about 10 miles apart. They lie N.E. Udaipur. There is also a Mandalgarh, *l.c.*, 53. See also J. II. 274.

Abū-l-Fatḥ is mentioned in the Tūzuk J. III as having become loyal to Jahangir two years before the 7th year.

[3] That is, apparently, a follower of the order of Avis, the Aweis Qarānī of Beale, and the Ghiyāṣu-l-loghat and Avis Alkouni of D'Herbelot, a saint of Yemen, who was killed in A.D. 557. See also Khazīna Aṣfiya II., p. 118, and Nicholson's ed. of the Tazkīra Aulīya, I. 15.

[4] Text 960, but this must be a mistake, for he died in 910. Probably *shast* has been written by mistake for *shash*. See Blochmann V., Bayley's Gujrat 240 et seq., Mirāt Sikandarī lith. 136 and Badayūnī I., Ranking 420, 21. Ferishta however has 960.

[5] B. III.

[6] According to the Mirāt Sikandari the Sultan wished to see him, but was dissuaded by his officers on the ground that the Saiyid's eloquence might make him forsake secular business.

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disciples, "Almighty God hath wiped the drops of Mahdism from my heart. If I return in safety, I shall retract all I have said." When he came to Farah[1] he died, and was buried there. Ignorant people, especially of the Afghan Panī tribe, and some of other tribes, regard him as the promised Mahdī, and have adopted this fictitious religion. The writer of these sheets (*ajzā*) chanced to be in company with one of these believers, and it was clear that besides matters[2] which were disputable (?) they had extracted some rules and principles from the traditions which were contrary to the tenets of the four religions.[3]

ABU-L-FAẒL 'ALLĀMĪ FAHĀMĪ (SHAIKH).

Second son of Mubārak of Nāgōr. He was born in 958 (6 Muḥarram = 14 January 1551), and by his quickness, ability, lofty genius, and fluency of speech soon became the unique and unequalled one of the age. By his fifteenth year he had acquired the philosophic sciences, and traditionary learning. They say[4]

1 Farah or Farrah is in Afghanistan on one of the main routes from Herat to Qandahar. It is 164 m. S. Herat, I. G. I. 35, and is in Sistan

2 Siwāī Masīla-i-Mā Naḥn Fīh, an Arabic phrase which I do not fully understand. Perhaps it means, some questions which we do not discuss or describe.

3 Meaning the four orthodox sects of the Sunnīs described by Sale in his Preliminary Discourse. Blochmann gives 911 as the date of Saiyid Muḥammad's death. Bayley and Badayūnī have 910, and the Mirāt Sikandarī Lith. has 917. According to one account he was killed, and according to another he died a natural death. This biography is by Shah Newāz, and the remark at the end would seem to imply that he was a Sunnī. But possibly he really was a Shīa. He certainly was not a bigoted Sunnī or Shīa. The four sects of the Sunnīs are also described in Hughes Dict. of Islām.

4 Apparently the author did not know that the account was A. F.'s own. See Jarrett, III. 444 and Persian text of Āīn, II. 278. By the Ispahānī seems to be meant Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Al Ashārī who wrote a gloss on the commentary of Baiẓavī on the Koran. He died in Egypt in 749, 1348-1349. See D'Herbelot, art. Espahani. See also B. XI, where by mistake the manuscript is said to have been damaged by fire. The passage in the text is a copy, though apparently not at first hand, of A. F.; and in the 5th line of p. 609 the word *sih* has been omitted after *du*. Col. Jarrett's translation is, "When both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning, and in three or four others (differing) citations but approximate in sense." B. explains that the folios had been destroyed from top to bottom, half of each having been eaten away. This would affect the last half of each line on one side of the folio and the first half on the other. The story seems apocryphal.

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that in the early days of his instruction and when he was not yet twenty the gloss of Sifāhāni (or Ispahānī, *i.e.*, an inhabitant of Ispahan) came into his hands, but with more than half of it eaten by white-ants so that it could not be understood. He removed the worm-eaten portion and joined on blank paper. Then after a little meditation he understood the beginning and ending of each line, and by conjecture filled up the blanks. Afterwards when another copy was procured, and the two were compared, it was found that they agreed, except in two or three places where there were synonymous expressions, and three or four places where there were (differing) citations (*īrād*) but approximate in sense. All were astonished. As his disposition was retiring, and loved solitude, he shook off society and sought to lead an independent life. He did not try to open the door of a profession. At the instance of friends, he in the nineteenth year of the reign of Akbar presented himself before the sovereign at the time when the latter was about to proceed to the eastern districts, and tendered a commentary which he had written on the Ayatu-l-kursī, "The Throne-verse" (v. 256 of the second chapter of the Koran, p. 45 of Sale ed. 1825). Afterwards, when Akbar returned to Fathpūr, he presented himself a second time, and as the fame of his ability and learning had on several occasions reached Akbar, he became the object of his boundless favour. When Akbar became alienated from the bigoted Ulamā, the two brothers, who, along with their eminent knowledge and ability, were not devoid of tact and servility, again and again disputed vehemently with Shaikh Ābdu-n-Nabī and Makhdūmu-l-mulk,—who from their science and possession of the current learning were pillars of the empire,—and assisted Akbar in putting them to silence. Day by day their influence and intimacy with the king increased, and as the Shaikh's disposition and that of his elder brother Shaikh Faizī harmonised with Akbar's, Abū-l-fazl came to be an Amīr. In the 39th year he became an officer of 1000, and in the 34th, when the Shaikh's mother died, Akbar came to his house and condoled with him and comforted him. He said, "If men were immortal, and did not die, one by one, there would be no need for sympathetic hearts practising resignation. As no one long abides in this caravanserai,

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why should we bring upon ourselves the reproach of impatience." In the 37th year he was raised to the rank of 2000.

When the Shaikh had acquired such sway over the king that the princes were jealous of him, not to speak of the officers, and was always in contiguity, like the setting to a jewel, and that nothing was concluded without his approval, several of the discontented induced Akbar to send the Shaikh to the Deccan. It is also notorious that Sultan Selīm one day went to the Shaikh's house and found forty clerks employed in copying the Koran, and a commentary thereupon. He took them all, together with the chapters of the books, to the king, who became suspicious and thought,[1] "He incites us to other kinds of things, and then when he goes to the privacy of his home he acts differently." From that day there was a breach in their intimacy and companionship!

In the 43rd year he was dispatched to the Deccan to bring away Prince Murād. The order to him was that if the officers who had been appointed there to guard the country were doing their duty, he was to return with the prince. Otherwise he was to send off the prince, and to conduct the administration with the assistance of Mīrzā Shahrukh. When he arrived at Burhānpur, Bahādur Khān the ruler of Khandes, whose brother was married to Abū-l-faẓl's sister, wished to take him to his house and entertain him. The Shaikh said, "If you will go along with me in the king's business, I shall be able to accept (your invitation)." When this road was stopped he sent some clothes and other presents. The Shaikh rejoined, "I have made a covenant with Almighty God that until four conditions be fulfilled, I shall take nothing from any one. "The first condition is Love; the second is that I shall not overestimate the gift; the third that I did not ask for it; the fourth, that I was in want of it." Here, the first three conditions are fulfilled, but how can the fourth be got over for the graciousness of the Shahinshah has obliterated desire?"

Prince Murād, who had fallen into chronic melancholy owing to his having returned unsuccessful from Aḥmadnagar, and to this

1 See B. XVI who takes the words as having been spoken by Selīm. But A. F. never was Selīm's teacher, and I think the words are intended as an expression of Akbar's probable thoughts.

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cause had been superadded the death of his son Rustum Mīrza,—had with the connivance of sycophants, taken to drinking, and become epileptic. When he heard of his being summoned, he went off to Aḥmadnagar in order that he might make this expedition an excuse for not repairing to the presence. He reached Dīhārī on the banks of the Pūrnā and died in the year 1007, 1599. On the same day the Shaikh arrived after a rapid journey at the camp. There was an extraordinary commotion. High and low wanted to go back. The Shaikh considered that to return at this time when the enemy was close by, and they were in a foreign country, was to play into their own loss. Though many got angry and went off, he addressed himself with a strong heart and true courage to soothe the leaders and to keep together the army, and marched on to subdue the Deccan. In a short time he collected the wanderers, and guarded in an excellent manner the whole territory. Nāsik, which was far off, was not retaken. But many places such as the forts of Batīālā, Taltum, and Sitūnda were added to the empire. He encamped on the bank of the Godavery and appointed fit armies in every direction. On receiving a message he made proper agreements and promises with Chānd Bībī to the effect that when Ahang Khān the Abyssinian, with whom she was at feud, should be chastised, she would take Junair as her fief and surrender Aḥmadnagar. The Shaikh moved from Shāhgarha in that direction.

At this time Akbar came to Ujjain and found that Bahādur Khān the ruler of Āsīr had not paid his respects to Prince Daniel. The prince resolved to punish him. As the king intended to come to Burhānpur he wrote to the prince to address himself to the capture of Aḥmadnagar. Accordingly, letter after letter came from the prince to the Shaikh telling him that his energy was known to every one far and near, but that Akbar wished that he (the prince) should conquer Aḥmadnagar. Abū-l-faẓl therefore should refrain from the enterprise. When the prince moved from Burhānpur, the Shaikh, in accordance with orders, left Mīrzā Shahrukh with Mīr Mūrtaẓa and Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan in the camp and went off to kiss the threshold. On 14 Ramẓān, 1008 A.H., 19 March 1600, and in the beginning of the 45th year, he paid his

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respects to the king at Kargāon in the Bijapur territory. There came on Akbar's lips the verse—

A fine night and a glorious moon[1] fit well
For my talk with thee on every topic.

The Shaikh was appointed, along with Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, Āṣaf Khān J'afar, and Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī to besiege the fort of Āsīr, and the government of the Khandes was assigned to him. He sent his own men with his son and his brother and established *thānas* in twenty-two places, and exerted himself to put down the contumacious. At the same time he displayed the flag of a *manṣab* of 4000.

One day the Shaikh went to inspect the batteries. One of the besieged, who had joined the men in a battery, pointed out a path by which they could get upon the wall of Mālīgarha. For in the waist of Āsīr on the west by north side there were two noted forts called Mālī and Antarmālī. Whoever wished to enter the strong fortress (Āsīr) had first to get through these two forts. Separate from them and in the north and north-east side there was another fort called Jūnamālī. Its wall was not completed. From east to south-west there were smaller hills, and in the south there was a high hill called Kortha. On the south-west was a lofty hill called Sāpan. As this last had come into the hands of the imperialists, the Shaikh arranged with the officers of the battery that when they heard the sound of the drums and trumpets every one should come out with ladders and should beat loudly the great drum. He himself in a dark and cloudy night came with his men to the top of Sāpan and sent off the men. They broke open the gate of Mālī and when they had entered the fort they sounded the drums and trumpets. The garrison resisted, and the Shaikh followed and arrived when it was near morning. The garrison were confused and entered Āsīr. When it was day the besiegers poured in from every side, some by Kortha and some by Jūnamālī. A great victory was gained. Bahādur Khān asked for quarter, and through the intervention of Khān A'ẓim Koka he was permitted to do homage. When Prince Daniel

1 The 14th would be a full moon.

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arrived at the Presence during the congratulations for the victory of Āsīr there arose a disturbance caused by Rajū [1] Manā and the attempt to raise to the throne the son of Shah 'Alī the paternal uncle of Niẓām Shah. The Khān-Khānān came to Ahmadnagar, and the Shaikh got leave to go and subdue Nāsik. But as many men were making a disturbance about the son of Shah 'Alī, the Shaikh, in accordance with orders, returned from that quarter and went to Aḥmadnagar along with the Khān-Khānān.

When in the 46th year Akbar returned to Upper India from Burhanpur, Prince Daniel remained in the latter place. The Khān-Khānān took up his abode in Ahmadnagar so that the commander-in-chiefship and the prosecution of the war fell to the Shaikh. After fightings and struggles the Shaikh made a treaty with the son of Shāh 'Alī and then proceeded to chastise Rājū Manā. After taking Jālnapūr and its neighbourhood—which had been held by the enemy—he hastened to Ghātī Daulatabad (*i.e.*, the approaches to Daulatabad) and the Rauẓa [2] and marched down from Katak [3] Catwāra and repeatedly fought with Rājū and was always victorious. Rājū [4] took shelter for a time in Daulatabad and again made a disturbance. After a short engagement he fled and was nearly captured. He flung himself into the moat of the fort. His baggage was plundered.

In the 47th year when Akbar became displeased with Prince Sultan Selim on account of certain occurrences, he, because of his servants' having sided with the prince, and because there was no one who was equal to Abū-l-faẓl in truthfulness and reliability, summoned him to court. He ordered him to leave his establishment and to come unattended, and with haste. Abū-l-faẓl left his son 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān with his establishment and with the auxiliary officers in the Deccan, and came on rapidly. Jahangir, who suspected him on account of his loyalty and devotion to his master, regarded his coming at this time as an interruption to his

[1] Akbarnāma III. 784. Rājū is also called Rājū Deccani. He was a rival of Malik 'Ambar.

[2] Rauẓa is another name for Khuldābād where Aurangzeb is buried.

[3] A.N. III. 795. Katak means an army, and also a fort, and perhaps here a camp. The A.N. merely has Catwāra.

[4] A.N. III. 797.

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plans, and considered his coming unattended as a gain. Rather, from inappreciation, he considered that the getting rid of the Shaikh would be the first step to the sovereignty, and by various promises instigated Bir Singh Deo Bandīla—through whose territory the Shaikh must necessarily pass—to kill him. He waited in ambush. When this news came to the Shaikh in Ujjain, men said that he ought to go by the route of Ghātī Cāndā (by Malwa). The Shaikh said, "What power have robbers to block my path?" On Friday 4 Rabī-al-awal 1011, 12 August 1602, half a *kos* from the serai of Bir[1] which is six *kos* from Narwar, Bir Singh Deo assembled with numerous horse and foot. The Shaikh's well-wishers tried to bring away the Shaikh from the field of battle, and Gadai Afghan, one of his old servants, said that in the township of Antrī which was near at hand there were the Rai Rayan and Rajah Sūraj Singh with three thousand horse. He should take them with him and put down the foe. The Shaikh did not approve of incurring the disgrace of flight and manfully played away the coin of life.

Jahangir himself writes that Shaikh Abū-l-faẓl had persuaded his (Jahangir's[2]) father that because His Excellency, the seal and asylum (of prophecy)—the peace of God be upon him and his family—was possessed of perfect eloquence, he composed the Koran (*i.e.*, it was not a Divine revelation). Consequently he, at the time of the Shaikh's coming from the Deccan, told Bir Singh to kill him, and after this his father's views changed.

In accordance with the customs of the Caghatai family that the deaths of princes are not openly announced to the king, but that the prince's vakil binds a blue handkerchief on his arm and makes his reverence, and that in this way the fact becomes known; so as none of the attendants had the courage to announce the death of the Shaikh, the above custom was followed. Akbar was more grieved than for the deaths of his sons, and after hearing the details he said that if the prince aimed at the kingship he should

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[1] Called Bar by Blochmann XXV. It seems to be the Barquisera (Barke Serai) of Tavernier II. 39, ed. 1676. It was between Narwar and Antrī and about 6 miles S. of the latter. The Trie of Tavernier is Antri.

[2] Price's Mem. of Jahangir, p. 33. It does not occur in the genuine Memoirs

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have killed him, and guarded the Shaikh. He also uttered this verse extempore.[1]

Verse.

When our Shaikh came towards us with eager longing
A desire of kissing our feet lost him, head and foot.

The Khān 'Aẓim enigmatically gave the date of the Shaikh's death thus—

Verse.

The wondrous sword of God's Prophet severed the rebel's head.[1] (1011) (*i.e.*, 1602 A.D.)

They say the Shaikh appeared in a dream (to him) and said, "The date of my death is '*Banda Abū-l-fazl*', 'The slave (servant of God) Abū-l-faẓl', "for in God's workshop, His bounty is extensive to the erring. No one should despair."

It is related of Shāh Abū-l-m'aālī Qādirī,[2] who was one of the leading Shaikhs of Lahore, that he said, "I objected[3] to the doings of Abū-l-faẓl. One night I saw in a dream that Abū-l-faẓl was produced in the assembly of the Apostle. His Majesty cast his blessed glance upon him and gave him a place in the assembly. He condescended to observe, "This man during part of his life did evil things, but this prayer of his of which the beginning is 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their goodness, and comfort the evil for the sake of Thy graciousness' became the cause of his salvation."

The assertion that the Shaikh was an infidel is upon the lips of high and low. Some reproach him with being a Hindu in religion, and some call him a fire-worshipper, and entitle him a secularist. Some even carry their disgust so far as to call him impious and an atheist. Others in whom justice prevails and who, like the followers of mysticism, give good names to those who have a bad name, rank him among the followers of "Peace with

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1 The removal of the first letter of bāghī, "a rebel", yields 1011, *i.e.*, *Sar-i-bāghi burīd* minus b=1011.

2 Satīna u-l-Auliyā and Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 149. He was born in 960, 1553, and died in 1024, 1615.

3 Or perhaps, "I refused to have anything to do with him, *i.e.*, I refused to say prayers for him."

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all," and with those who are of a wide disposition, and accept all religions, and are relaxers of the Law, and are free-thinkers. The author of the 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbasī[1] says that Shaikh Abul-faẓl was a Nuqtavī (Blochmann 452), as is shown by an edict (*manshūr*) which was put into the form of a letter and sent (by Abū-l-faẓl) to Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Kāshī—who was one of the leaders of this sect, and the author of treatises on the Nuqta doctrine, and who, in the year 1002, 1594, when there was a slaying of heretics in Persia, was killed[2] in Kāshañ by Shāh 'Abbās with his own hand. The Nuqta doctrines are impiety and infidelity, and license and broad churchism, and the Nuqtavīs, like the philosophers, consider the universe to be eternal. They deny the Resurrection, and the Last Day, and the retribution for good and evil, and make Paradise and Hell to consist in prosperity and adversity in this world! May God preserve us (from such doctrines.)

With all this, the Shaikh was an able man, and had a great intellect and critical disposition, and an acute glance which overlooked nothing, however minute, in worldly affairs, and current questions. How was it that he did not enter into agreement with the wise, and that he abandoned the excellent way? Man in the affairs of this world—which is unenduring—does not devise his own evil and does not approve of injuring himself! In the affairs of the final world, which is stable and enduring, why does he knowingly and intentionally choose destruction? "Those[3] whom God permits to go astray are without a guide."

What appears upon investigation is that Akbar, from the beginning of his years of understanding, had a great love for the manners and customs of India. Afterwards, he observed the precepts of his honoured father who had accepted the advice of Shah Ṭahmāsp the king of Persia. The latter, in conversation with Humāyuñ, discussed the question of India, and the loss of sovereignty. He said, "It appears that there are in India two

1 'Ālam Ārāī, Tehran ed., p. 325. Sikandar Munshī says this on the faith of statements of people who had come from India, and of a letter or rescript which was found in Aḥmad Kāshī's house.

2 'Ālam Ārāī 325. 'Abbas cut him to pieces in Naṣrābād Kāshān.

3 Sūra 7, v. 185, "He whom God shall cause to err, shall have no Director" (Sale).

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parties who are distinguished for military qualities and leadership, the Afghans and the Rājpūts. At present you cannot get the Afghans on your side for there is no mutual confidence. Make them traders instead of servants, and arrange with the Rājpūts and cherish them." Akbar recognised that the winning over of this body of men would be one of the great political achievements, and strove for it to the uttermost. So much so that he adopted their customs, such as the prohibition of cow-killing, shaving the beard, wearing pearl earrings, Dussarah and Diwālī festivals, etc. Though the Shaikh had influence over the king, yet perhaps from love of glory he could not hold the reins in this matter. All these connexions recoiled upon himself.

It is stated in the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn that the Shaikh used to go to the houses of dervishes at night-time and distribute *ashrafīs* (gold coins) and beg them to pray for the preservation of Abū-l-faẓl's faith. The burden of his plaint was, "Alas! What is to be done?" And then he would place[1] his hands on his knees and heave a deep sigh. He never used bad language, nor was there fining[2] for absence, or the confiscation[3] or stoppage of wages in his establishment. Whomsoever he once employed he never, if possible, discharged him even if he did his work badly. He would say, "Men will impute it to my want of intelligence and will say, 'Why did he take him on without knowing what

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[1] *Lit.* "strike his hands upon his knees." It is an attitude in prayer. See Bahār-i-'Ajam and Hughes' Dict., art. Prayer. See also B. XVI, XVII. The phrase "to strike one's hands on one's knees" is also used in Maasir I. 745, line 6. Apparently it is a gesture of emotion.

[2] *ghair ḥāẓirī*. See Irvine A. of M. 25.

[3] *bāzyāft u faroghi*. *Farogh* means splendour or a star, and *furugh* means bringing to an end. But I think there is a misreading and that the word is *qurughī*. See Vullers *s.v. quruq*. Steingiss gives *quruq* as a Mongolian word meaning confiscation. It has been adopted into Bengali as a legal term meaning attachment of property, *e.g.*, Kūrūk Amīn, "an attaching officer." The juxta-position of the word bazyāft seems to shew that a word meaning stoppage of wages was intended. The MSS. might be read as giving *qurughi* as well as *faroghi*, for there is only a dot of difference between them. Blochmann however has accepted the word as *furugh*, for his rendering at p. xxviii is 'absence on the part of his servants." Perhaps the word means simply dismissal. The expression occurs again at p. 408 of vol. III in the notice of Mahābat, and is made with reference to Khān Jahān Lodī's establishment.

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he was ?' " On the day that the Sun entered Aries, he had all his household goods brought before him and he wrote down the details and kept the list. He burnt his account-books (*dafātir*) and gave all the clothes he had worn to his servants on New Year's Day, except the trousers (*pājāma*) which were burnt in his presence. He had a wonderful appetite. They say that, exclusive of fuel and water, his daily ration weighed two and twenty *sirs*. His son S. ' Abdu-r-Raḥmān was his table-attendant (*safarcī*, " waiter "), and sate as such. The superintendent of the kitchen (*mashrif-i-bawarchīkhāna*) was a Muḥammadan and stood by and looked on. Whatever dish the Shaikh put his hand into twice, was prepared again next day. If anything was tasteless, he gave it to his son to eat, and he went and admonished the cooks, but the Shaikh himself said nothing.

They say that his arrangements and establishments during the Deccan campaigns were beyond anything that could be imagined. In a *cahal rawatī* (a large tent) a divan (*masnad*) was spread for the Shaikh, and every day one thousand plates of food were prepared and distributed among all the officers. Outside a *nuhgazī*[1] (" a nine-yard canopy " ?) was set up, and cooked *kichiri* was distributed all day long to whoever wanted it—high or low.

They say that when the Shaikh was Prime Minister (*vakīl matlaq*), the Khān-Khānān one day came to see him, in company with M. Jānī Beg, the (former) ruler of Scinde. The Shaikh was lying at full length on a bed and looking at the Akbarnāma. He did not rise up at all, but, just as he was, said, " Come in, Mīrzās, and be seated." Mīrzā Jānī Beg, who had princely ideas, was disgusted and departed. On another occasion the Khan-Khānān prevailed by entreaties on the Mīrzā to go to the Shaikh's quarters. The Shaikh came to the gate to welcome him and paid him great attention, and said, " We[2] are your fellow-citizens and your servants." The Mīrzā was astonished and said to the Khān-Khānān, " What is the meaning of the whilome hauteur and

1 Possibly *gazī* is the same as *gazīnah* mentioned in B. 95 and in Vullers as a coarse cotton cloth.

2 Alluding to the fact that his ancestors settled in Scinde when they first came from Arabia to India.

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of the present humility?" The Khān-Khānān replied, "On that day he had the canons[1] of viziership in view, he conformed the shadow to the substance. To-day he adopted fraternising manners."

To leave aside all such matters, the Shaikh had an enchanting literary style. He was free from secretarial pomposity and epistolary tricks of style, and the force of his words, the colligation of his expressions, the application of single words, the beautiful compounds, and wonderful splendours of his diction were such as would be hard for another to imitate.[2] As he strove to make special use of Persian words, it has been said of him that he put into prose the Quintet of Niẓāmī. It is owing to his consummate skill in this art that he has written many things in praise of his sovereign, and in preambles which seem strange and which cannot be understood without close attention.[3]

(KHWĀJA) ABŪ-L-ḤASAN OF TURBAT,

WHO HAD THE TITLE OF

RUKNU-S-SULTANAT.

Turbat is a district[4] of Khurāsān. Quṭbu-d-dīn Ḥaidar, who was a doer of wondrous deeds, and from whom the Ḥaidarians derive themselves, came from there. The Khwāja entered the service of Prince Daniel during the reign of Akbar and was made Diwān of

[1] *toraǧī*. Perhaps the Khān-Khānān was referring to A.F.'s having been then reading the Akbarnāma and so been imagining himself at court. Perhaps we should read *tūzagi*. See II. 851 eight lines from foot.

[2] The part of this eulogium which refers to A.F.'s freedom from "the technicalities and flimsy prettinesses of munshis (B. XXVIII)" is taken from the Haft Iqlīm, the author of which says in his account of Agra and its writers, that Abul-faẓl considered it right to refrain from such tricks of style. The passage is quoted in the Darbārī A, p. 494.

[3] According to Ghulām 'Alī's preface the life of A.F. had not been written by the author of the Maaṣir. But probably he made this statement because he had not found it. Presumably 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy afterwards found it.

[4] Turbat Haidarī, Reclus IX. 226. Eighty-eight miles N.W. Khāf (Conolly) and S. W. Mashad. Perhaps the Haidarians are the Haidar Zai of Conolly. D'Herbelot mentions Haidhari as the name of a doctor called Quṭbu-d-dīn, but he was a native of Syria.

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the Deccan. When Jahangir ascended the throne, the Khwāja was summoned from the Deccan to court. In the second year when Āṣaf K.M. J'afar became Vakil, he requested (Tūzuk 50) that he might have him as an associate for the purpose of regulating the establishment. After that, when Āṣaf K. engaged in the affairs of the Deccan, and the Diwānī fell into the hands of I'timādu-d-daula, the Khwāja acquired influence and intimacy in attendance on the king, and in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, attained the high office of Mīr Bakhshī. When I'timādu-d-daulah died, the Khwāja was made Chief Diwān and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse. In the affair of Mahābat K., the Khwāja along with Āṣaf Jāhī and Irādat K. were in front of Nūr Jahān Begam's elephant-litter, and with a small force they swam their horses and opposed Mahābat, with their arms wet. Suddenly the enemy drove off the Begam's men with a shower of arrows, and every one of the officers went aside. At this crisis the Khwāja got separated from his horse, but with the help of a Kashmirī boatman [1] escaped with his life. In the 19th [2] year he was made governor of Kabul, and his son Ẓafar K. was sent off from court to be his deputy. In the reign of Shah Jahan he attained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. When on the night of Sunday 26 [3] Ṣafr 1039, 4 October 1629, Khān Jahān Lodī fled from Agra, Shāh Jahān appointed the Khwāja and other officers to pursue him. Though some officers pressed on and fought, and Khān Jahān Lodī crossed the Cambal and went off, the Khwāja arrived at the bank at the close of the day. As without boats he could not cross, he had to stay there till noon [4] of next day. Khān Jahān thereby got a start of seven watches and entered the Bandīla country. Jagrāj the son of Jujhār gave him protection and passed him out of his country. He intrigued with the guides of the imperial army so that they directed it wrongly, and took it by wrong roads. Accordingly, the Khwāja and the other leaders uselessly traversed the jungles, and gained nothing but giddiness.

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1 Iqbālnāma 264, and Elliot VI. 427.

2 Mahābat's rebellion was later than this, *viz.*, in the 21st year.

3 The Maaṣir has 27th at p. 725 in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.

4 Khāfī K. I. 418.

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When Shāh Jahān arrived at Burhānpūr in order to put an end to Khān Jahān, the Khwāja and the other auxiliaries waited upon him, and were sent off to free the country of Nāsik and Trimbak.[1] After settling that country and the jagir of Sāhū Bhonsla the Khwāja, according to the king's orders, went to help Naṣīrī K. who was besieging the fort of Qandhar. While on the way he heard of a victory[2] and returned. He came to the town of Pātūr Shaikh Bābū[3]—which is a pargana of the *payīnghāt* (Lowlands) of Berār—and to the bank of a stream which had little water in it. He intended to spend the rains there when suddenly a great flood from the hills came down upon the camp. The men got confused on account of the darkness of the night and the force of the water, and ran off on every side. The Khwāja and other officers got upon unsaddled horses and extricated themselves from that dangerous position. Nearly 2,000 persons, and all the Khwāja's property, including a lac of rupees in cash, were carried off by the water. In the 5th year he was made governor of Kashmir, but as he was a grey-beard of the State, Shah Jahan did not think it proper that he should go far off, and sent off his son Ẓafar K. to manage the business of that country as his deputy. The Khwāja died in the 6th year, 1042, 1632-33, at the age of seventy. Ṭālib Kalīm[4] found the date of death.

"May he rise with the Amīru-l-mūminīn ('Alī)." (1042.)

The Khwājah was a straight-forward and able man, but he was of a sour countenance and harsh[5] manners. His heir was Ẓafar K. of whom a special account has been given. Another son was M. Khurshed Naẓr.

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[1] West of Nāsik. It is a hill fort and place of pilgrimage. Elliot VII. 10. Text has ترمک as in Khāfī K. I. 426.

[2] That is, the fort was taken. Pādshāhnāma I. 396.

[3] See account in Pādshāhnāma I. 396 and Khāfī K. I. 461. The occurrence was in the first month of 1041, July—August, 1631. Pātūr is the Pātar of Jarrett II. 234, but is Pātūr in I. G. XX. 76. It is in the Akola district of Berār.

[4] Shāh Jahān's poet-laureate. Rieu I. 686*a*. He was a native of Hamadan and died in Kashmir in 1062, 1652.

[5] See a specimen of his harshnes in his remarks about Gaur Dhan and Harkarn, II, 159.

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ABUL KHAIR K. BAHĀDUR IMĀM JANG.

He was descended from the Fārūqī Shaikhs, and his lineage ascends to Shaikh Farīdu-d-dīn Shakrganj. The native place of his ancestors was Mīrpūr in the Sarkār of Khairabad, Oudh. As he lived for some time in Shikohabād (in the Mainpuri district), he became known as Shikohabādi. His father, S. Bahāu-d-dīn, was in the time of Aurangzeb an officer of 2000 and was Ṣadr and *Iḥtisāb* (supervisor of market) of Shikohabād. Abul-Khair held first a *manṣab* of 300 and for a while was assistant to Marḥmat K. in the city of Māndū in Malwa. In the year that Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh proceeded from Malwa to the Deccan he accompanied[1] him. As he was an experienced soldier, and had good judgment in such matters he was approved of and consulted. He obtained the rank of 2500, the title of Khān, and the gift of a suitable jagir, and was appointed *faujdār* of Nabī Nagar, otherwise Utnur (Uttur or Otūr in Poona district). When in the year 1136, 1724, that unequalled Amīr (Āṣaf Jāh) returned from the capital to the Deccan, he took with him Khwājam Qulī K., the governor of the fort of Dhār and *faujdār* of Māndū, along with him, and left the Khān there. Afterwards, when Quṭbu-d-dīn Ālī K. Panchkaurī was appointed to these offices by the court, the Khān went to Āṣaf Jāh and was attached to Ḥafīẓu-d-dīn K., who had been made governor of Khandes. He did good service against the Mahrattas, and gradually rose to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse, the title of Bahādur, and the gift of a flag and drum. He was also for a time faujdār of Gulshanābād,[2] and for a time Naib of Khandes and also for a time faujdār of Sirkār Baglāna. In the time of Nāṣir Jang he had the title of Shamsher Bahādur and became Naib of Aurangabad. In the time of Moẓaffar Jang he became governor of Khandes, and in the time of Ṣalābat Jang he held the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse and had the gift of a fringed palanquin and the title of Imām Jang. He commanded the van-guard in the battle with the Mahrattas, which took place during the diwanship of Rajah Roghanāth Dās. They say that in the battle he sought

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1 Khāfī K. II, 848.

2 "In Baglāna near Junīr." Elliot VII, 337.

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death from a desire for martyrdom, but by the decree of fate he died after the battle of a slight ailment in 1166, 1753. He was a valiant man and bold of speech. He also had learning. In the year when Bābū Nāīk, a Mahratta leader, had collected a large force for the purpose of levying the *chaut* in the Haidarabad Carnatic and had come there, he was appointed with a force from the Sarkār in order that he might, in concert with Anwaru-d-dīn K., taluqdar of the said Carnatic, and 'Abdu-n-Nabī K., faujdār of Cuddapah, and Bahādur K., faujdār of Karnūl, oppose Bābū Nāīk. His attacking the enemy, seizing his baggage and inflicting a disgraceful defeat upon him, so that Sardār did not make any more disturbances, are known to high and low. He left two sons. The eldest, Abū-l-barkāt K. Bahādur Imām Jang, possessed the jewel of courage and died young. The second is Shamsu-d-daula Abū-l-Khair Khān Bahādur Tegh Jang who, at the time of this writing, is a favourite with Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh (s. Nizamu-l-mulk) and holds the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, and has a flag and a drum and the fief of Īlgharab in the province of Bīdar. He has praiseworthy qualities and a good reputation.[1]

ABU-L-M'AĀLĪ (MĪR SHĀH).

One of the Saiyids of Tarmiẓ. He was introduced in his early youth to Humāyūn in Kabul through Khwāja Muḥammad Samī'. As he was handsome and had external graces he became a favourite and arrived at the dignity of being an Amīr, and received the title of farzand (son). He distinguished himself in the expedition to India, and after the victory was sent with some other Amīrs to the Panjab. If Sikandar K. Sūr, the ruler of India

[1] I. O. M. S. 628 adds to this notice the following statement:—

"On the 25th day of the month of Rabīu-ṣ-ṣāni 1205, 1 January 1791, he died of dysentery in the camp at the fort of Pankul (?)* and after three months his bier was conveyed in the month of Rajab to Haidarabad and he was buried in the sepulchre of Shah Ḥasan Barhāna — May his grave be holy — to the east of Haidarabad. May God have mercy upon him!' (This note must have been inserted by a reader or copyist, for 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy died in 1782.)

*Probably Pālakollu or Palcole in the Kistna district, Madras Presidency. It is an old Dutch settlement. It is on the Narasapūr canal. See Cotton's Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, p. 222, and I. G. XIX. 334.

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—who had escaped from the battle and withdrawn to the hills—should come out and make a disturbance, he was to chastise him. But his immoderation and his haughty demeanour to the Amīrs were the cause that Prince Akbar and his guardian Bairām K. were sent there, and that he was appointed to the Sarkār of Ḥiṣṣār. When he waited on the prince at the bank of the Beas, the latter had regard to the favour shown him by Humāyūn and invited him to sit in the assembly, and behaved with much kindness towards him. He, who did not understand positions, went to his quarters and sent a message to the prince to the effect that every one knew how he stood with Humāyūn, and especially was the prince aware of this, for on a certain day he had eaten along with the king at one table, while the prince had had his food sent to him. "Why then, when I came to your house, were a separate divan and pillow assigned to me." The prince, in spite of his youth, replied: "The laws of sovereignty are one thing and the laws of love another. You have not the connection with me that you had with the king. It is strange that you have not understood the difference and have made a disturbance." Afterwards when Akbar mounted the throne, Bairām K. perceived in him the marks of rebellion and arrested him in the assembly on the third day after the Accession and sent him to Lahore. He made him over to the Pahlwān Gulgaz, the *'asas* (police-officer). One day he, owing to the negligence of his guards, escaped and went to the country of the Gakhars. Kamāl K. Gakhar confined him. From there too he escaped and wanted to go to Kabul. When Mun'im K., the governor there, heard of his flight, he by stratagem got his brother, Mīr Hāsham, who was jāgīrdār of Ghorband, etc., into confinement, and Abū-l-M'aālī did not go there, but in Naushahra joined the Kashmīris who had been oppressed by their ruler, Ghāzī K. He won them over by craft and flattery and fought with the ruler of Kashmīr. He was defeated. Some have written[1] that when he joined Kamāl K. the (Gakhar) country was then in the hands of Adam Gakhar the uncle of Kamāl, and that Kamāl K. showed belief in Abū-l-M'aāli and raised an army, and they two

1 Ferishta says that he settled matters with Kamāl.

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went together to Kashmir. After the defeat he apologised. Abu-l-M'aālī went secretly to pargana Dīpālpūr, which was in the fief of Bahādur Shaibānī, and hid himself in the house of M. Tūlak who was a servant of Bahādur, but who had formerly been a servant of Abu-l-'M'aālī. It chanced that one day Tūlak had a quarrel with his wife and severely punished her. She went to Bahādur and revealed the facts, and said, "They have resolved to kill you." Bahādur immediately went off on horseback and put Tūlak to death, and imprisoned Abū-l-M'aālī and sent him to Bairām K. He put him in charge of Walī Beg to take him to Bhakar. He went off to Gujarat in order that he might go from there to Mecca. In Gujarat he committed an unjust slaughter and fled to Khān Zamān. He, in accordance with a summons, sent him back to Bairām. This time Bairām detained him with honour for some days and then imprisoned him in the fort of Bīāna. At the time of his own downfall he from Alwar[2] released Abū-l-M'aālī, and sent him to court with other Amirs. All the Amīrs did homage in the town of Jajhar (in the district of Rohtak). The Shāh (Abū-l-M'aālī) too came and paid his respects on horseback, which displeased the king. He was again put into chains and made over to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad in order that he might send him to Mecca. Two years afterwards, he in the 8th year returned from the holy places, and with evil intent came to Jalaur and had an interview with Sharīfu-d-dīn Ḥusain Aḥrārī—who had become a rebel. He gave him a body of troops and he went to the territory of Agra and Delhi and raised the dust of strife. He first went to Nārnol and took possession of the king's treasure. He came to Jhanjhanūn and from there went to Ḥiṣṣār Fīrūza. He saw that things were not succeeding and that the royal armies were pursuing him on all sides. So he went to Kabul. He wrote an account of himself to Māh Cūcak Begam the mother of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm—who had the management of affairs in Kabul. Abū-l-M'aālī put this verse into his letter.

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[1] Apparently to Abu-l-M'aālī.

[2] This is a mistake. Bairām was proceeding towards Alwar, but it was from Bīāna that he released Abul-M'aāli. See A. N. II. translation, p. 152.

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Verse.

We've not come to this door in quest of honour and glory.
We've come here for protection against the hand of fate.

People told the Begam that Shāh Abū-l-Mʿaālī was a young man of distinguished rank and courage and that Humāyūn had betrothed her eldest daughter to him. If she cherished him, it would be an advantage to her. She was deceived and wrote in reply—

Verse.[1]

"Show kindness, and alight, for the house is thy house."

She brought him with honour into Kabul and gave Fakhrunisā Begam (her daughter), the sister of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in marriage to him. When by this connection he became master of the situation, he, from his wicked nature, and the evil suggestions of some persons to the effect that while the Begam lived his position would not be secure, in the middle of Shaʿbān 971, April 1564, entered the Begam's chamber with two ruffians and killed her. He also killed many leading men, and among them Ḥaidar Qāsim Kohbar, whose ancestors had held high office in the family, and who was then Vakīl. M. Sulaimān, who always was wanting to get Kabul, came there from Badakhshmān at the secret request of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and some Kabul officers. Shāh Abū-l-Mʿaālī took M. Ḥakīm with him and came out to fight. An engagement took place near the Ghorband river. When the conflict was beginning (*lit.* was in the balance), the well-wishers of M. Ḥakīm carried him over to M. Sulaimān, and all the Kabulis dispersed. Shāh Abū-l-Mʿaālī became confused and fled. The Badakhshis pursued him and seized him in the village of Chārīkārān (Charikar). In Kabul on the day of the ʿĪdu-l-fitr in this year, 13 May 1564, he was hanged by orders of M. Ḥakīm and received the retribution of his deeds.

Verse.[2]

With my own eyes I saw in a thoroughfare (*gazargāh*)
A bird take the life of an ant.

[1] The Darbār A. gives another line besides this one. See p. 746. I do not know where the Maasir got the statement that the Begam's advisers told her that Humāyūn had betrothed her eldest daughter to him.

[2] Taken from Akbarnāma II. 207. The lines come from Niẓāmī Khusrū and Shīrīn, near the end.

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His beak was not withdrawn from the prey
Before another bird came and finished him.
Be not secure when you have done wrong,
For retribution is according to nature.

Shah Abū-l-M'aāli had a pleasant wit and wrote [1] poetry His takhallaṣ was Shahīdī.

(MIRZA) ABU-L-MAALI.

Son of the well-known [1] M. Wālī who was married to Bolāqī Begam the daughter of Prince Daniel. After his father's death he received the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 6th year of Shah Jahan his rank was 2000 with 1500 horse and he had the jāgīrdārī and faujdārī of Sīwistān. Afterwards he had an increase of 500 horse, and in the 31st year, on the death of Sazāwār K. Mashhadī, he was made faujdār of Tirhut in Bihar. Afterwards, when the wondrous workings of fortune disorganized Shah Jahan's sovereignty, and the intrigues of his sons produced confusion in affairs, and things ended in civil war, and Dārā Shikoh, who had the management of affairs, was defeated by Aurangzeb and took to flight, and the capital was brightened by the arrival of Aurangzeb's army, it appeared to Aurangzeb [2] that the most important thing was to secure for Shujā' from his father the inclusion of the township of Monghyr and the province of Bihar and Patna in the wide country of Bengal. Prince Shujā' had always been desirous of this, and now Aurangzeb took his part. Consequently the other jāgīrdārs and faujdārs, willingly or unwillingly submitted to him (Shujā'), and M. Abū-l-M'aālī also was obliged to join. Shujā, who had previously been defeated near Benares, and whose affairs had fallen into disorder, was pleased at the defeat of Dārā Shikoh and the conveyance to him of Bihar, and expressed his gratitude very warmly. But when Aurangzeb proceeded towards

[1] Badayūni III. 248. There is a notice of Abu-l-M'aālī in the Darbar A. 743. The M. Wālī who married Bolāqī B. was a son of Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī and Fakhranisā B. the half-sister of Akbar B. 310. He is also mentioned in the Tūzuk J. 272.

[2] After Dārā's first defeat Aurangzeb endeavoured to propitiate Shujā. Khāfī K. II. 42, 43.

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the Panjab in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, and it seemed likely that the enterprise would take a long while, Shujā' formed greater desires and advanced into the province of Allahabad. On receiving this news Aurangzeb withdrew from following Dārā Shikoh and turned his rein in order to fight with Shujā'. Before a battle took place, Mīr Abū-l M'aāli by the guidance of auspiciousness left Shujā's camp and joined [1] Aurangzeb. He was rewarded by the present of an elephant, etc., and the title of Mirzā K., a present of Rs. 30,000 and an increase of 1000 with 500 horse so that his rank became 3000 with 2000 horse. After Shujā' fled, and Prince Sultan Muḥammad was appointed to pursue him, Abū-l-M'aālī was made his auxiliary. Afterwards, he received the faujdārī of Darbhanga. In the 6th year he was ordered to proceed with Ilahvardī K., the faujdār of Gorakhpur, to punish the zamindar of the Morang. In that quarter he died a natural death in 1074, 1663-64. His son 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid K. in the 22nd year received the title of Khān. He did good service at the siege of Haidarabad. The pargana of Anhal [2] in Malwa—which had been assigned to this family from the time of M. Walī—was made his jagir and descended to his sons. When the Mahrattas took possession of Malwa, they dispossessed them. His grandson is Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid K. Khwāja Himmat Bahādur, who in the time of the Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh came to the Deccan. When the rule came to Ṣalābat K., he got his grandfather's title, and gradually attained high rank and the title of Amīnu-d-daulah Bahādur Saif Jang and the diwānī of the establishment of 'Alī Jāh,[3] the heir of Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh, and died in 1189, 1775. He was unequalled as a faithful friend.

ABU-L-MANṢŪR K. BAHĀDUR ṢAFDAR JANG.

His name was M. Muqīm and he was the sister's son and son-in-law [5] of Burhānu-l-Mulk. His father had the title of Siyādat K. After the death of his father-in-law he (Ṣafdar)

1 'Ālamgīrnāma 240. 2 J. II. 198.

3 'Alī Jāh was the eldest son of Niẓām 'Alī K. and died in 1795, before his father. (Beale).

4 *dar pūs āshnāi be miṣal būd.* The author of the Maaṣir says somewhere that the Deccanis are unequalled for the constancy of their friendships.

5 See Siyaru-l-M. III. 303 note, for a reference to Ṣafdar's widow.

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was appointed governor of Oudh by Muḥammad Shah, and he, after chastising the rebels there, brought them into subjection In 1155, 1742, he, at the emperor's order, went to Patna to assist 'Alī Verdī K., the governor of Bengal, where the Mahrattas were making a disturbance. As a reward he received charge of the forts of Rohtās and Chunar, but as 'Alī Verdī suspected some thing, he procured an order from the emperor directing him to desist from helping him, and he returned to his own province. In 1156 he came to court in obedience to a summons and was made superintendent of the artillery. In 1159, 1746, the province of Allahabad was made over to him on the death of 'Umdatu-l-mulk Amīr K. In 1161 when the Durrānī Shah (Aḥmad) marched from Qandahar to attack India, and passed beyond Lahore, he, to support the emperor's orders, proceeded to Sirhind along with Sultan Aḥmad Shah, and after I'timādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn was killed, he stood firm and displayed vigour until the Durrānī Shah retreated. When, one month afterwards, Muḥammad Shah died on 27 Rabīu-ṣ-ṣānī of that year, 16 April 1748, and Aḥmad Shah sate on the throne, and shortly afterwards news came of the death of Āṣaf Jāh, Ṣafdar Jang put on the Vizier's robes. As he was displeased with 'Alī Muḥammad K. Rohilla he stirred[1] up Qāīm K. Bangash against S'aad Ullah K., the son of the said Rohilla. When Qāīm K. and his brothers were killed, as has been detailed[2] in the biography of his father, Muḥammad K. Bangash, Ṣafdar Jang stirred up the emperor against Aḥmad K. Bangash, the brother of Qāīm K., and demanded the latter's property. The emperor halted in Alīgarh (Kol), and Ṣafdar Jang marched to the Ganges from which Farakẖabad was twenty *kos* distant. The mother of Aḥmad K. came and settled the matter for sixty lacs of rupees, and the emperor returned to the capital. Ṣafdar Jang in order to collect the promised money stayed for some time and set about confiscating the properties of Aḥmad K. He placed in Qanauj Newal[3] Rai of the Kayath caste, who had formerly held

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1 See Siyaru-l-M. III. 287.

2 Maaṣir III. 772.

3 Siyaru-l-M. III. 290. Irvine's Bangash Nawabs, J. A. S. B. for 1879, pp. 50 and 64. Nawal or Neval Rai was killed in the battle of Khudāgaon in August 1750.

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a low office on his establishment, but had been gradually promoted, and was now Naib of Oudh, and went himself to court. Newal Rai was killed in a battle with the Afghans, and Ṣafdar Jang set about collecting an army, and in concert with Sūraj Mal the Jat marched against Aḥmad K. Bangash. A battle ensued in which he was disgracefully defeated,[1] and in 1163, 1750, he went to the capital. Meanwhile Aḥmad K. Bangash stirred up strife in Allahabad and Oudh and failed not to plunder and burn everywhere. Next year Ṣafdar Jang joined with Mulhar Holkar and Jai Āpā (Jyāpa) Scindiah--who were two influential Mahratta leaders—and addressed himself to confronting Aḥmad K. This time the Afghans were defeated,[2] and they went off and took refuge on the slopes of the Madārih hills, which are a branch of those of Kumaon. At last they were reduced to make supplications, and to make a peace on terms satisfactory to Ṣafdar Jang. Meanwhile news came of the approach of Aḥmad Shah Durrānī from Lahore to Delhi, and Ṣafdar Jang in accordance with the emperor's order took Holkar with him by the promise of a large subsidy and came to Delhi in 1165. As Javīd K. Bahādur the eunuch, who was the centre of affairs, had made an agreement with Qalandar K. the ambassador of Shāh Durrānī, and then sent him back, Ṣafdar J., who did not like the eunuch, invited him one day to his house, and put[3] him to death, and took charge of the business of the sovereignty. Afterwards, the emperor, at the instigation of Intiẓāmu-d-daula, the Khān-Khānān, son of Qamaru-d-dīn K., sent him a message that he should give[4] up the superintendentship of the *ghuslkhāna* and the artillery. He understood the object, and stayed in his house for some days and then applied for his dismissal. As it was not granted he went off without leave and halted at two *kos* from the city. Every day there was an increase of disturbance till at last Ṣafdar Jang raised up a fictitious prince. Aḥmad Shah appointed Intiẓāmu-d-daula vizier in his room.

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[1] In September 1750. Irvine l.c. 74.

[2] Siyaru-l-M. III. 306. Irvine l.c. 98. The defeat was in April—May 1751. The Madārih range is mentioned in the Siyar M. Persian text.

[3] Siyar M. 328, Elliot VIII. 133 and 317. The murder was on 28 August, 1752.

[4] Siyaru-l-M. III. 330.

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'Imādu-l-mulk engaged in fighting with Ṣafdar Jang, and the contest went on for six months. At last by the mediation of Intiẓāmu-d daula peace was made on the agreement that Ṣafdar should retain the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. Ṣafdar Jang set out for his government and died [1] on 17 Ẕīlhajja 1167, 5 October 1754. A separate account has been given of his son Shujā'-u-d-daulah.

ABŪ NAṢR KHĀN, SON OF SHAISTA KHĀN.

In the 23rd year of the reign of Aurangzeb he was appointed [2] to the service of 'Arẓ Mukarrar (Revision of petitions) in the place of Latīf' Ullah K. In the 24th year when Sultan Muḥammad Akbar showed signs of rebellion, and there was only a small force in attendance on the king, Asad K. was sent in advance to the tank Pūshkar,[3] and Abū Naṣr was sent along with him. Afterwards he became Qūrbegī, and in the 25th year was removed from office. Afterwards he was made governor of Kashmir, and in the 41st year he was removed from there and appointed to the government of Lahore in the room of Mukarram K. For some cause he lost his *manṣab* and in the 45th year he was again received into favour and made governor of Malwa in the room of Mukhtār K. and had a *manṣab* of 3000 with 1500 horse. After that he was for a time attached to Bengal. In the 49th year he was made governor of Oudh and held a commission of 3000 with 2500 horse. Nothing is known of him after that.

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[1] He died at Pāparghāt (Beale). The Siyar M. III. 339 has Mahdīghāt.

[2] Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī, 188.

[3] Text tālāb-i-Bhakar; but the place meant is really the famous sacred tank Pūshkar, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer II. 67, and which according to the Khulāṣat Tawārīkh and the Araish Mahfil is three *kos* from Ajmere. In the Bib. Ind. edition of the Āīn the place is also wrongly spelt Bhakar, and hence we have in Jarrett II. 267 Bhakar with variants, none of which is right. Aurangzeb was then in the city of Ajmere and preparing to encounter his son Muḥammad Akbar who had joined the Rajputs and was meditating rebellion. He afterwards fled to the Mahrattas and eventually went to Persia and died there. He left his wives and children behind him. In the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī the Pūshkar tank is apparently called the Rānā's tank Tālāb-i-Rānā. Here too, p. 200, Pushkar is misspelt as Bhakar. Apparently Asad K. and Abū Naṣr were sent to Pūshkar to interview Shah 'Ālam (afterwards Bahādur Shah).

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(MĪRZA) ABŪ S'AĪD.

Grandson of I'timādu-d-daulah and brother's son of Nūr Jahān Begam. He was famous for his beauty and princeliness, and he had great taste both in dress and food. He looked after carpets, etc., and in ornamentation and style and in all worldly matters he was distinguished, so that in those respects none of his equals or rather of his superiors could come up to him. He had such nicety and such lofty ideas that sometimes he was still arranging his turban when news came that the darbār was broken up, and sometimes when he was not contented with the arrangement of his turban he put off his riding. By the favour of his grandfather he arrived at high dignities and held his head high. He was so haughty and mighty that he regarded neither the earth nor the heavens (fulk-u-mulk).

As his handwriting resembled that of I'timādu-d-daula, he, in the time of the viziership (of the latter), signed most of the grants and cheques. After I'timādu-d-daula's death he from inexperience and youth quarrelled with his (paternal) uncle Āṣaf Jāhī and made a league with Mahābat K. He also became intimate with Prince Sultan Parvez and attained to a high position. He went to the Deccan in company with the prince, and after his death came to court. In the 22nd year of Jahangir he was made governor of Tatta (Sind), and when Shah Jahan came to the throne he, on account of disagreement with Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K., was degraded from his office and influence and was allowed an annual pension of Rs. 30,000. For a long time he lived in retirement with comfort and tranquillity. In the 23rd year, at the request of the Begam Ṣāḥib he was made faujdār of Ajmere and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse. As he had the dāu-ṣ-ṣ'alab (the fox's disease) he could not attend to business. In the 26th year he received an allowance of Rs. 40,000 and again lived in retirement in Agra and spent the rest of his life in careless ease. He died in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. He had a poetical vein and earnestly desired to compose eloquent divans. He made a selection of many poems and called it the Khulāsa-i-Kūnīn (the cream of two worlds). His son Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K. was successful by being the companion of Prince Aurangzeb.

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After the battle with Rajah Jeswant Singh—which was the first crowning victory—he had the title of Ḵẖānazād K. After that his name became Ḵẖānī. In the 26th year, on the death of Kurram Ullah, he was made faujdār of Mūngī Pattan which is 20 *kos* from Aurangabad, and on the banks of the Godavery. In the 29th year he was governor of the fort of Qandhār in the Deccan.

(MĪR) ABŪ TURĀB[1] GUJRĀTĪ.

He belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shiraz. His grandfather Mīr 'Inayatu-d-dīn Sar Ullah—who was also called Hibbat Ullah, and was commonly known as Saiyid Shāh Mīr—had attained great proficiency in the acquired sciences, and was a school-fellow of Amīr Ṣadru-d-dīn.[2] He came to Gujarāt in the time of Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn the grandson of Sultan Aḥmad—from whom Aḥmadabad derives its name. After some time he returned to his home, and again at the time of the disturbance of Shah Ism'aīl Ṣafavī (the first) came to Gujarāt during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Bīgarah, with his son Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn, who was the father of Abu Turāb. He took up his abode in Campānīr—Mahmūdabad, the former capital of the Sultans. He set up as a teacher, and he also wrote useful books. He left good sons. The best of them was Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn, who was distinguished for outward and inward perfections. When he died, leaving a good name behind him, Abū Turāb remained as the eldest of the brothers and cousins. The family of these Saiyids is connected with the Maghrabih order, the lamp of which order was S. Aḥmad[3] Khattū. They are called Salāmi because apparently it happened that one of their ancestors had heard the sound of a reply to his greeting when he visited the tomb of the Prophet; Peace be upon him and his family!

Mīr Abū Turāb acquired influence in that country by his uprightness and skill. In the year when Akbar unfurled his standards there, the Mīr appeared before him sooner than the other Amirs

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[1] B. 506. The grandfather's name is there given as Ghiāṣu-d-dīn as in A.N. III. 217.

[2] One of Sultan Ḥusain Baiqrā's officers. See Ḥabību-s-siyar. The account of A.T. is taken from A.N. III. 217.

[3] Bayley's Gujrat, 90.

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of Gujarāt. At the station of Jotāna, Khwāja Muḥammad Haravī and Khān ʻĀlam received him and introduced him, and he was exalted by performing the prostration. When, before the royal standards halted at Aḥmadabad, an order was given that every one of the Gujarāt officers who had gathered together in the royal army, should[1] give bail, so that there might be no mistake made in cautiousness, I'timād K., who had held supreme sway in that country, became security for all except the Abyssinians, and Mīr Abū Turāb went bail for I'timād. Afterwards when nearly half of the country had been assigned to I'timād and the other officers of Gujarāt, the royal retinue proceeded towards Cambay to see the ocean, and Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk Gujarātī from short-sightedness and turbulence fled from Aḥmadabad. I'timād and all the others who had taken the oath were on the point of going off when Mīr Abū Turāb arrived and engaged them in talk. They were near imprisoning him and carrying him off with them when Shahbāz K. came from the king, and so their evil intentions did not result in action. The loyalty of Abū Turāb was again conspicuous, and he received royal favours. From that time he was always in favour.

In the 22nd year, 985,[2] 1577, he was appointed to the high post of leader of the pilgrims' caravan, and five lacs of rupees and 10,000 robes[3] of honour were given to him for distribution to the needy at Mecca. In the 24th year (987) news came that he had accomplished the journey and that he was bringing with him an impression of the Prophet's foot. On him be the benediction of purity! He reported that this was the fellow of the one that Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī had brought to Delhi in the time of Fīrūz Shah. Akbar ordered that the Mīr should halt with the caravan at the distance of four *kos* from Agra. There, in accordance with commands, the court-officers prepared a pleasure-house, and the king with the great officers and learned men came and placed that piece of stone—which was dearer than life—on his shoulders and walked some paces. The nobles, by relays, respectfully carried

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1 A.N. III. 7.

2 Text 989, but both this and the variant 982 are wrong. The 22nd year was 985. See A.N. III. 217.

3 *khil'at*, but probably in this case ordinary suits of clothes.

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it to the city, and by the king's direction it was placed in the Mir's lodging. *Khair alqadam*, Hail to the footsteps, is the chronogram (987).

The explanation given by inquirers is that a report was current at the time that the king claimed the gift of prophecy and asserted that he was an apostle, and that he had a low opinion of the Muhammadan religion—which will endure to the end of the world—and that he was trying to set it aside; God preserve us! Accordingly in order to muzzle men's mouths, this respect and honour took place out of artificiality. And the words of Abū-l-faẓl support this view, for he says that although H.M. knew that the relic was not genuine, and though cognoscenti had pronounced it to be spurious, yet he, in order to retain the veil and to preserve the respect (for the Prophet) and not to disgrace the simple-minded Saiyid, and to prevent the sarcastic from sneering, showed such reverence to the relic. Many who from wickedness had indulged in slanders were put to shame by this behaviour! [1]

In the 29th year when the government of Gujarāt came to I'tīmād K.—who for years had ruled it—Mir Abū Turāb was made Amīn and went off to Gujarāt with his two brothers' sons Mīr Muḥibb Ullah and Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn. Up to the year 1005,[2] 1596-97, the lamp of his life remained burning. He is buried in Aḥmadabad. His son Mīr Gadai had a place among Akbar's officers, and under the guise of service he did not abandon the character of Saiyidship and Shaikhship.

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[1] The passage purports to be a quotation from the A.N., but it is not exact. See Vol. III. A.N. 281.

[2] As pointed out by Rieu III. 968*a*, the Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī states that Abū Turāb died in 1003. At p. 41 of Part II. of that work, lith. ed., it is stated that the date of death is 13 Jamāda-al-awwal 1003 (14 January, 1595). Abū Turāb is the author of a history of Gujarāt B.M. MS. Or. 1818. According to Rieu, his grandfather's name was Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn, and his father's Quṭbu-d-dīn. His son Mīr Gadai is mentioned in Blochmann, 506. The text of Abū Turab's history was published by Dr. Denison Ross in the Bib. Ind. in 1909.

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PART II.

ADHAM KHĀN KOKA.

Younger [1] son of Māham Anaga, who by the abundance of her understanding and the straightness of her loyalty had much influence over Akbar. From the cradle to the throne she was a favourite, from her length of service and her reliability. She took a leading part in the overthrow of Bairām Khān, and conducted the political and financial affairs. Though Mun'īm Khān was the Vakil of the State, she managed everything. Adham Khān was a Panj-hazārī. He first acquired a name by his heroism during the siege of Mānkot when he was in attendance on His Majesty. That fortress was in the Siwaliks on the summit of a lofty hill, and consisted of four forts built in a wonderful way on the top of small hills, so that the whole seemed to be one fortress. Selīm Shah laid the foundations of it at the time he returned from the Ghakar campaign, in order that it might be a protection to the Panjab. He wished to depopulate Lahore and to develop Mānkot. For the former was a great city and the habitation of divers traders, and men of various classes. It could easily produce a large and well-equipped army. As it was on the route of the Mughul army (from Kabul) the latter might come there and get much assistance, and things might pass beyond the power of remedies. While occupied with those thoughts he died. In the second year Sikandar Sūr took refuge there, but at last was admitted to quarter, and delivered over the fortress. In the third year Bairām K., who was always suspicious of Adham Khān, gave him as his jāgīr Hatkāntha near Agra, which was inhabited by Bhadūriyas, who were notorious for their rebelliousness and turbulent opposition to kings; so that both might the rebellious be punished and also Adham be kept away from the Presence. He was sent there along with some other officers, and he by his energy reduced the district into order. After Bairām's fall Akbar sent him along with Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī and others, in the end of the fifth year and beginning of the sixth

1 Blochmann 323.

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(968, 1561), to conquer Mālwa, as the injustice and folly of Bāz Bahādur had been repeatedly reported to H.M. When Adham reached Sārangpūr, which was Bāz Bahādur's capital, the latter came a little to his senses and prepared to fight. There were gallant contests on both sides, but at last Bāz Bahādur was defeated and fled to Khandes. Adham rapidly marched to Sārangpūr and took possession of all Bāz Bahādur's property, including his dancing girls and songtresses, who were famous throughout the world. These successes made him presumptuous, in spite of Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī's counsels. He divided the territory of Mālwa among the officers and sent a few elephants by Ṣādiq Khān to H.M. He himself indulged in pleasure. Akbar was displeased. He regarded his correction as the most important matter, and made a rapid journey from Agra and arrived in sixteen days, *viz.*, on 27th Shabān of the sixth year, 13th May 1561. When Adham had marched out two *kos* from Sārangpūr in order to take the fort of Gāgraun, H.M. suddenly appeared. On learning this Adham paid his respects. H.M. proceeded to Adham's quarters and alighted there. They say that Adham had evil designs, and sought for a pretext (for killing Akbar). Next day Māham Anaga arrived with the ladies. She roused her son from his slumber of neglect and caused him to pay the respects of offering presents and holding feasts, and to produce for H.M.'s inspection whatever of Bāz Bahādur's had come into his possession, whether animate or inanimate, as well as all the dancing girls. H.M. returned some of the things to him, and after a halt of four days, set out again for Agra. They say that when he was returning, Adham Khān induced his mother—who was in charge of the harem—at the first stage secretly to make over to him two beautiful dancing girls of Bāz Bahādur. He thought that no one would notice this, but by chance H.M. came at once to know of it, and ordered them to be searched for. Adham Khān became alarmed and let the girls loose to wander in the fields. When they were caught and brought back, Māham Anaga put those innocent women to death. Akbar winked at this, but in the same year committed Mālwa to the charge of Pīr Muḥammad K. and recalled Adḥam K. to court.

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Adham K. was filled with envy when Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atka obtained the chief control of affairs, and Mun'īm K., who had similar feelings, was always stirring him up to wrath. At last on 12th Ramzān of the 7th year, 16th May 1562, when the Atgah Khān and Mun'im K. and other officers were in the Hall of State, engaged in public business, Adham K. came in with a number of ruffians. The Atgah Khān raised himself half up, and all the others stood up to do him honour. Adham laid his hand on his dagger and went towards the Atgah Khān, and made a signal to his companions. They wounded and slew the Atgah, and then Adham audaciously took his sword in his hand and went towards the female apartments and got up on the raised verandah which went round the harem. A great uproar ensued, and Akbar awoke and putting his head out over the wall inquired what had happened. Then he came out in wrath, sword in hand. As soon as he saw Adham K. he said, "Son of a bitch, why have you slain my Atgah? (foster-father)." Adham ran forward and seized Akbar's hands and said, "Your Majesty, consider the matter, there has been (only) a little scrimmage." [1] The king withdrew his hand from his clasp and struck him in the face with his fist with such force that he fell to the ground. To Farḥat Khān Khāṣa Khail and Sangrām Hūsnāk, who were standing there, he said, "What are you gazing at, bind this madman." They obeyed and bound him. Akbar bade them fling him down from the terrace, head foremost. They did this twice, and his neck was broken. In this manner the impious shedder of blood received the retribution of his deeds in the year 969, 1562. In accordance with orders both bodies were conveyed to Delhi, and the chronogram *Dū khūn shud*, (There were two murders), 970, was composed. They say Māham Anaga, who was then on a bed of sickness, heard that Adham K. had committed such an outrage, and had been imprisoned by the king. Maternal love made her get up and come to the king, thinking that perhaps he would release her son. The king on seeing her said, "Adham killed our Atgah, and we have killed

[1] *andakī talāsh*. Cf. the phrase *talāsh-u purkāsh* in Bādshāhnāma II, 691.

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him." That prudent lady said, "Your Majesty has done well." But she did not know that her son had been capitally punished. When she came to be certain of this, she out of respect did not utter any laments, but the colour left her cheeks and her heart received a thousand wounds. H.M. out of regard for her long service spoke comfortably to her and dismissed her to her home. There she sate in sorrow, and her illness grew worse. Forty days after the occurrence she departed to the other world. H.M. showed his pity by escorting the body for some distance and sent it off to Delhi with all reverence, where a grand building was erected over the tombs of Māham Anaga and Adham Khān.[1]

AFZAL KHAN.

His name is Khwāja Sultan 'Alī. His first employment was as *ashrāf-i-khazāna* (accountant) in the establishment of Humāyūn. On account of his straightness and ability he was the recipient of favours and in 956 (1549) he was made the head of the *Diwān-i-kharch* (the office disbursements, *i.e.*, he was made *mashraf-i-buyūtāt*). When in the year 957 Mīrzā Kāmrān the younger brother of Humāyūn became opposed to his elder brother, who was kinder to him than a father, and established himself in Kabul, he treated the royal clerks and servants with severity and put the Khwāja in prison, and extorted money and goods. When the king (Humāyūn) resolved to march to India, the Khwāja was raised to the rank of Mīr Bakhshī (chief paymaster). When Humāyūn died, Tardī Beg Khān, who claimed to be Amīru-l-Umarā, undertook, in conjunction with the Khwāja, the management of Delhi. The Khwāja in the battle with the notorious Hemū had the charge of the centre assigned to him, along with other officers, and when

1 It seems probable that Adham was the son of Nadīm Koka, or at least that the latter was Māham Anaga's husband. See R.A.S.J. for January 1889, p. 99, and Addendum 50, and second Addenda No. 67 to my translation of the Akbarnama. Adham's elder brother was Bāqī K. See B. 323. In the original edition of the Maaṣir Adham's was the first life. As regards Adham's parentage, reference may be made to the similar case of Tiangtosh whom Manucci supposes to have been an illegitimate son of Aurangzeb, Manucci, Irvine II. 43. The account of Adham's murder of the Atgah K., etc., is taken from Akbarnāmah II. 175.

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Hemū attacked the centre, the Khwāja gave way together with Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī and Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī—who were seeking an opportunity for ruining Tardī Beg the commander-in-chief—and took to flight. When the officers arrived, ashamed and disgraced, at the camp of Akbar---who had come from the Panjab to Sirhind with the intention of giving battle to Hemū---Bairām Khan at once put Tardī Beg to death, and kept the Khwāja and the Mīr Munshī—who were suspected of treachery and bribery—under surveillance. After that the Khwāja and the Mīr Munshī took to flight and went off to the Ḥijāz. In the fifth year of Akbar's reign they had the felicity of paying their respects, and the Khwāja was received graciously and raised to the rank of 3000. The compiler[1] (stitcher) of the scattered pages has not ascertained what finally became of the Khwāja or when he died.

AFẒAL[2] KHĀN 'ALLĀMĪ MULLĀ SHUKRULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

After acquiring learning in Shiraz, the abode of knowledge, he for a time occupied himself with teaching the ordinary sciences. When he came by sea to Surat and thence proceeded to Burhānpūr, the Khān-Khānān, who was a magnet for the attraction of hearts, captured him and took care of him, and chose him for a companion. After that he attached himself to Prince Shah Jahan, and became the law-officer (Mīr 'Adil) of his army. In the affair of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) he was his secretary and confidant. When by his good counsels peace was made with the Rānā, his reputation increased and he became the prince's diwān. After the campaign was over he received at the request of Shah Jahan the title of Afzal Khān. In the Deccan he went on behalf of the Prince to Bījāpūr in company with the 'Ādil Shāhī vakils and brought 'Ādil Shah to the highway of sincerity and obedience, and conveyed to the prince as tribute 50 elephants, rare curiosities, adorned weapons, and money. In the 17th year the prince

[1] It would appear from this sentence that this biography, or at least this remark, was made by Abdu-l-Ḥayy, but it is not signed Q. There is a notice of Afẓal in B. 376. He is called Turbatī by A. F., which means either that he came from Turbat, or that he was of the Turbat clan. See Blochmann, 348, No. 37. The last mention of Afẓal seems to be at p. 111 of A.N. II.

[2] Pādshāhnāma II. 339-40.

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obtained pargana Dholpūr as his fief and sent Daryā K. to take charge of it. Before this a request had made that the pargana should be assigned to Sultan Shahriyār, and Sharīfu-l-mulk took possession of it on his behalf. It came to a fight[1] between the two, and it chanced that a gun-shot entered the eyes of Sharīfu-l-mulk and blinded him. This supplied the leaven for a disturbance. Nūr Jahān Begam, who espoused the cause of Shahriyār, became angry, and Jahangir, who had handed the bridle of his power to her, became alienated from his heir. The prince who had been summoned to the presence from the Deccan for the affair of Qandahar stayed his progress and Shahriyār was appointed to the campaign under the guardianship of M. Rustum. An order was given to the Prince that in lieu of his old jagirs he should take from the Deccan, Gujarat, or Mālwa, whatever place he wished and should settle there, and that he should send off the auxiliary officers for the purpose of the Qandahar campaign. The object was that if the prince submitted to yield up the jāgīrs and to part with the men, there would then occur another rift in his consideration and establishment, and that if he made a disturbance, and became disrespectful, there would be a pretext for punishing him. After that what other strange things might not happen ?

The prince sent Afzal K. to court in order that he might convince Jahangir by arguments that the plan was all wrong, and that to take a light view of such an important business could only bear the fruit of evil to the State. He ought not to make over everything to women,[2] but apply his own far-seeing mind to affairs. It would be a sad thing if there should be any breach in the devotion of this faithful follower (Shah Jahan). If Jahangir ordered, at the word of the Begam, that his jāgīr should be taken away, how could he live among enemies ?

He requested that the fiefs of Mālwa and Gujarāt should also be taken from him and that the port of Surat, which was the gate of Mecca, might be granted to him in order that he might go there and became an anchorite.

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[1] Cf. Elliot VI. 383. [2] Khāfī K. I. 331.

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The sole desire of the prince was that perhaps the dust of disturbance which had been raised might be laid by the sprinkling of soothment and moderation, and that the veil of respect and reverence might not be rent. But the intriguers and ill-wishers had not prepared the materials of strife in order that things might be put right by Afẓal Khān. Though Jahangir was touched and made suggestions to the Begam, she only became more insistent, and her enmity increased, and Afẓal was dismissed without gaining his object.[1] When the prince became convinced that whatever submissions he might make would be imputed to weakness, and would encourage his enemies to go further, he perceived that it was necessary to hurry off before the royal army was gathered together; possibly the veil (between himself and his father) might hereafter be removed. As this story has been told elsewhere in these pages, we shall not repeat it, but proceed with the biography of Afẓal.

After the prince turned his rein and, without visiting his father, went to Māndū and then established himself at Burhānpūr, Afẓal K. was sent off to Bijapur to dispose of some business. When the prince did not, on account of the approach of the imperial troops, think it advisable to remain in Burhānpūr, he decided to go to Bengal by the route of Telingāna. Many of his servants became unfaithful and M. Muḥammad the son of Afẓal K. also fled with his family, and chose separation. The prince sent Saiyid J'aafar[2] known as Shujā'at K. with Khān Qulī Uzbeg, the elder brother of Qulīj K. Shahjahānī, after him with orders to bring him back if possible. Otherwise they were to bring his head. He was bold, and stood and fired his arrows. Though they used soothing words it was of no avail. He got rid of Khān Qulī and wounded Saiyid J'aafar. He himself bravely gave up his life. As the prince was always trying to amend the past, and sought to please his august father, he after returning from Bengal sent Afẓal K. with suitable presents in 1035, 1626, the 20th year of Jahangir's

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1 Khāfī K. I. 332.

2 See Khāfī K. I. 343 who calls him Muḥammad J'aafar. He killed Saiyid J'aafar and was killed himself. He was the son of the Afẓal who is the subject of this biography.

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reign, to court, but Jahangir unkindly detained[1] Afẓal K. and exalted him by making him his Khānsāmañ (steward). In the 22nd year when Jahangir proceeded to Kashmir Afẓal remained in Lahore on account of the difficulties of the journey and the work connected with the household. On the way back the inevitable event (the death of Jahangir) occurred. Shahriyār made himself be nominated to the sovereignty in Lahore and made Afẓal his vakil and the centre of all his affairs. As he in his secret heart was a well-wisher of Shah Jahan, on the day when Shahriyār drew up an army and appointed it under command of Sultan Bāīsanghar to oppose Āṣaf Khān, and himself mounted and went after it, Afẓal represented that Shahriyār's going was not advisable, and that he should wait till news came from the army (lashkar, perhaps it means camp here). By his arguments he delayed him till men without substance (*lit.* without hands or feet) who had been gathered merely by a waste of money and were without a leader, dispersed without any real contest, and Shahriyār crept helplessly into the citadel. When in 1037, 1628, Shah Jahan ascended the throne of India, Afẓal came from Lahore on 26 Jumāda[2]-al-akhir of the first year, 22 February 1628, and did homage. He was promoted to the office of Mīr Sāmān (major-domo) and had an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so had the rank of 4000 *zāt* (personality) with 2000 horse. In the second year he was made Chief Diwān[3] (*Diwān-i-kull*) in the room of Irādat M. Sāwajī, and had an increase of 1000 with 1000 horse. The chronogram[4] is *Shud Flātūn wazir-i-Iskandar*. "Plato became the vizier of Alexander" (1038, 1628-29). In the 6th year he begged that Shah Jahan would honour him by visiting his house which was called and dated *Manzal Afzal's* "House of exaltation" or "House of Afẓal" (1038, 1628-29). From the place of mounting to the house itself—a distance of twenty-

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1 The Iqbālnāma 248 says that in the 20th year the rank of 1500 with 1500 horse, &c., and sent him back. It looks as if the two occasions of Afẓal's coming to Lahore had been mixed up. Perhaps he came again when Shah Jahan submitted to his father and was received into favour and made steward.

2 Pādshāhnāma I. 176 says 23rd.

3 do. 257.

4 do. 495.

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five *jarībs*,[1] varieties of carpets, were laid down. In the 11th year his head was raised as high as Saturn by his obtaining the *manzab* of 7000. In the 12th year, when his age was 70, bodily illness prevailed over him, and the appearance of departure were visible on the cheek of his condition. Shah Jahan visited him and shewed him the kindness of inquiries. On 12 Ramẓān 1048, 7th January 1639, in Lahore, he departed from this sad world. The date of his death was found to be *Z khūbī bard goī nēknāmī*, 1048.

"He carried off the ball of a good name for excellence" (that is, he surpassed all in the goodness of his reputation).

The excellent man was irreproachable in conduct. Shah Jahan frequently said that in eight and twenty years of service he had never heard from Afẓal Khān a bad word against anyone. He was the admirable of the age for eloquence, and he was skilful in astronomy and mathematics and in accounts. What they say, *viz.*, that with all his science and learning he never put anything on paper, and that he did not know figures, is probably based upon his dignity and indifference. Indeed he put everything upon his *peshkar*, Dīānat Rai Nāgar[2] Gujarātī. It was he who conducted all the examinations. So that a wit said in an elegy after his death that when the angel put the question in the tomb,[3] the Khān replied, "Ask Dīānat Rai, he will answer you." His tomb is on the other side of the Jamna at Agra. He left no children. His brother's son 'Ināyat Ullah K. who had the title of 'Āqil K. was brought up by him as a son.

AGHR (AGHUZ)[4] KHĀN PĪR MUḤAMMAD.

One of Aurangzeb's officers. His tribe was connected with the Aghuz (Oghuz, who was one of the descendants of Japhet, the son

1 A jarīb is about 55 yards in length, and so the distance would be nearly 1400 yds., about three quarters of a mile.

2 A tribe. Pādshāhnāma I. 365. They are brahmans.

3 Afẓal's tomb is the famous Chīnī kā Rauẓa on the left bank of the Jumna between I'timādu-d-daulah's tomb and the Taj. It is the subject of a notice in the Archæological reports. See Beale. Afẓal was a poet and wrote under the name of 'Allām-i. His coming to Jahangir in the 17th year, 1030, 1621, with the spoils obtained from the Rānā is mentioned in Khāfi K. I. 322. The Chīnī kā Rauẓa is noticed in Keene's Guide to Agra.

4 Text Aghar. See A.N. I. 171 trans-

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of Noah,—Peace be upon him! Hence they are called by this name. Many of them have been renowned for courage and have devoted their lives in every country. In the time of Shah Jahan one of them, by name Ḥusain Qulī, who joined the king's service with his troop (tumān) attained the rank of 1500, with 800 horse, and the title of Khān, and died in the 25th year. Aghuz K. in the first year of 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) became the head of his tribe and went in company with princes Muḥammad Sultan and M'uazzam K. in pursuit of Shujā' towards Bengal. In the battles there he gave proof of courage. They say that one day the army had to cross the Ganges while on the other side Muḥammad Shujā's men were ready to offer opposition. Aghuz, who was the scout, and was in front of Diler A., the head of the vanguard, put his horse into the river and, on arriving at the other side, engaged in a hand-to-hand combat. A warlike (*mast*) elephant which was in the enemy's van lifted him and his horse with his trunk and flung them to a distance. Aghuz immediately killed the driver with his sword and took his place on the elephant. Just then Diler K. came up after having seen with his own eyes what had happened. He praised him and went round and round him. Aghuz said: "I have taken the elephant for your lordship, be good enough to give me a horse out of the spare (kotal) ones. Diler said: "Be the elephant also blessed to you," and sent him two good horses.[1]

In that year Aghuz received the title of Khān and went with the Khān-Khānān on the Assam campaign and did great deeds. The Khān-Khānān (Mīr Jumla) was pleased with him, but as his Moghuls oppressed the villagers and were wanting in discipline, nor was prohibition effectual, the Khān-Khānān came to pass him over. On this account Aghuz became disgusted and in the 5th year he got his[2] discharge from the Khān-Khānān, *nolens volens*, and set off to court. Though the Khān-Khānān

ation. The Oghuzān are referred to in the 'Ālamgīrnāmah 521, top line. See also note to account of Ekatāz K. in Maasir.

[1] The story is told in Khāfī K. II. 95. Diler was on an elephant at the time. The river was the Mahananda in the Maldah district. See the biography of Diler K. Dāūdzai II. 46.

[2] See the details in Khāfī K. II. 157-160.

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wrote about this to his son Muḥmmad Amīn A. Mīr Bakhshi, and Aghuz was for a time in disgrace and without an office and excluded from court, yet afterwards he was restored and received into favour, and appointed to the Kabul auxiliaries. There he exerted[1] himself to punish the Khyber Afghans who are always turbulent, and did not fail to attack and kill them, and to destroy their dwellings. In the 13th year he was summoned to court and named for the expedition to the Deccan where Sīvā Bhonsla was giving trouble. There too he distinguished himself, and repeatedly attacked and defeated the Mahrattas. Afterwards in accordance with a summons, he went to court, and in the 17th year again went to Kabul. On this occasion too he behaved with courage. In the 18th year he was thānadār of Jagdalak, and in the 24th—he had charge of the roads in Afghanistan and was given a kettle-drum. For years also he carried on the work of the State in the capital (Kabul?). In the 35th year, when the king summoned him to the Deccan, and when he arrived near Agra, the Jāts—who at that time were turbulent and practised highway robbery, attacked a caravan, and plundered some carts which had fallen behind and made the men prisoners. When Aghuz heard of this he attacked their fort and rescued the prisoners. He rashly proceeded to attack another fort, and a bullet struck and killed him in 1102, 1691. Aghuz K. 2nd was his son. He gradually got his father's title and was living in the time of Firdūs Ārāmgāh, Muḥammad Shāh. He rose to great fame and died at the appointed time.

AḤMAD BEG KHĀN.

Nephew (brother's son) of Ibrāhīm K. Fatḥ Jang. When his uncle was governor of Bengal he was governor of Orissa. In the 19th year of Jahangir he was sent against the Zamindar of Kokra[2] who had become rebellious. Suddenly news came that Shah Jahan was coming to Bengal *viâ* Telingāna. Aḥmad Beg was forced to abandon his expedition and to go to Piplī which was the capital

[1] See 'Ālamgirnama 1059, and Khāfī K. II. 237, etc. It appears from Khāfī K. II. 232, etc., that a poem was composed about Aghuz or Aghar which was called the Agharnāma.

[2] Text Khurda, but see notice of Ibrāhīm Fatḥ Jang. This notice repeats a good deal of what has been said in the biography of Aḥmad's uncle Ibrāhīm.

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of the province. As he had no power to resist, he carried off his property to Cuttack, which was twelve *kos* distant in the direction of Bengal. There too he could not protect himself and went off to Burdwan to Ṣālḥ Beg the faujdār of that place. From there too he came away and joined his uncle. On the day of the battle which Ibrāhīm K. waged against Shah Jahan's troops, Aḥmad formed the reserve with 700 horse. When the engagement became hot, Ibrāhīm's vanguard gave way and became mingled with Aḥmad's force. He fought manfully and was wounded. After Ibrāhīm had been killed on the field, Aḥmad in spite of his wounds went bravely off to Dacca where were the family and possessions of his uncle. But the army of Shah Jahan followed at his heels, going by the river, and Aḥmad had no resource but to submit. By the intervention of the prince's courtiers he entered into service. When Shah Jahan became ruler of India he conferred on Aḥmad the rank of 2000, with 1500 horse, and made him faujdār and *tuyuldār* (fief-holder) of Siwistan (Sehwān). Afterwards he was made deputy of Yemenu-daulah and made governor of Multan. When that connection came to an end, he waited on the king and was appointed *jāgīrdār* of parganas Amethī and Jāīs appertaining to Lucknow. In the 25th year he was made faujdār of Baiswāra (in Oudh) in succession to Mukarram Khān Ṣafavī with an increase of 500, and 500 horse. In the 28th year he was set aside, and on account of some acts was for some time without a *manṣab* or a jagir. In the 30th year he was reinstated.[1]

AḤMED BEG KHĀN KĀBULĪ.

He was a Caghatai, and his ancestors, generation after generation, had served the family of Timur. His ancestor Mir Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tarkhān was one of Timur's amīrs. He himself spent a long time in Kabul in the service of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and he was classed among the Īkatāz[2] of the Mīrzā. For the young men who were distinguished for bravery and were near companions of the Mīrzā were known by this name. After the Mīrzā's death he

[1] B. 511 supposes that Aḥmad was the son of Muḥammad Sharīf whom Jahangir executed for high treason.

[2] *Lit.* riding or attacking singly, and applied to men who singly charged the enemy (cavaliers seul), (monomachi). Irvine, Army of the Moghuls 43.

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came to the court of Akbar and obtained the rank of 700. In the year 1002, 1594, when Kashmir was taken from M. Yūsuf K. Reẓavī and distributed[1] among various fief-holders, he was at their head. Afterwards when M. J'afar Āṣaf K. married his sister, Aḥmad Beg's importance and influence increased. In the time of Jahangir he became one of the great officers and had the rank of 3000, the title of Khān, and the right to a flag. He was also made governor of Kashmir. In the 13th year he was removed and came to court and died some time afterwards. He was full of courage, and was also able, and maintained 700 chosen troopers. His sons were all soldiers and brave men. The foremost of them was S'aīd K. Bahādur Ẓafar Jang who rose to the highest rank and became the glory of his family. He kept alive the name of his ancestors. Up to the present day many things are connected with his name in India. High and low speak of him. A separate account of him has been given. His eldest son Muḥammad Mas'aūd was killed[2] in the Tīrah campaign against the Afghans. Another son Mukhlaṣ Ullah K. Iftikhār K. in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign by increase of rank by 500 with 250 horse rose to the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse, and had the title above mentioned. In the 2nd year he had the increase of 1000 horse and was made faujdār of Jamū. He afterwards had another increase of 500 and died in the 4th year. Another son Abū-l-Baqā kept company with his elder full brother S'aīd K. Bahādur. In the 5th year he was thānadār of lower Bangash, and in the 15th year when Qandahar fell into the imperial possession, S'aīd K. as a reward for the battle he waged against the Persians, obtained the title of Bahādur Ẓafar Jang and got the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse, and the title of Iftikhār K.

(MĪR) AḤMAD[3] KHĀN.

Son-in-law of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khān-i-biyutāt. He was an honest man of military tastes. In the time of Aurangzeb he was made bakhshī and wāq'anavīs of the army of Shah 'Ālī Jāh

1 A.N. III. 654.

2 *Bakār āmida* B. 466 has, "He was killed in the war with the Tārīkīs," and this is the meaning of the phrase though not given in the dictionaries. Cf. Khāfī K. I. 345, line 13, and B. 465.

3 Khāfī K. II. 381 uses the phrase Khān-i-Biyutāt and speaks of Mīr

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Muḥammad Aʿẓim Shah who had the charge of Gujarāt. Though he had a name for harshness and severity which are fit concomitants of truth and honesty, yet in this duty the prince was pleased with him and favoured him, though he disliked most writing men. After this, he was made diwān of the army of Muḥammad Bidār Bakht, and in the 48th year he was made the prince's deputy in the province of Khandes. At the time when Shah ʿĀlam returned after the battle with Kām Bakhsh and encamped at Burhānpūr, he wished to visit and hunt in the park (ramna) of Karāra, which is a delightful place and a hunting ground. It[1] is three *kos* from Burhānpūr and has a stream of unparalleled purity. In former times a dam had been placed in the stream opposite Karāra. It was one hundred yards broad and two yards high and formed a cascade. By the orders of Shah Jahan who, when he was a prince, had charge of the Deccan and had beautified the spot, another dam was made in front of (above?) the former one and at a distance of eighty yards. Between the two dams there was a lake 100 yards by 80, and there was another cascade from the second dam. Rows of buildings were erected on the two sides of the lake, and a small garden was made near it. But when the disturbance of the Rājpūts and the sedition of the Sikhs came to the hearing (of Bahādur Shah) he without delay marched off in the beginning of Shʿabān of the third year 1121, September 1709, and left the Khān to protect the city. By chance, in the 4th year Tulsī Bai, the wife of one of the Mahratta Sirdārs, made an attack with a large army, and after plundering the town of Rānwīr —which is seven *kos* from Burhānpūr—besieged the governor of the fort, who had not power to fight in the field, and had shut himself up. As the fort was not strong he was nearly being made prisoner. The Khān in his pride and excessive sense of honour did not approve of preserving his life in preference to martyrdom, or of withdrawing from opposing a female[2] foe.

Aḥmad as being the *brother* of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm.

[1] Copied from Pādshāhnāma I. 331-332. It is said there that the stream was as clear as an Aleppo mirror, and that its breadth in places was 100 yards (bādshāhī, *i.e.*, royal).

[2] *zan ḥarbīya*. Perhaps "a warlike

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Verse.

What is the manliness that is [1] less than womanliness ?

He absolutely cast aside the reins of self-control and without gathering an army or making arrangements for attack and retreat (*karr u farr*) came to Bahādurpūra and sallied forth. He sent *yesāwals* and messengers (*naqbā*) to summon the *manṣabadārs* and servants. The men, who had had a taste of the Khān's intensity and impetuosity preferred their honour to their self-preservation and collected their followers—most of whom were piadas (footmen) or carriage people [2] (*gardūn-suwār*). Next day the Khān—whose force was not more than 700 [3] troopers—formed his right and left wings and set off. On the way an encounter took place, and the flames of combat blazed forth. Though the leader's grandchildren and other kinsfolk set their hearts upon dying and slew many of the foe, yet the banditti wounded and killed many of the heroes with their long lances. The leader too was twice wounded in the leg by bullets. Meanwhile S. Ism'aīl Ẓafrmand K. the faujdār of Jamūd [4]—who commanded the reserve—came to assist and quenched the victorious flames of the infidels by the water of the sword. The army of Islam reached the precincts of the fort of Rānwīr. The battle of arrows and muskets went on for two days and nights. When the robbers perceived that the firmness of the combatants could not be shaken, they went off to the city. Though the Qāẓī and the headmen of the city exerted themselves to protect the city, yet the suburbs were swept clean by the broom of plunder, and were consumed by the flames of injustice. On the night [5] of the 10th

woman." Two B. M. MSS. have *zan jarīda* "a single woman." But ḥarbiya is probably right for it corresponds to the *zanjangī* of Khāfī K. II. 6, where also ḥarbī occurs.

[1] Perhaps *ke* should be *gar* "if".

[2] From the mention of *matṣadīān*, *i.e.*, clerks, in Khāfī K. I.C. I conjecture that the phrase *gardūn suwār* means here people accustomed only to ride in carts or carriages.

[3] Khāfī K. II. speaks, p. 666, of 800 or 900 troopers besides Mir Aḥmad's own men. But the Mahrattas far outnumbered them. The battle was fought on 9 Muḥarram 1122 = 27 February 1710 See Elliot VII. 422.

[4] A pargana in Sarkār Dandes. J. II, 224, 225.

[5] Khāfī K. says nothing of this second attack. Surely Ṣafr is a mistake for Muḥarram.

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Ṣafr the Khān went off at night to make a night-attack, and moved off from the foot of the fort of Rānwīr. Though some experienced men said from well-wishing that it was not advisable to go by night, he did not listen to them. When he came near the city, the wicked enemy became aware and stopped his path. The flames of war burst forth. The brave on both sides shewed their courage. Mīr Aḥmad K. with most of his sons and relatives, and two-thirds of his army, drank the goblet of martyrdom in the field, Ẓafrmand K. surpassed the wind in swiftness, and in a situation in which the dust could not by the path of the wind reach the city, arrived at the city with one son of the martyred Khān and a few others. Of the remainder some were wounded and some were made prisoners. Two sons survived the Khān. One was Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad who lived like a darvesh, and was much respected in that character. The other was Mīr Muḥāmid who received his father's title. A separate account of him has been given. (Maaṣir III, 760.)

(MĪR) AḤMAD K. THE SECOND.

Son of the martyred Mīr Aḥmad K. who bravely lost his life while governor of Burhānpūr in fighting with the Mahratta infidels. At first he had the title of Muḥāmid K. and afterwards he had his father's title. For some time he was faujdār of Chakla Eminabad[1] in the Panjab. By decree of fate, his wife, of whom he was exceedingly fond, died there, and he gave himself up to weeping and lamentation. This heart-rending wound was like the scar of the tulip on his mind. He applied himself to building and adorning her tomb and laid out a garden. Afterwards as deputy of 'Inayat Ullah K. Kashmīrī, he became governor of Kashmir. It did not answer, and his life ended in disgrace. The account of this is as follows: Maḥtavī K. Mullā 'Abdu-n-nabī[2]—who was one of the learned of the age and was one of the officers—was always waiting, under cover of protecting the Islam, to gratify his own selfish desires. From bigotry

1 A town in Gujranwala. I.G. IV. 352. The Uminābād of J. II. 319.

2 Siyar M.T. 57, Khāfī K. II. 867, also calls him Maḥbūb Khān.

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and a quarrelsome disposition he occasionally made investigations among the Hindus of that country in the way of censorship.

As misfortunes and the disorganized state of the sovereignty give rise to outbreaks of presumption and disorder, that mischief-maker in the second year of Muḥammad Shah's reign (1720) led away the base and foolish of the city by theological questions and made them his adherents. Gradually he attacked the Naib Ṣubāḥdār and the Qāẓī and urged that the rules of the Law about Zimmīs,[1] such as forbidding them to ride on horses or to wear armour, etc., should be put into force, and that they should be restrained from publicly practising their superstitions. They answered that the practice in the capital and other cities of India must be followed. How could new rules be introduced without the order of the reigning sovereign! That turbulent fellow turned aside from urging the rulers, and came out with the help of his followers and insulted the Hindus whenever he saw them. By chance at this time Majlis[2] Rai, who was one of the leading men in the city, came with brahmans to visit a garden and was occupied in holding a feast. That light-headed fellow came there and raised the cry of "Seize and lay hold" and immediately began to smite and to bind them. Majlis Rai fled and came to Mir Aḥmad's house thinking that he would be safe there. The unjust fellow turned back and set fire to the Hindu quarter[3] and destroyed the Hindus. Not satisfied with that he surrounded the Khān's house. Whomever he caught he dishonoured. The Khān on that day by stratagem preserved himself from his violence. Next day he having collected a body of men went with the royal[4] bakhshi and the *manṣabadārs* to put matters to rights. The turbulent fellow gathered together his men and took to discharging arrows and smiting with the sword. And at his instigation the Muḥammadans of the city also rose up. A number set fire from behind to the bridge which the Khān had crossed. From both sides of the road and market

1 Non-Muslim subjects. Hughes' Dict. s.v. See also B. 237 n.

2 Ṣāḥib Rai in Siyar M. But it is Majlis in Khāfī K.

3 Lawrence in his Valley of Kashmir 195 says it was the Kalāshpūra quarter that was burnt. He calls the fanatic 'Abdu-l-Ghanī.

4 *Bākhsī Pādishāhī* Khāfī K. has Mīr Shāhwar K. Bakshī.

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there was a discharge of arrows and muskets and stones, and bricks were thrown. The women and children threw whatever they could find from the roofs and doors. During this dreadful uproar Saiyid Walī, the Khān's sister's son, and many others were killed. The Khān was brought into dejection and supplication by these waves of slaughter, for he could neither advance nor return, and deemed it an advantage to save his life, though with contempt. After that, the turbulent fellow ('Abdu-n-nabī) plundered and destroyed the remaining homes of the Hindus and brought out Majlis Rai and a number more from their place of safety and mutilated [1] them. At the time of circumcising, men had their private parts cut off. Next day Maḥtavī K. went to the chief mosque, and assembling the Muhammadans and deposing Mīr Aḥmad K. made himself governor of the Masalmans and took the title of Dīndār K. For five months—during which no other governor came from the court—he issued decrees and orders. He sate in the mosque and transacted financial and administrative business. When Mūmīn K. Najm Ṣānī as deputy of 'Inaṿat Ullah K., who was appointed to quiet the uproar and to make new arrangements, arrived in the end of Shawwāl [2] within three kos of Kashmir (*i.e.*, Srīnagar), Maḥtavī K.—who was ashamed of his own evil deeds—came [3] out with a number of learned men, and the chief persons of the city, together with Khwāja 'Abdullah, a *manṣabdār* (officer) who was one of the notables there, to welcome the deputy and brought him with honour into the city. The Khwājah, either from friendship or from mischievousness, which is the leaven in the composition of that country, advised him first to go to the house of Mīr Shāhwar K. the Bakhshī, and apologise for what had occurred. After doing that he would be accepted (be forgiven). As the time of retribution for his deeds had arrived, he gave ear to the messenger of death, and at once went off there.

[1] Their ears and noses were cut off and they were circumcised or rather had their male organs cut off. Khāfī K. II. 869.

[2] Shawwāl 1132, equal to end of August 1720.

[3] This seems to be incorrectly stated Maḥtavī alias Maḥbūb did not go out to bring in the Naib. He proposed to do so; but his friend the Khwāja advised him first to go to the house of the Bakhshi. See Khāfī K. 870. The text calls the Bakhshī Mīr Shāhpūr. See also Siyar M.I. 160.

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The owner of the house, who had posted some of the Ghakkar[1] *manṣabdārs* and others and some men of the Judī[2] Malī ward in corners of the house, went out after a while on pretence of business. The men suddenly fell upon the doomed man, and first of all killed his two young sons who always went before him, chanting the birth of Muḥammad, and then put him to death with many tortures. Next day his followers girt up their loins for battle to revenge the death of their leader and fell upon the Judī Malī (or Carbīlī) ward, whose inhabitants were said to be Shias, and the Ḥasanabad ward. For two days fighting went on between the two parties. As there was a general riot on this side (the followers of Maḥhtavī), they were at last victorious and killed 2 or 3000 of the people of the two wards together with many Moghul travellers. They also dishonoured the women and for two or three days plundered much money and goods. Afterwards they went to the house of the Bakhshī and the Qāẓī. The first got into a corner where they could not follow him. The second came out and escaped.[3] They did not leave a single brick of their houses. When Mūmin K. entered the city, he acted on the principle of "Hold aslant and dont pour" and[4] sent off Mīr Aḥmad K. with an escort. The Khān arrived at the capital. Afterwards he got from Qamaru-d-dīn K. Bahādur I'timadu-d-daula the faujdārī of Moradabad. There he suffered much anguish. The date of his death does not appear.[5]

(SAIYID) AHMAD[6] K. BĀRHA.

Younger brother of Saiyid Maḥmūd K. Bārha. In the 17th year of Akbar's reign he, as also his brother, was appointed[7] along with the Khān Kilān to the advance force sent to Gujarat.

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1 Perhaps this should be Kākar—an Afghan tribe.

2 Siyar 161. Judi Bal. It is Charbīlī in Khāfī K. II. 870.

3 "By changing his clothes," Khāfī K.

4 Khāfī K. says he sent him off to Eminabad where his son was buried.

5 The author makes no mention of his own grandfather Muḥammad Kāẓim K. in connection with the Srīnagar riots, but it appears from Khāfī K. that he was then Diwān of Kashmir and that he was dismissed on account of these disturbances. See Khāfī K. II. 869, and also Maaṣir III. 721, where the dismissal is admitted.

6 I. B. 407.

7 A.N. II. 372.

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After the Aḥmadabad victory, the king sent him in pursuit of the sons of Sher K. Fūlādī who had taken their families and goods with them, and gone off to Īdar. Though they moved swiftly, and entered the mountain defiles, yet many of their goods fell into the hands of the king's soldiers. The Khān returned, and did homage. Afterwards when Pattan became the royal camp, it was made over to Mīrzā Khān ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm, S. Bairām) and the government of it was entrusted to Saiyid Aḥmad (on account of M. Khān's youth). In the same year Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh Mīrzā raised the standard of rebellion and came and besieged Pattan along with Sher K. The Khān looked after the fortifications and defended the place. At last the Khan A'ẓim Koka approached with a large force, and the Mirzās withdrew from the siege. In the 20th year of the reign, he was sent off with his brother's sons Saiyid Qāsim and Saiyid Hāshim to chastise the rebels connected with the Rānā—who after the killing of Jalāl K. Qūrcī, had stirred up the dust of strife. On account of his good service he was encompassed with favours. In the year 980,[1] 1572-1573, he died. He had attained to the rank of 2000. His son Jamālu-d-din was one who was known to the emperor. At the siege of Chitor, when two mines were charged with gunpowder and set fire to, one hung fire, and at that time a number of men were killed. He too consumed the flower of his youth.

AḤMAD NĀĪTHA (MULLĀ).

The Navāīt tribe was a newly arrived one and belonged to the nobles of Arabia. The word "newly arrived" has become by frequent use Navāīt. The author of the Qāmūs says: "Navātī are ocean sailors and Nutiyy is the singular." But it is evident that Navāīt is according to the rules of grammar the plural of Nāīt or Nāīta. And Navātī is not connected with Navāīt.[2] Therefore the generality who call the Navāīt boatmen and rely upon the Qāmūs have fallen into error. They say that the tyrant

[1] This is a mistake. Jalāl K. Qūrcī was killed in 983, 1575-1576, and in 984 Saiyid Aḥmad took part in the expedition against Siwāna, A.N. III. 166, 167. Probably 980 is a copyist's error for 985. See B. 408.

[2] But see Lane 2863c. The word seems to be Greek. See I.G. XIV, 345.

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Ḥajāj the son of Yūsuf set himself to root out the nobility and put to death many pious and learned people. Consequently men went into exile wherever they could find security. A number of the Qoresh tribe left Medina in 152 A.H. (769 A.D.) and embarked on ships. They landed on the shores of the Indian Ocean in the Deccan country known as the Konkan and made it their home. In course of time they spread out and established villages, and in order to distinguish each set of them, they took titles from anything with which they had a slight connection. Strange titles have become usual among them.

Mullā Aḥmad was possessed of learning and other perfections, and was one of the erudite. By good fortune he became a favourite with 'Alī 'Ādil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur, and in a short time became, by his wisdom and judgment, the strong pillar of his dominion. After a time he for some reason fell out of favour with 'Ādil Shah, or perhaps he thought in his haughtiness that he could have something higher than Bījāpūrī service, and came to have a desire for the service of Aurangzib. He waited for an opportunity, and at last in the 8th year Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh after settling the matter of Sivā (jī) came with a large army to attack Bījāpūr. 'Ādil Shah became conscious of his offences and awoke from the heavy sleep of neglect and sent the Mullā—who surpassed the other officers in ability—to the Rajah to make an arrangement. The Mullā—whose long-cherished desire now attained fulfilment—thought this a great opportunity and joined the Rajah at the foot of the fort of Pūrandhar in 1076, 1665-66, and revealed his secret thought. When this was reported to the king, an order was sent for summoning him and he was granted the rank of 6000, with 6000 horse. They say that a hint was given to the Mīrzā Rajah that after the Mullā came to court his title would be S'aad Ullah K. and that he would be promoted to a suitable appointment.

In fine the Rajah, in accordance with orders, gave him from the Government two lacs of rupees, and Rs. 50,000 to his son, and sent him to court. The Mullā in accordance with fate—from which no one is exempt—fell ill on the way and died at Aḥmadnagar; and it appears that as he did not recognize the claim

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of his old salt, so did he not profit by his new fortune. His son Muḥammad Asad in accordance with the royal order came to court and in the beginning of the 9th year did homage. He received favours and obtained the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse and the title of Ikrām K. Mullā Yaḥīā the younger brother of Mullā Aḥmad—who had, before his brother, come in the 6th year from Bījāpūr to court—received the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse and was appointed to the Deccan. He did good service along with the Mīrzā Rajah in devastating the Bījāpūr territory. Afterwards he received the title of Mukhliṣ K. and lived in Aurangabad. His son Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī K. and his son-in-law 'Abdu-l-Qādir M'atbar K. each received a suitable *manṣab*. When the faujdārī of the Konkan became held by M'atbar K. he did so well in settling the country—which was the home of the vile Mahratta tribe—that he established his reputation at court. He acquired such influence that everything he did was approved of. The king, when he became at ease about that troublesome country, often declared that it was good to have such a servant as M'atbar K. He left no son,—though Abū Muḥammad the son of one of his relatives was adopted by him as a son,—and his *t'aluq* came to Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī K. his wife's brother. The latter held it for a long time, and afterwards in the time of Muḥammad Shah he obtained it for the second time. In the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign, Ḥaidar Qulī K. Khurāsānī was invested with the Diwānī of the Deccan and came to Aurangabad. As his power and influence were a thousand[1] and one times greater than that of a (an ordinary) diwān he attacked the Khān before mentioned (Zainu-d-dīn) about the money of the Khālṣa lands, which had been in his keeping (or, perhaps, which had been embezzled). In the beginning of the government of Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā (the younger of the Bārha Saiyids) he went to Arcot to S'aadat Ullah K. Nāītha. He, on account of being of the same tribe and of the respect for an old family, regarded his arrival as an honour. By the assistance of that noble-minded man he spent the rest of his days in peace. His son too

[1] *Lit.* "1001 times."

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got his father's title and is in the Carnatic. The dwelling of Mullā Yaḥīa was one of the famous old houses of Aurangabad. As it was close to the residence of the governors, 'Aṣaf Jāh proposed to S'aadat Ullah K. to purchase it, and the latter, with the concurrence of his heir, sent him a deed of gift of it.

AḤMAD KẖĀN NIYĀZĪ.

The son of Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, and famous for his bravery and bounty (shujā'at u sakẖāwat). He had many agreeable qualities. In the reign of Jahangir when Raḥīm K. Deccanī, one of the officers of Niẓām Shah, came with a large force against Īlcapūr (Elichpur) and forcibly took possession of it, though there was no large imperial army there, yet Aḥmad K., who was in his early youth, engaged him with but a few troops and drove him out of the city and made himself renowned. From that time he continually distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns and in the siege of Daulatabad he went off with Kẖān Zamān Bahādur to bring the treasure and supplies which had arrived from Burhānpūr at the pass of Rohankra[1] (Rohankhed). The Kẖān Zamān left Aḥmad K., who was unwell, in Ẓafarnagar with Bahār[2] Singh Bandīla. It chanced that these two leaders after coming near (*nazdīk qasba*) the town with a few men, sent off their troops along with the Kẖān Zamān. Suddenly Yāqūt K. Abyssinian, who had joined 'Ādil Shah, who was marching with a large force against the Kẖān Zamān, came upon them when they were in the open plain with a few men and at once attacked[3] them. Aḥmad K. and Bahār Singh Bandīla stood so firm that the malignant foe had to bite the finger of astonishment and to turn his back. Aḥmad also distinguished himself on the day of the taking[4] of 'Ambarkot, and many of his best men were killed. Mahābat K. used to say that Aḥmad was the predominant partner in this victory. In the Parenda campaign on the day

1 Pādshāhnāma I. 517. I. G. XXI. 302.

2 Bahādur Singh in *id.*, but at p. 321 Pahār Singh as in variant.

3 Pādshāhnāma I. 518.

4 This preceded the affair of Rohan khed. See Pādshāhnāma I. 502. 'Ambarkot was the outer fort of Daulatabad, and was named after Malik 'Ambar.

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that Mahābat K. prevailed over the marauding[1] foe, Aḥmad K. obtained renown for his fighting The Khān commander-in-chief laboured to honour and advance him, and so he took no other title than that of Khānzāda (the Khān's son).

When in the ninth year Daulatabad was visited by Shah Jahan, Aḥmad K. had an increase of 500 and 500 horse and was promoted to the rank of 2500, with 2000, and went off with Shaista K. who had been deputed to take Sangamnīr[2] and Nāsik. He in his zeal proceeded with the permission of his leader to attack the fort of Rām Saj[3] and took it from the hands of Sāhū's men. After that he was honoured by the gift of a drum, and attached to the royal stirrup. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Gulshanābād.[4] As he had been brought up in that country he went with joy. In the 23rd year he was raised to the rank of 3000, *zāt* and horse, and made governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. In the year 1061, 1651, and beginning of the 25th year, he died. He inherited courage and generosity, and he also had other qualities in perfection. In his office there were never any dismissals, and if any one got an assignment (*tankhwāh*) for his subsistence it was like his own property. Even if it doubled in value his clerks did not interfere with it. In spite of his grandeur he was gentle to every one and spent his days in humility and piety. He was an excellent governor of many children and relatives. As his father had made Āshtī in Berar his residence and his place of burial, Aḥmad K. laboured to improve the place and made a garden there. He also saw to the building of a lofty mosque and of a tomb for his father. For a long time it was a place of prayers and a shrine for the public. At present, except for some old tombs, there is no trace[5] remaining either of famous inhabitants or of homes.

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[1] *Bar sir kahī ghanīm.* Kahī, apparently from *kah* straw, means a marauding or foraging party.

[2] Sungamnere of Grant-Duff's map, S.E. Nāsik.

[3] Rām Sij in variant and Khāfī K. I. 521.

[4] Apparently another name for Wardhā in the Central Provinces, for Aḥmad's father made Āshtī his home. See Blochmann 484 and note 2, and biography of Muḥammad K. Niyāzī Maasir III, 376.

[5] The MSS. differ. The text has *na az quṭṭān nāmī'au na az masākin nīshān.* Blochmann's MSS. has *auṭan* for

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AḤMAD[1] (SḤAIKḤ).

Second son of S. Salīm Cistī of Fatḥpūr—May his grave be holy—whose family was of Delhi.[2] His (S. Selīm's) father was S. Bahāu-d-dīn, a descendant of Farīd Shakr Ganj. The Shaikh lived long in Arabia and often made the pilgrimage and became known in that country as the Shaikhu-l-Hind. After he returned to India he settled in the village of Sīkrī, twelve *kos* from Agra, and which was a dependency of Bīāna. Because in that delightful spot Bābur had won a victory over Rānā Sāngā, he ordered it to be called Shukrī. On the top of a hill near that village S. Selīm built a mosque and a Khānqāh (monastery) and there practised asceticism. A wonderful circumstance it was that Akbar, who had come to the throne at the age of fourteen, for fourteen other years—when he came to be eight and twenty—had no child who lived. When he heard of the Shaikh he had a keen desire at that age that he should ask help from him. The Shaikh gave him the good news that he would have three sons. At the same time, there appeared signs of pregnancy in the mother of Jahangir. As on such occasions a change of residence is a good omen, that chaste lady was brought from Agra to the Shaikh's house, and on Wednesday 17th Rabī'-al-awwal 977, 31st August 1569, Jahangir was born. He was called Prince Sultan Muḥammad Selīm after the name of the Shaikh. The chronogram is *Dur Shahwār lajh-i-Akbar* (977): "A royal pearl from a great (akbar) ocean." Afterwards, when the births of Sultan Murād and Sultan Daniel also took place, and the Shaikh's influence was recognized, Sīkrī became a city, and a lofty *khānkāh* and a madrasa were built at a cost of five lacs. The chronogram was *wa lā tarā fi'l-bilād ṣānīhā*: "And you'll not see in cities another such." (982 = 1574-75.) Delightful palaces, large,

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quṭṭan and I.O., MS. 628, has *makān nāmī*. It appears from the note in Blochmann 484, and also from the I.G. article Āshtī, that the tombs have been restored. The Maaṣir has in the third volume, p. 376, a life of Aḥmad K.'s father Muḥammad Khān. The author of the Maaṣir knew the Berars well. It was at Āshtī that a great battle was fought in Akbar's reign.

1 B 475.

2 Salīm's father was first at Ludiana and afterwards came to Delhi, Khazīna A.I. 432.

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stone bazaars and beautiful gardens were made. As while the city was being made, the rich country of Gujarat was conquered, Akbar wished to call it Fatḥābād, but it became known as Fatḥpūr, and this name was approved of by the emperor. The Shaikh died in 979, 1571-72. The chronogram is *Shaikh Hindī*: "The Indian Shaikh." 979. In consequence of the sincerity and respect that existed between the Shaikh and Akbar, his sons, sons-in-law, and grandchildren obtained high office, and as the wife and daughter of the Shaikh were connected by fosterage with Prince Sultan Selīm, the Shaikh's descendants became his foster-brothers, and during his rule many of them rose to the rank of 5,000, and became owners of drums and flags.

In fine Shaikh Aḥmad showed many choice qualities in his relations with the world. He did not abuse people and did not become overcome with sorrow on beholding many improprieties. By his loyalty and his connection by fosterage with the prince he became famous and was enrolled among the great officers. Though[1] as yet he had not reached the rank of 500, he had great influence. In the 22nd year during the expedition to Mālwa he got a chill (perhaps a stroke) (*hawāzadagī*). When he came to the capital, his illness, on account of carelessness, became paralysis. In the same year he died, on a day when Akbar was marching to Ajmere and had sent for him. He took his last leave, and died after reaching his home in the year 985, 1577.

AḤSAN KḤĀN SULTAN ḤASAN.

His other name was Mīr malang (malang means enthusiast) and he was the sister's son of Muḥammad Murād K. He was one of the distinguished men of Aurangzeb's time, and held suitable appointments. In the 51st year when the king saw marks of weakness in himself, and perceived that Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah—who had a name for courage and had won over the leading officers—looked upon Kām Bakhsh with severe eyes, he, because he always regarded this prince with affection, appointed Aḥsan

[1] He had reached the rank of 500 when he died. The account in text is chiefly taken from A.N. III. 212.

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K. to be his bakhshī and straitly charged him to take care of him. Accordingly, he continually looked after him in his coming and going. Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah repeatedly accused[1] Kām Bakhsh to his father, but it was of no avail. At last he wrote to his full sister Zīnatu-nisā[2] Begam a letter in which he said, "Though it would be no great task (*kāre-nīst*) to chastise the impudence of that insolent one, yet respect for H.M. restrains me." After the king had read this letter he wrote[3] in reply: "Do not disturb yourself about all this. We are sending away Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh." After that he presented that prince with the insignia[4] of sovereignty and sent him off to Bījāpūr. After he arrived at the fort of Parenda, news came of the death of Aurangzeb, and most of the officers went off without warning. Sultan Ḥasan endeavoured to secure the affections of the remainder, and made excellent endeavours after reaching Bījāpūr so that Saiyid Niyāz K. the governor made over the keys and joined the prince. The prince promoted Sultan Ḥasan to a commission of 5000 and gave him the title of Aḥsan Ḥasan and made him Mīr Bakhshī. When the prince marched from Bījāpūr and took possession of Gulbarga, he came to Wākinkera—which had again come into the possession of Pīrmā[5] Nāīk zamindar. Aḥsan Ḥasan laboured to get possession of this also. Afterwards he took the prince's son with him, as a matter[6] of custom, and marched against Karnūl. He took money from there and went on to Arcot where Dāūd K. Patnī was *faujdār*. He neglected not the smallest particular which could be of use to the prince, and in spite of little money and other difficulties he devoted himself to the carrying on of affairs. He again joined the prince. When they were within four stages of Haidarabad he soothed Rustum Dil K. of Sabzawār, who was the governor there, and

1 Khāfī K. II. 547-48.

2 Khāfī Khān has Zību-nisā, but she was already dead.

3 It would appear from Khāfī Khān 548 that Aurangzeb, after the letter was read to him, caused the reply to be endorsed on it and put his own signature to it.

4 *Id.* 548. Aurangzeb sent him off under a fanfaronade of music.

5 Pennaik of Grant-Duff I. 405.

6 *Cūn tora.* It was an oriental institution to have a prince with the army, however young, for luck

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induced him to join the prince. As Ḥakīm Muḥammad, who had the title of Taqarrab K. and was the Vizier, was envious of Aḥsan Ḥasan—a thing which has of old destroyed dominions—he continually misrepresented things to the prince, and alienated his feelings from him. At the time when there was between Aḥsan K. and Rustum Dil a movement of loyalty towards the prince, Taqarrab K. represented that they were plotting to make the prince a prisoner. The prince whose disposition tended towards madness, and who at that time was doubly perturbed on account of anxieties, after putting Rustum Dil to death as related[1] in his biography, sent for the Khān and imprisoned him, and put him to death with torture. They say that though men had warned him that the prince meditated imprisoning him, he—who always behaved with loyalty—would not believe this. This event happened in the year 1120, 1708. His elder brother Mīr Sultan Ḥusain entered service in the 2nd year of Bahādur Shah and obtained a commission of 1000, with 200 horse and the title of Ṭal'a Yār K.

(ḤAKĪM)[2] 'AĪNUL-L MULK SHĪRĀZĪ.

He had a high rank in science, and was a man of praiseworthy morals. He was related on the mother's side to Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwānī.[3] From the first his company was pleasing to Akbar, and in the 9th year he was sent with an order to Cingiz K. who was a leading man in Ahmadabad. He returned with presents from the Khān to Agra. In the 17th year he took a soothing letter to I'timād K. Gujaratī and brought[4] him to service along with Abū Turāb. In the 19th year, when Akbar went to the eastern districts, he was in attendance.[5] Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan for the purpose of guiding 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr, and returned to court in the 22nd[6] year. After that he was made *faujdār* of Sambhal, and in the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahādur Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna with a number of ingrates had stirred up commotion there, he strengthened the fort of Barelī (Bareilly), and

[1] Maasir II. 327.
[2] B. 480, and Badayūnī III 164.
[3] J. III. 422.
[4] A.N. III. 6 and 7.
[5] A.N. 87.
[6] A.N. 211.

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exerted himself along with the fiefholders. Though the rebels used threats and promises in order to induce him to join them he did not consent, and by excellent contrivance managed to cause dissension among them. At last Niyābat K. joined the royalists. The Ḥakīm along with the other fiefholders sought for battle and defeated[1] the enemy. In the same year he was made Sadr[2] of Bengal. In the 31st year he was made bakhshī of the province of Agra. Afterwards he went to the Deccan with the Khān A'ẓim. When the said Khān took away his jāgīr of Hindia he, without being summoned, came[3] to court in the 35th year, and consequently was not admitted to an audience. After inquiries were made, he received an order for him to pay his respects. He was confirmed in the pargana of Hindia, and was allowed to depart after some time. In the 40th[4] year corresponding to 1003, 1595, he died. He wrote poetry and had the *takhallaṣ* of Dawāi. This verse is his.

Verse.

In the night of her dark locks a dream of death seized me,
A strange sad dream it was which had no interpreter.

He attained the rank of 500.

AJĪT SINGH RĀTHOR. (MAHĀRĀJAH.)

Son of Mahārājah Jeswant Singh When his father died in his thānadārī[5] of Jamrūd, he was in his mother's womb. He was born after she came to Lahore.[6] The king wished to get hold of him, and the Rāthors who were old servants of the deceased rose up in arms. Some were killed, and some took Ajīt to his native country. After the king had gone twice to the province of Ajmere

1 A.N. III. 348.
2 A.N. 372.
3 A.N. III. 584.
4 A.N. III. 671. He died on 23rd August 1595. Badayūnī II. 403.
5 He died in or near Kabul in 1678. Elliot VII. 187, 296.
6 The Maaṣir A. 177 says Ajīt and his brother were born at Lahore. See translation in Elliot VII. 187. Khāfī K. II. 259 implies that they were born in Afghanistan, for he says that when their servants were bringing them and their mothers to Aurangzeb there was a fight at the Attock crossing. Possibly, however, he means that the children were still in the womb. Elphinstone, p. 561 of 4th ed., takes it that they were born in Afghanistan. See also the translation of Khāfī K. in Elliot VII. 297.

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and striven to ruin the tribe, and had sent Prince Muḥammad Akbar to pursue them, they engaged in instigating that prince (to rebellion) and perverted him so that at last he, in league with these men, came within 1½ *kos* of the royal camp. As they became from some reason suspicious of him, they left the prince, and he was compelled to fly. The king appointed a *faujdār* in Jodhpūr, and as long as the king lived, Ajīt remained in the recesses of the hills. After the king's death, he disgraced (*be ḥurmat sākẖta*) the *faujdār* and took possession of the town. Bahādur Shah sent him a summons during the war with A'ẓim Shah but he did not come. Consequently after the battle he marched to Jodhpūr, and appointed Khān Zamān the son of Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān against him. When the Khān came near Jodhpūr, Ajīt waited upon him, and having received assurances he submitted. After his offences had been forgiven, he was raised to the rank of 3000.

When the king went to the Deccan with the intention of confronting Kām Bakhsh, Ajīt in the course of the march joined with Rajah Jai Singh 'Kachwāha, and taking his necessaries, and leaving his tents behind, went to his native country. When the king returned from the Deccan, he was minded to punish the tribe, but the rebellion of the Sikhs, who had become world-conquerors in the Panjab, prevented him. With a regard to prudence he overlooked his acts and omissions and arranged through the Khān-Khānān that he in concert with Rajah Jai Singh should pay his respects on the march and go to his native country. Afterwards, when he had made proper arrangements, he was to come to court. As the intriguing heavens are always stirring up fresh commotions the inevitable event (of death) appeared for Bahādur Shah after he had reached Lahore, and thereafter dissension broke out among the princes. In the second year of the reign (of Farrukh Siyar) Ḥussain 'Alī Amīru-l-umarā was appointed against Ajīt. Ajīt was overcome by alarm and submitted to the Amīru-l-umarā. By agreeing to pay tribute his offences were wiped out. He sent off his daughter, to be married to the king according to the established custom, and was honoured with the government of Gujarat. Afterwards he joined the Saiyids and in the end of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's reign came to court from Ahmadabad,

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and received the title of Mahārājah. He took part with the Saiyids in the arrangements for imprisoning the king, and on this account he became an object of reproach to high and low, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Shah's reign was removed from the government of Gujarat. By good fortune he got a sanad[1] for the city of Ajmere and took possession of it. Afterwards when the officers were sent against him with an army he went to his native country and his men entrenched themselves in Garha Patlī. The royal army went and besieged that place. At last peace was made, and it was agreed that Abhai Singh his eldest son should remain at court as his father's representative. Abhai Singh after coming to court at the instigation of the nobles there withdrew from filial duties and wrote to his younger brother Bakht Singh, and he sent[2] Ajīt to the other world while he was asleep. Abhai Singh got the title of Mahārājah and in 1140, 1728, was made governor of Gujarat in lieu of Sirbuland K. He went to his home and spent one year in settling the country. In the 11th year of Muḥammad Shah he entered Gujarat and surrendered the province to the Marhatta *Chaut*. When he saw that they were predominant he in the 15th year came to his native country, and the whole province fell into the power of the Mahrattas.

Mahārājah Ajīt Singh had two sons. The first was Abhai, of whom an account has been given. The second was Bakht Singh, who after his father's death got possession of his native country. After him his son Bijai Singh is at the time of writing (died in 1794) in possession, and is renowned for his care of the subjects, and for protecting the weak and for putting down the oppressive. The supplementary account of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar is that after he fled from the neighbourhood of Ajmere—as he had no home—he went to Sambhā Bhonsla. Sambhā received him and kept him for some time. When Aurangzeb marched to the Deccan, the noise of killing infidels was heard everywhere. Akbar got frightened and embarked in a ship and went off to Persia. When the ship reached Muscat the governor there took charge of him and wrote to Aurangzeb. Meanwhile Shah Sulaimān Ṣafavī heard of

[1] Siyar M. trans. I. 230.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 974, and Tod's Rajasthan, Annals of Marwār.

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his having come to Muscat. Prince Akbar too had previously told Shah Sulaimān his intentions. The Shah wrote to the landowner[1] of Muscat, who regarded the Shah as his suzerain and ordered that Prince Akbar should be sent to him. He was always treated with respect, and there were continually feasts and recreations. At last he asked for auxiliaries. The Shah said, "Your father is still alive; when the time of your brothers comes, I will give you proper help." Akbar was sad and said that the climate did not agree with his constitution and asked leave that he might go to Qandahar and live in the warm country (in the Garmsīr). The Shah gave him leave, and provided him with the necessary expenses. After Akbar came to that country he died in 1115.[2]

(SAIYID) 'ĀLAM BĀRHA.

Brother of Saiyid Hizabr[3] K., of whom an account has been given in this book. In Jahangir's time he at first had a suitable *manṣab* and at the end of his reign his rank was 1500 with 600 horse. After the accession of Shah Jahan his *manṣab* was confirmed and he went with the Khān-Khānān to Kabul for the purpose of putting down Nazr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh who had raised the flag of disturbance in that province. In the 3rd year he received a robe of honour, and a sword and an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and was appointed to accompany Yemīnu-d-daula to the Bālāghāt of Berar. In the 6th year he attended Prince Muḥammad Shujā' in the affair of Parenda. The Prince left him with 500 horse, as a sort of *thāna* (station) in Jālnapūr to protect the roads. In the 8th year, at the time of the return from Lahore to the capital, he along with Islām K. was active in chastising the rebels of the Duab. Afterwards he accompanied prince Aurangzeb when he was appointed to the army for chastising Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 9th year, at the time when

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[1] The Imām of Muscat. See Elliot VII. 312.

[2] Should be 1118, or 1706 A.D., according to Beale; but Khāfī K. in the account of the year 1117, II, p. 546, says that a report of the prince's death had been current for a year and was now confirmed. The Maasir speaks of his going to the neighbourhood of Qandahar. Khāfī K. speaks of the Garmsīr of Khurāsān, the prince having objected to Ispahan as too cold.

[3] B. 392, and 395 note.

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the Deccan became for the second time the residence of the king, he was appointed to punish Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, in the contingent of Khān Zamān Bahādur. In the 13th year he received an increase and had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. In the 19th year he went with the prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards, he went with prince Shujā' to Bengal, and in the 29th year he accompanied prince Sultan Zainu-d-dīn to court and did homage. Afterwards he received a horse and returned. When Aurangzeb obtained the sovereignty, and battles took place with his brothers, he was active on the side of Shujā' in the first battle, and also in the engagement, which occurred on the borders of Bengal, and jeoparded his life. At last, when Shujā' went off to Arracan and had no one with him except ten Saiyids of Bārha and twelve Moghul servants, 'Ālam Bārha accompained him. He disappeared[1] in that country (*i.e.* perished along with Shujā').

(MĪR) 'ALĪ AKBAR MŪSAVĪ.

Younger brother of Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk of Mashhad. He too in the reign of Akbar attained to the rank of 3000 and acted along with his brother in carrying out the king's work. In the 22nd year he produced before Akbar the story of his birth (*maulūd-nāma*) which had been written by Qāẓī Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Jāmī, who was endowed with eloquence and gifts, and was for a time Humāyūn's Ṣadr. It was written therein[2] that on the night of the birth of the king, Humāyūn having seen in a dream that God had presented him with a son, ordered that he should be called Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Akbar shewed great pleasure on beholding it and rewarded the Mīr with favours, and gave him the

1 B. 392, and 395 note.

2 B. 382. The story is told in the annals of the 23rd year in the Ṭabaqāt N. and just at the end of that year. The king was then at Hānsī in the Panjab. B's suggestion of Nadīna is supported by a MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt in my possession. The modern name is Nagīna, N.W. Moradabad. See I.G. XVIII, 299. It is in the Bijnor district. The facts about 'Alī Akbar's being sent in chains and put in prison are recorded in the Akbarnāma III. 309. It is not said there that he was imprisoned for life. The punishment took place in the 25th year 988, 1580.

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pargana of Nadīna (text Nadīa) as a reward. As his brother held a jagir in Bihar (*viz.* Arrah) he was made a partner with him. In the 24th year when many of the Bihar officers took the path of rebellion the two brothers joined them. But from far-sightedness they soon separated from them, and Mir M'uizzu-l-mulk came to Jaunpūr, while Mīr 'Alī Akbar stopped in Zamānia six *kos* from Ghazipur. Nevertheless he was always by messages and wiles fanning the flames of sedition. When his brother's boat sank in the Jumna in the 24th year, an order was sent to the Khān Aẓim, who had charge of Bengal and Bihar, to arrest Mīr 'Alī Akbar and to send him off in chāins. He had recourse to fawning and wiles in dealing with the Kokaltāsh. But as the latter was a clear-sighted man, his stories did not avail, and he was conveyed to the Presence by guards. The kindness of the king abstained from inflicting capital punishment on him, but sent him to the school of the prison.

(MĪRZĀ) 'ALĪ[1] BEG AKBAR SHĀHI.

He was born and bred in Badakhshān, and was adorned with excellent qualities. When he came to India, the coin of his loyalty was fully tested in Akbar's heart, and he was honoured by the title of Akbar Shāhī. He distinguished himself in battle. In the campaign in the Deccan he was an auxiliary of Prince Sultan Murād. When the prince made peace and retired from Ahmadnagar, Ṣādiq K. from considerations of prudence made his abode in Mahkar in the 41st year. Azhdar K. and 'Aīn K. and other Deccanis rose up to make disturbance. Ṣādiq K. appointed a choice force under the Mīrzā, and he suddenly fell[2] upon their camp and seized abundant plunder, including elephants and *ukhāra* women (dancing girls). On account of this success, Khudāwand K. and other Niẓām Shāhī officers resolved to give battle with 10,000 horse. Ṣādiq K. fought a battle on the bank of the Ganges,[3] with

1 B 482.
2 Akbarnāma III. 711.
3 Akbarnāma 715, where the river is called the Bān Gang, qu. the Penganga of I.G. XX. 102. It is a tributary of the Wardhā.

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M. 'Alī Beg in the vanguard, eight *kos* from Pāthrī. The Mīrzā on that day displayed valour and defeated Khudāwand K. who attacked him with 5,000 horse. In the 43rd year he took the fort of Rāhūtara,[1] a dependency of Daulatabad, after a siege of one month, and in the same year the town of Pattaṅ—which is an ancient city on the bank of the Godavery—was taken by his exertions. In the end of the same year the fort of Lohgarha[2] Daulatabad was taken by his efforts. Both of these forts became deserted from want of water and are in the same state to-day. The Mīrzā in the campaigns of S. Abū-l-faẓl also fought battles and did good service. In the siege of Ahmadnagar he gave great help to the servants of Prince Daniel. In the 46th year he was rewarded for his good services with a flag and drum. After that he was for a long time in the Deccan as an assistant of the Khān-Khānān. In the time of Jahangir he got the rank of 4000 and was made governor of Kashmir. After that he obtained the fief of Oudh, and when Jahangir was residing at Ajmere he came to court and visited the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn. He embraced the tomb of Shahbāz K. Kambū, who was buried in the enclosure, and said, "he was our old friend," and then died. He was buried in the same place. This occurred in the 11th year on 22nd Rabī'-ul-awwal 1025, 30th March, 1616.

Though he had but few servants, they were all excellent and had good wages. He was very fond of learned and pious men. As he was addicted to opium (koknār), the confectionary departments in his establishment were in great order. Varieties of confections and drinks and sweetmeats were produced in his assemblies. He had a poetical vein and composed verses.[3]

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1 Akbarnāma 739, where the text has Āhūbara with the variant Rāhūtara.

2 749. Both forts surrendered for want of water.

3 See B. 482, and Tūzuk J., pp. 11 and 163. B., p. 482, note, rightly doubts the correctness of the statement at p. 11 of Tūzuk, that he belonged to Delhi. None of the MSS. have this. Instead, they state that he was a distinguished man of this tribe, *Āīn alūsh* meaning the tribe or company of the Akbarshāhīs. Or perhaps it means "this dynasty." The expression is used at p. 163 of the Tūzuk. M. 'Alī Beg was over seventy-five when he died. He left no children. The incident of his embracing Shahbāz's tomb is not mentioned in the Tūzuk.

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'ALĪ KHĀN (MĪRZĀDA).

Son of Muḥtaram Beg and one of Akbar's officers. He obtained the rank of 1000 and in the 9th year he was sent off, with other officers, in pursuit of 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg who had fled from Mālwa to Gujarat. In the 17th year when the king proceeded towards Gujarat, and the Khān Kilān was sent off in advance, 'Alī K. was sent with him. In the 19th year when the king proceeded to the eastern districts, he was one of the companions. Afterwards he was sent with a body of troops to punish Qāsim [1] K. alias Kāsū who was making a disturbance with a body of Afghans in Bihar. He did good service, and after that he distinguished himself along with Moẓaffar K. In the 21st year he came to court. In the 23rd year, when Shahbāz K. went off to punish Rānā Pratāp *alias* Kīkā, he was enrolled as an auxiliary. In the 25th year he was appointed to act along with the Khān A'ẓim in the eastern districts. As he did not do well there he in the 31st year was sent to Qāsim K. the governor of Kashmir.[2] In a battle with the Kashmiris in the 32nd year, when it was 'Saiyid 'Abdullah's turn (to command) and the imperial troops were defeated, he was killed,[3] in 995, 1587.

(HAKIM) ALĪ GĪLĀNĪ.

He was eminently skilled in [4] the sciences, especially in medicine and mathematics. He was one of the ablest physicians of the day. They say that he came to India from abroad in great poverty and distress. By the help of auspicious fortune he became enrolled among Akbar's servants. One day, by Akbar's order, several bottles containing the urine of sick and healthy persons and of cattle and asses were brought to the ḥakīm in order to test his skill. He diagnosed all of them by his powers of consideration, and from that time his reputation and influence increased so that he became an intimate companion of the monarch. He

[1] A.N. III 105. [2] A.N. III. 516.
[3] A.N. III. 522, and B. 443, who refers to Badayūnī III. 326, who describes him as an occasional poet.

[4] B. 466. Instead of *dar funūn* the B.M. MSS. Add. 65657. and 6567, have *zī funūn*.

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acquired power and became the equal of the highest officers. After that he was sent on an embassy to Bījāpūr. ʿAlī[1] ʿĀdil Shah the ruler thereof went out to welcome him and brought him into the city with great pomp. He presented him with the rarities of the country and wished to send him back, when suddenly in the year 988, 1580 (23rd Ṣafr=10th April), the cup of his (Ādil Shah's) life was spilled. Though Ṣāḥib Ferishta (*i.e.*, the author of Ferishta's history) has related that Ḥakīm Ālī Gīlānī went away before this event, taking with him the suitable presents previously given and that at this time Hakīm Aīnu-l-mulk Shīrazī came as ambassador, and that on account of the inevitable event he went back without presents, yet in the opinion of the author of these pages the account of the circumstances by the very learned Abu-ʿl-Fazl is more correct.[2]

As the catastrophe of the killing of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shah is not devoid of singularity, it is here related. He was the most just and liberal of the dynasty, but in spite of his excellent qualities he was very unchaste. At last being much inclined towards fair faces he by great efforts got from the ruler of Bīdar two beautiful eunuchs. When his desire was nearly gratified, he being possessed by immodesty and baseness, in the darkness of his private chamber showed his improper desires to the elder of the two. That jewel of purity, from chastity and honour, would not yield up his body, and finished off the king with a dagger, which he had from foresight secreted on his person. A remarkable[3] thing is that Maulānā Muḥammad Reẓā of Mashhad, who had the *takhallaṣ* of Reẓāī, found the chronogram *Shāh Jahān shud shahīd*: "The king of the world was martyred, 988."

Ḥakīm ʿAlī in the 39th year prepared[4] a wonderful tank, a road within which led to a chamber (*kāshāna*). The extra-

1 Chānd Bībī's husband.

2 Akbarnāma III. 298, and Ferishta's account of the Bījāpūr dynasty. He is presumably a better authority or Deccan affairs than Abu-ʿl-Fazl.

3 Probably the singularity of the chronogram lay in its describing a death under such circumstances as a martyrdom.

4 See Elliot VI. 193, where is a quotation from the Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh. See also A.N. III. 650—51. Badāyūnī, Lowe 273, and Iqbālnāma part II, account of the 39th year. It is in the Iqbālnāma that the statement occurs that the water was kept out by air. The subaqueous house was made at Lahore. It seems that Ḥakīm ʿĀlī

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ordinary thing was that the water of the tank could not enter the chamber. Men went down and endured much difficulty in examining the place, and many were so troubled that they returned when they got half-way. Akbar went to see the spectacle and came to the chamber. He got under the water at a corner of the tank and after descending two or three steps he arrived at the room. It was much decorated and was well-lighted and there was space for ten or twelve people. There were sleeping coverlets (*farsh khwāb*) and clothing, and there was a collation. There were some books in recesses. The air did not allow a drop of water to enter. As the king stayed there for a little, a strange feeling took possession of the men outside. Up to the 40th year the Ḥakīm had attained the rank of 700. His cures astonished the world. At last when Akbar was attacked with diarrhœa, the Ḥakīm's endeavours were unsuccessful. The king got angry and said to him, "You were nothing but a foreign spice-seller (*pasārī*).[1] Here you put off the sandals of exile. We raised you to this rank in order that some day you might be of use." And being exceedingly angry he[2] flung two pājāma strings at him. The Hakim taking something out of a bag flung it into a jug of water which immediately became congealed. He said, "I have got this kind of medicine, but of what use is it seeing that it does not apply to the present case." The king on account of the unsettlement and restlessness of illness insisted, saying, "Whatever is to be, will be: give this to me." Accordingly, owing to this medicine there was astringency and constipation in his frame. But there was a pain in his belly

constructed a similar chamber at Agra. See Tūzuk 73, and Elliot VI. 320; also Darbāri Akbarī, p. 124.

[1] Perhaps the true reading is *ba siyare-i-wilayat*, "You were nothing but a foreign vagabond."

[2] I believe that the words are *dū tikka* and that they mean two strings or bits of things, and that probably they were the strings of Akbar's sleeping suit. I think that we must look to the previous clause to understand the passage. Akbar is described as having reproached Ḥakīm 'Alī with being an adventurer and as having said that he had loosed his sandal-straps (pātāba) in India. By throwing him the strings he told him in effect to go about his business It was a rude and contemptuous way of dismissing him. Where the Maaṣi'r got the story I do not know. Perhaps it was from the Zakhīra Khawānīn. The Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh has a long account of the illness, but it does not mention this incident. The story however is told in the Hindustani translation of the Akbarnāma.

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which produced restlessness. So the physicians were obliged to use laxatives. These produced excessive motions, and he died.

One[1] of the wonderful things is the way in which the illness began. They say that there was an elephant in Jahangir's establishment named Girānbār, which no other elephant in the elephant stables of the emperor could withstand. But Sultan Khusrau had an elephant named Aprūp[2] which also was first rate in battle. Accordingly Akbar ordered that these two ponderous mountains should contend together.

Verse.

Two iron mountains moved from their place.
You'd have said, the earth moved from end to end.

He also appointed the elephant Ranhatan,[3] one of his special elephants, to act as an assistant, that is, whenever one of them got the better of the other, and the driver could not restrain him, the said elephant was to come out of ambush and assist the defeated elephant. Such an assistant elephant is called *tapānca*,[4] and this was one of the king's inventions. Akbar was seated in the *jharoka* watching the spectacle, and the princes Selīm and Khusrau were on horseback and waiting. As it happened, the elephant Girānbār after much fighting overcame his antagonist. Akbar wished that the *tapānca* should come to the rescue, but prince Selīm's men forbade this and flung stones at Ranhatan, and his driver, who was bravely pushing forward, was hit with a stone so that the blood flowed. The courtiers excited the king by their urgency and he told Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan), who was by his side, to go to his father[5] and tell him that, "The Shāh Bābā (Akbar) said, 'In reality all the elephants are yours, why then this immoderation.'" The prince said in reply, "I did not know about it, and

1 B. 467, and Khafī Khān I. 230.

2 Abrūp seems to be the more likely reading. Apparently it had once belonged to the Rajah of Udaipūr.

3 Variant Ranthan B. Rantahman. Perhaps Ranthan is right and may mean a pillar in battle like the first part of the name of the fort of Ranthanbhor-*Ranathamba*. See the account in Asad Beg's Wikāya where the elephant is called Chanchal, Elliot VI. 168.

4 *Lit.* "slap." It also means a pistol.

5 "Shāh Bhye"—"The Shah-brother." See Price's Jahangir, 74.

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I do not approve of the driver's having been struck." Sultan Kharram said, "If this is so I'll go and separate the elephants by means of fireworks." But though every effort was used, they were unsuccessful. At last Ranhatan too was worsted, and together with Aprūp plunged into the Jumna. Sultan Kharram returned, and by soothing words calmed down Akbar. Meanwhile Sultan Khusrau came making a noise and spoke unbecoming words about his father to Akbar, so that the latter's wrath blazed forth. All the night he was restless from fever, and his constitution was upset. In the morning Ḥakīm 'Alī, the Galen of the age, was called in, and Akbar said: "The foolish words of Khusrau have excited me and brought me into this state." Afterwards the fever ended in dysentery and was the cause of his death.

They say that as in the latter part of his illness H. Ḥakīm 'Ali prescribed melons, Jahangir[1] after his accession blamed him, saying that his prescription had killed his father.

In the third year of his reign 1018,[2] 1609, Jahangir also went to Ḥakīm Ali's house and visited the tank. After examining it, and coming out, he received Hakīm 'Alī into favour and gave him the rank of 2000. Some time after, the Ḥakim died. They say he spent nearly Rs. 6,000 every year on medicines and broths for the needy. Ḥakīm 'Abdu-l-Wahāb his son in the 15th year made a claim for Rs. 80,000 against a number of the Saiyids of Lahore, saying that his father had made over this sum to them (*i.e.* to their father). And he produced a bond (khaṭ) with the Qāẓī's seal on it and produced two witnesses in court to prove the claim according to law. The Saiyids denied, but it was not possible for them to get out of the obligation. Āṣaf Khān was appointed to enquire into the dispute. As a rogue is timid (*khāīn khāīf mībāshid*) 'Abdu-l-Wahāb[3] proposed to the Saiyids to withdraw the claim. Āṣaf K. made various investigations and 'Abdu-l-Wahāb was obliged to confess that the claim was false. He was therefore deprived of his rank and jagir.

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1 Cf. Price's Jahangir, 71.

2 Tūzuk 73. The year should be 1017, as Ḥakīm 'Alī died in the beginning of 1018, Tūzuk 74.

3 See the story in the Tūzuk J. 306, and Iqbālnāma 161. Apparently the two authors of the Maasir did not know the 2nd volume of the Tūzuk.

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'ALĪ MARDĀN[1] BAHĀDUR.

One of Akbar's officers. In the 40th year he held the rank of 350. He was appointed, for the first time, to accompany the Khān-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Rahīm in the affair of Mīrtha, and he did good service. In the 38th year he came to court with the Khān-Khānān and was admitted to an audience. After that he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the battle which took place in the 41st year under the leadership of M. Shahrukh and the Khān-Khānān with the Deccan leaders, he was in the *altamsh*. Afterwards he had the command of the Telingāna force. In the 36th year he from his zeal came to help Sher Khwāja near Pāthrī. Meanwhile he heard of the defeat of Bahādur K. Gīlāni—whom he had left with a few men in Telingāna—and he turned back to that quarter. He fell in with the enemy, and though most of his companions fled, he stood firm and was made a prisoner. In the same year, when Ābū-l-faẓl for political reasons made peace with the Deccan leaders, he was released and joined the imperial leaders. In the 47th year, he was in command of the left wing in the battle between M. Irij and Malik 'Ambar, and in which the imperial servants gained a great victory. In the 7th year of Jahangir he was appointed under 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang. An order was given that they should go to the Deccan by the route of Nāsik with the army of Gujarat. They were to keep in touch with the second army which had been appointed under Khān Jahān Lodī, and to carry out the king's business together. When Ābdullah K. came into the enemy's country and saw no signs of the other force he turned back towards Gujarat. 'Alī Mardān resolved to die, and fought with the enemy's army, which was following him. He was wounded and made prisoner and was carried off by the *bargīān* (banditti or skirmishers) of 'Ambar. Though surgeons were sent to him, he died after two days in 1021, 1611. One saying of his is well known. Some one said on an occasion, "Victory is from heaven" (*asmānī*). The hero (bahādur) answered, "Certainly[2] victory is from heaven, but the fighting (maidān) is ours." His son Karm Ullah attained

[1] B. 496, Tūzuk J. 108, where it seems as if the two days afterwards referred to Ẓūlfiqār Beg who was wounded on the same day by a rocket.

[2] *Fath asmānī, āmā Maidān az mā ast*, Kāmgār Ḥusainī. B.M. MS. 69b.

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in Shah Jahan's reign to the rank of 1000 with 1000 horse, and for some time was governor of Udgīr in the Deccan. He died in the 21st year.

'ALĪ MARDĀN K. AMĪRU-L-UMARĀ.

His father was Ganj 'Alī K. Zīg, which is a Kurdish tribe. He was an old servant of Shah 'Abbās Māẓī ('Abbās the 1st). In the time of Shah 'Abbās' childhood and when he was living at Herat, Ganj 'Alī was a head servant, and during his reign, by good service and courage—which he showed during the Uzbeg interregnum in battles with that tribe—he attained to high rank, and received the title of Arjmand Bābā (honoured father) and for nearly thirty years was ruler of Kermān. He always showed the notes of justice and subject-cherishing. When the Shah in the time of Jahangir besieged Qandahar and after 45 days took it from 'Abdul-l-'Az-īz K. Naqshbandī, he made over the government to him. One night in the year 1034, 1625, he was sleeping in the verandah of the citadel of Qandahar on a couch which rested against the verandah railing. The railing gave way, and he between sleep and waking fell down, without any one's noticing it. After a while some of his servants came upon him and found him dead. The Shah gave his son 'Alī Mardān K. the title of Khān and made him governor of Qandahar and called him Bābā 'Ṣānī (Bābā the 2nd).

After the Shah's death, and when the sovereignty came to Shah Ṣafī his grandson, the latter, on unfounded suspicions, degraded many of the Shah 'Abbāsi officers. Ālī Mardān got frightened and considered that his safety lay in joining Shah Jahan, and wrote and spoke to S'aīd K. the governor of Kabul. He also set about strengthening the walls and bastions, and made a fort on the top of the Koh Lakah—which is part of the fortress of Qandahar, and finished it in forty days. When the Shah heard this he resolved to destroy him, and in the first place sent for his eldest son. 'Alī Mardān was obliged to send him, but when after that the Shah put to death every one whom he suspected he threw off the mask. The Shah despatched Sīyāwash [1] Qul-lar-

[1] Pādshāhnāma II, 31 : *qullar-āqāshī* is a Turkish phrase meaning a commander of troops. See Vullers s.v. Perhaps the meaning of the pre-

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āqāsī—who had been sent to Mashhad—against him. 'Alī Mardān K. sent a petition to Shah Jahan to the effect that the Shah was seeking his life and requested that the king would send one of his officers in order that he might make over the fortress and come to court.

In the 11th year 1047, 1637-38, S'aīd K. the governor of Kabul, Qulīj K. the governor of Lahore, as well as the governor of Ghaznīn and Bhakar and Siwīstan, went, in accordance with orders, to Qandahar. When S'aīd K. arrived before Qulīj K. he perceived that as long as Sīyāwash was in the neighbourhood of Qandahar, the people would not be properly submissive. In concert with 'Alī Mardān—his whole force being 8000 horse—he at the distance of one *farsakh* (league) from Qandahar attacked Sīyāwash who [1] had 5 or 6000 horse. A great battle took place, and the Persians fled, and did not turn rein till they had got to their camp on the other side of the Arghandab [2] river. S'aīd K. did not give them time to halt there, but went against them, and they left their baggage and evacuated the place. The heroes spent the night in the Persians' tents, took all the property and returned to Qandahar. On the arrival of Qulīj K., who had been appointed governor of Qandahar, 'Alī Mardān went off to the Presence, and in the 12th year he kissed the threshold in Lahore. As before he arrived he had been made a *panjhazārī zāt u sawār* (holder of 5000 with 5000 horse) and had received a flag and drum, he was on this day made an officer of 6000 with 6000 horse, and was given the mansion of I'timādu-d-daulah which now belonged to the government. Ten of his leading servants received suitable positions. And out of special grace, 'Alī Mardān who was accustomed to the climate of Persia, and could not stand the heat of India, was made governor of Kashmir. At the time of the royal standard's proceeding to Kabul, 'Alī Mardān took leave to his post, and when in the beginning of the 13th year 1049, 1639-40, Lahore became the royal residence, 'Alī Mardān was summoned from Kashmir and made an

vious sentence is that though 'Alī Mardān sent his son yet the Shah was still determined to destroy him ('Alī Mardān).

[1] He also occupied a strong position. Pādshāhnāma II. 43.

[2] Text Andarāb, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 45.

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officer of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in spite of his being governor of Kashmir, he was also made governor of the Panjab, so that he might by winter quarters and summer quarters pass the hot and cold seasons in comfort. In the 14th year, 1050, he was made governor of Kabul in succession to S'aīd K. In the 16th year—when the royal residence was in Agra—he was summoned there and received the high title of Amīru-l-Umarā, the present of a kror of *dāms* and the gift of I'tiqād K.'s house, which was the finest mansion that officers of high rank had erected on the bank of the Jumna, and which at the king's request I'tiqād had presented as *peshkash*. Thereafter 'Alī Mardān received permission to return to Kabul.

In the 18th year Tardī 'Alī Qaṭghān,[1] the guardian of Subhān Qulī K. the son of Naẓr Muḥammad K.—who had been appointed by Naẓr Muḥammad to the charge of Kahmard and its neighbourhood in succession to Īlangtosh (Yālāngtosh)—wickedly attacked the Baluchis living in Zamīndāwar and plundered some of the Hazārī tribes who dwelt on the bank of the Helmand. He then halted twenty *kos* from Bāmīān with the intention of making another attack when an opportunity offered. 'Alī Mardān sent Farīdūn and Farhād, who were his confidential servants, against, him, and they marching quickly fell upon the Uzbeg encampment. Qaṭghān after some struggle took to flight. His wife and some of his kinsmen, and all his property were seized, and in the same year the Amīru-l-Umarā came to court and obtained leave to go and conquer Badakhshān, where Naẓr Muḥammad had fallen out with his sons and servants. Aṣālat K. Mīr Bakhshī was appointed to accompany him. 'Alī Mardān K. in the 19th year sent[2] an army from Kabul against Kahmard, and as there were few men in the fort, they fled without drawing the sword, and the fort was taken possession of. On hearing this the Amīru-l-Umarā left with the Kabul army. On the march it appeared that the Kahmard garrison had, from cowardice, at the approach of the Uzbeg army, surrendered the fort, and been plundered[3] by the Aimāqs and other

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 401.

2 Pādshāhnāma II. 458.

3 Pādshāhnāma II. 460. The garrison surrendered under promise of being allowed to depart in safety, but the promise was not kept.

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tribes on their route. As under these circumstances it was, on account of the want of provisions and forage, difficult or rather impossible for the army to proceed, the recapture of the fort had to be put off to another time, and 'Alī Mardān turned his attention to the taking of Badakhshān. When he came to Gulbihār, the thānadār of Panjshīr (Daulat Beg), who knew the road, stated that it would be difficult for a large army to get thr ugh the defiles and passes. It would also be necessary to cross the Panjshīr river in eleven places, which could not be done without bridging. Accordingly the Amīru-l-Umarā sent off Aṣālat K. to attack Khinjān. He went and came in sixteen days, and then went (with 'Alī Mardān) to Kabul. This going and coming at such a time when there was confusion [1] in Tūrān did not please Shah Jahan.

In the same year, in the beginning of 1056, 1646, Prince Murād Bakhsh, 'Alī Mardān and others with 50,000 horse were appointed to take Balkh and Badakhshān and to chastise the Uzbegs and Almānān. As at this time Jānniṣār K. was sent off to Persia to offer condolences for the death of Shah Ṣafī, and congratulations on the accession of 'Abbās the 2nd, a request was made to the latter for the sending of the Amīru-l-Umarā's eldest son who was a hostage with the Shah. The Shah did not sever the links of old friendship but sent him. The Amīru-l-Umarā went off with Prince Murād Bakhsh by the route of the Tūl (long) Pass. When they came to Sirāb, Sultan Khusrau,[2] the second son of Naẓr Muḥammad, who was in charge of Qanduz, could not maintain his ground there on account of the predominance of the Almānān (robbers) and joined the prince. Afterwards when the prince came to Khulm, three stages from Balkh, he sent the king's letter to Naẓr Muḥammad, in which were comforting messages and an invitation to him to come in. He said in reply that the whole country belonged to the empire, and that he desired after doing homage to go to Mecca. But that it was likely that the Uzbegs in their wickedness would kill him and plunder his property. The Amīru-l-Umarā went on rapidly with the prince to the Imām's

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 462. Shah Jahan thought advantage should have been taken of the confusion to conquer Badakhshān.

2 See notice of Khusrau in 1st vol. Maasir.

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shrine (Mazār-u-sharīf), and then it appeared that Naẓr Muḥammad was drawing out the time by wiles and deceits. They encamped two *kos* from Balkh. At evening Bahrām Sultan and Subḥān Qulī Sultan, Naẓr Muḥammad's sons, and many of the nobles came and did homage, and then returned after taking leave. In the morning they went on to Balkh to have an interview with Naẓr Muḥammad and he went off to Bāgh Murād to prepare a feast. He took some jewels and *ashrafīs* with him, and fled, and then made arrangements in Shiburghān for collecting soldiers. Bahādur K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K. pursued him and fought a battle. Naẓr Muḥammad, seeing their power, turned his rein and went[1] to Andakhūd and thence to Persia. In the beginning of the 20th year the Khuṭba was read and coin struck in the name of Shah Jahan, and twelve[2] lacs of rupees' worth of gold and silver vessels as well as 2500 horses and 300 camels were seized. But it appeared from the clerks that Naẓr Muhammad had 70 lacs in cash and goods. Some of this was taken by 'Abdu-l-'Azīz (Naẓr M.'s eldest son) and much was plundered by the Uzbegs, and a small portion Naẓr Muḥammad had taken with him. Besides Khusrau, who had already gone off to court, Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān—two sons and three daughters and three wives—received in Kabul the kindness of the emperor. The enigmatic chronogram was :[3]

Verse.

Naẓr Muḥammad was Khān of Balkh and Badakhshān ;
There he left his gold, his wives, his lands.

When Prince Murād Bakhsh wished to return before the newly-conquered territory had been properly settled and did not obey the king's prohibition, the affairs of the country again got confused, and Shah Jahan censured the prince and deprived him of his fief

[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 552.

[2] Pādshānāma 540.

[3] This is an obscure chronogram. The only way I can get at the figures 1056 is by supposing that there is a pun on the word Naẓr. The lines may then be rendered Balkh and Badakhshan were the present (nuzzar) of Muḥammad K. He left out gold, wife, and lands. Naẓr-i-Muḥammad Khān yields 1703, and if we deduct *zar*, qabīla, imlākrā, the value of which is 647, we get 1056. 1703-647=1056. The Pādshāhnāma has another enigmatical chronogram at vol. II. 547.

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and rank and ordered S'aad Ullah K. to settle the country. An order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā to punish the rebels of Qanduz and to return to Kabul after the arrival of the governor of Badakhshān. In the same year, 1057, 1647, Prince Aurangzeb was given the government of Balkh and Badakhshān and was sent there. The Amīru-l-Umarā also went with the prince. When they came to Balkh it appeared [1] that 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, the eldest son of Naẓr Muḥammad, and who was the governor of Bokhara, had proceeded from Qarshī to the Oxus and had sent in front of himself the army of Tūrān under Beg Oghlī. He had crossed the Oxus and taken up his position in Āqcha.[2] Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan, another son of Muḥammad Sultan, joined him. The prince went off in that direction without entering [3] Balkh. A battle took place in Timurabad,[4] and the Amīru-l-Umarā defeated his opponent and came to the quarters of Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan—which were far [5] from those of Oghlī. His men plundered the tents and goods and animals of Qutluq and returned safe and loaded with plunder. Next day Beg Oghlī attacked the Amīru-l-Umarā with his whole force. He stood firm, and the prince (Aurangzeb) himself came to his assistance. A number of the Uzbeg leaders were killed and the others fled. At this time 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. and Subḥān Qulī Sultan his brother—who was known by the name of the Little Khan—joined with many Uzbegs and set about dividing the good [6] horses from the bad. Whoever had a good horse came forth to fight. Yādgār Tukriya attacked the Amīru-l-Umarā with a force of single fighters (īka tāzān = monomachi), and nearly made his way to him. The Amīru-l-Umarā seeing this drew his sword from the scabbard and spurred his horse. Others joined him, and the flames of battle burst forth. At last Yādgār was wounded [7] in the face by a sword and his horse

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 688. The text copies the Pādshāhnāma.

2 Do. do.

3 He came to Balkh but did not enter the city. This was on 1 Jumada-al-awwal 1057 = 25th May 1647.

4 Timurabad, one *kos* from Fatḥabad. Pādshānāma 688.

5 "Somewhat far," Pādshānāma 689.

6 Pādshāhnāma II. 697.

7 Khāfī K. I. 667, where he is called Yādgār Beg. According to Khāfī K. it was 'Alī Mardān who wounded him. See Pādshāhnāmā II. 698. Yādgār, whom the Pādshāhnāma calls Yādgār Makrīt, was pardoned.

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was wounded by a bullet, and they fell, and he was captured by the Amīru-l-Umarā's servants. He brought him to the prince, and was congratulated.

In fine there was a great battle for seven days, and 5 or 6000 Uzbegs were killed. The prince continuing the fight came to Balkh and wished to leave his camp in the city and to pursue the foe at full speed. 'Abdu-l-'Azīz turned his rein and in one day crossed the Oxus. Many of his followers were drowned. Afterwards when Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Naẓr Muḥammad, the Amīru-l-Umarā came to Kabul and looked after affairs there. In the 23rd year he came to court and was given the fief of Lahore. After some time he was allowed to go to Kashmir, the climate of which agreed with him. When prince Dārā Shikoh was appointed to the affairs of Qandahar, though the province of Kabul was assigned to his eldest son Sulaīmān Shikoh, yet the Amīru-l-Umarā was sent off to guard it. Then he again went to Kashmir. In the end of the 30th year he was summoned to court, and after arrival was attacked by dysentery; consequently in the beginning of the 31st year, 1067, 1657, he received permission to return to Kashmir. At the stage of Māchīwārah he died (on 16th April, 1657), and his body was brought to Lahore and buried in his mother's tomb. His effects to the amount of one kror of rupees in money and goods were confiscated. Though in Persia he behaved contrary to the ways of the servants of the Ṣafavī family and made himself charged with disloyalty and faithlessness to his salt, yet in India he attained great respect by his loyalty, courage and ability, and was exalted above all the other officers. His position with Shah Jahan was such that the latter called him Yār Wafādār (the faithful friend).

One of his great deeds, which will remain on the page of Time for ages, was his bringing a canal into Lahore, which is the ornament of that city.

In the 13th year 1049, 1639-40, 'Alī Mardān represented to the emperor that one of his servants who was skilled in excavating canals undertook to bring a canal to Lahore. One lac of rupees was estimated as the cost, and this was sanctioned. The person named surveyed the country from the debouchement of the Ravi—

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which has a fall in the hill-country—through the level country to Lahore, a distance of fifty *kos*. He commenced to dig and completed the work [1] in a little over a year. In the 14th year on the banks of that canal and in the vicinity of the city, in a place which was high ground, he made a garden which became known as the Shālamar and was provided with ponds, canals and fountains.

This was completed at a cost of eight lacs of rupees in the 16th year under the superintendence of Khalīl Ullah K. Ḥasan. Undoubtedly there is no other such garden in India.

Verse.

If Paradise be anywhere on earth
It is here, it is here, it is here.

As the water did not come in sufficient quantity, another lac of rupees was put at the disposal of the engineers. It chanced that the chief workmen from ignorance spent Rs. 50,000 uselessly in repairs. At last by the decision of a number [2] of men who knew about water-works five *kos* of the old canal were preserved and 32 new *kos* were made. The water came then without hindrance to the garden.

Alī Mardān while governor of Lahore imprisoned and sent to Kabul the "Faqrāī," [3] who renounced prayer and fasting, and called themselves "Independents" (be qaid, Antinomians), and were the cause of various immoralities and debaucheries. His wealth and power and executive ability are famous all over India. They say that in a feast to the king there were one hundred golden dishes with covers, and 300 silver ones. As regards his sons, separate accounts have been given of Ibrāhīm K., who attained to high rank, and of 'Abdullah Beg, who, in Aurangzeb's time, had the title of Ganj 'Alī K. He had two other sons Isaḥaq Beg and

1 The statement in text seems rather confused. It is abridged from the Pādshāhnāma II. 168. The canal is the Haslī or Shāhī Canal described in I.G.VII. 17. It is now a small part of the Bārī Dūāb Canal. See Muḥammad Laṭīf's Lahore, p. 253. It began about fifty miles above Lahore.

2 See notice of Mullā Alla-l-Mulk *alias* Fāẓil K., Maasir III. 525.

3 Should not this be Fikriyā, *i.e.*, "the contemplative," see Hughes Dict. of Islām, p. 568, No. 10.

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Ism'āīl Beg, who, after their father's death, had each the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse and were both killed in the king's service in the battle of Samūgarha where they accompanied Dārā Shikoh.[1]

'ALĪ MARDĀN K. OF HAIDARABAD.

His name was Mīr Ḥusainī, and he was one of the leading servants of Abū-l-Ḥasan, the ruler of Haidarabad. In the 30th year of Aurangzeb, after the taking of Golconda, he became a king's servant and attained the rank of 6,000 and the title of 'Alī Mardān K. He was appointed to the territory of Kanchī (Conjeveram) in the Haidarabad Carnatic. In the 35th year when Santājī Ghorpura came to relieve Ginjī—which was being besieged by the royal forces—he exerted himself to defeat him. After a struggle he was made prisoner,[2] and his elephants, etc., were plundered. After two years he was released by paying a large ransom. He was in his absence[3] (*ghaibāna*) restored to happiness by receiving the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Afterwards he was for a while governor of Berar, and for some time was deputy of Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht in Burhānpūr. He died in the 49th year. Muḥammad Reẓā[4], his son, was after his death made governor of the fort of Rāmgarha and held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD K. ROHILLA.

They say[5] that he was not really an Afghan. As he had lived for a long time with one of that tribe, and the latter was

[1] He also had a famous daughter, commonly called Saḥibjī, of whom there is an account in the life of Amīr K. Mīr Mīran I. 284.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 416. He was wounded and made prisoner and was released after paying a ransom of two lacs of rupees. Khāfī K. says he was released after a few days, and the Maaṣīr A., p. 364, does not say that he was imprisoned for two years, though it puts the release into the 37th year 1105, 1693-1694, while Khāfī K. puts the defeat into 1104. It is Khāfī K. who speaks of 'Alī Mardān as having been of the rank of 6,000 when he was defeated. If so he was reduced when he got the rank of 5,000 afterwards. But perhaps there is some mistake on the part of K. K.

[3] Maaṣir A., 364. Ghaibāna means that he was not at court when the honour was conferred.

[4] Maaṣir A., 516.

[5] The Siyar M. says he was an Ahīr; translation III, 233. See also Beale, and Forster's Travels. The Afghan who brought up 'Alī Muḥammad was called Dāūd. *Calcutta Review*, October, 1875.

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rich and childless, he put 'Alī Muḥammad into possession. 'Alī Muḥammad took the property and at first took up his quarters in Aonla[1] and Bankar, which are parganas north of Delhi in the dāman-i-koh of Kumaon. He spent some time in the service of the zamindars and faujdārs there, and afterwards took to oppression and laid waste Bāns Bareilly and Muradabad which were the jagir of I'timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-dīn. I'timādu-d-daula sent his maṭṣadī Hīranand[2] to settle the estates, and 'Alī Muḥammad encountered him and completely defeated him and got possession of much plunder and a large park of artillery. I'timādu-d-daulah was unable to remedy matters. After this 'Alī Muḥammad became a rebel and sent for many men from the Roh, which is the home of the Afghans, and took possession, partly of the royal territories, and partly of the lands of the Rajah of Kumaon. He prepared magnificent tents of a red colour like those of the kings of India. Accordingly the king himself set out to put him down. The vagabonds of the royal camp went on ahead and set fire to Aonla. At last by the intervention of the Vizier—who, in spite of his agent Hīranand's having been plundered, was partial to him on account of his dislike of Umdat-ul-Mulk and Ṣafdar Jang—a foundation of peace was laid, and he came in and did homage. He received the Sarkār of Sirhind in lieu of what he had held. When the Shāh Durrānī approached in 1161, 1748, he came out of Sirhind and took possession of his old estates of Aonla and Bankar (Bangarha?). In the same[3] year (1748) he died. His sons were Sād Ullah K., 'Abdullah K., and Faiẓ Ullah K. (and others). The first died of illness (in 1764). The second was killed along with Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat Ullah (in 1774), and the third is at the time of writing living[4] in Rāmgarha. Of his companions were Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat K. and Dūndī K.,—they were cousins,—and the former was closely connected with the Afghan (Dāūd), who had

[1] Text Anwala; it was in Sarkār Budaun, J. II. 288. Aonla is now a tahsīl and town in Bareilly, I.G., V. 388. 'Alī Muḥammad is buried in Aonla.

[2] Or Harnand. He was killed in the battle.

[3] According to Forster he died on 4 Jumāda the 2nd, 1160 = 6th May, 1747. But this must be wrong. See note at end of article in C.R.

[4] He died in 1794. 'Alī M is said to have left four sons (Beale). Another account is that he left six.

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been 'Alī Muḥammad K's. master (khāwand). They took possession of his territory ('Alī Muḥammad's) and gained a name for leadership. The latter (Dūndī) died of illness (before 1774). The first lived for a long time till Shujā'u-d-daula, the son of Ṣafdar Jang Abū-l-manṣūr, in the year 1188 led an army against him. After[1] a fight he was killed. Since then no one of the tribe has distinguished[2] himself.

'ALĪ QULĪ[3] K. OF ANDARĀB.

One of the protegés of Humāyūn. In the year when Humāyūn had heard untrue tales about Bairām Khān and had come to Qandahar from Kabul, he put 'Alī Qulī in charge of the latter city. Afterwards he accompanied Humāyūn to India and in the beginning of Akbar's reign he took part with 'Alī Qulī K. Zamān in the affair of Hemū Baqqāl. Afterwards he was joined with Khwāja Khiẓr K. in resisting Iskandar (Sūr), and in the end of the sixth year he went with Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atka to oppose Bairām K. Nothing more is known of him.

'ALĪ MURĀD KHĀN JAHĀN BAHĀDUR KOKALTĀSH K. ẒAFR JANG.

His name was 'Alī Murād, and he was the foster-brother of Sultan Jahāndār Shah. He was of noble family. In the time when Jahāndār was a prince, he obtained a place in his master's heart, and when the latter was governor of the province of Multan, he managed the affairs. In the time of Bahādur Shah he got the title of Kokaltāsh K. After the death of Bahādur Shah, and the murders of three princes, and when that fair one (shāhid) the Sultanate of India came into the arms of Jahāndār Shah, he obtained

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[1] He was killed in the battle, which took place on 10th Ṣafr 1388, or 23rd April, 1774. (Beale.)

[2] 'Alī Muḥammad was the founder of the present family of the Nawabs of Rāmpūr. The author of the Ḥadīqa-ul-Aqālīm has a good deal to say about 'Alī Muḥammad. He was present at Bangarha when 'Alī Muḥammad surrendered, and he describes his personal appearance. He gives the date of his death as 3 Shawwāl 1161, 15th September, 1748, in the first year of the reign of Aḥmad Shah. See p 141 of Newal Kishore's lithograph. He calls 'Alī Muḥammad a Rajput.

[3] B. 432.

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the rank of 9,000 with 9,000 horse, the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur Ẓafr Jang, and the office of chief Bakhshī. Muḥammad Māh, his younger brother,—who had the title of Ẓafr K.,—and his brother-in-law[1] Khwāja Ḥusain K., each received the rank of 8,000. The former of them had the title of A'ẓim K. and the niẓāmat of Agra, and the latter had the title of Khān Daurān and the 2nd Bakhshīship. This is the Khān Daurān, who was appointed guardian of Muḥammad I'zzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and who went off to oppose Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. His cowardice was such that without drawing his sword from its scabbard, or a drop of blood having fallen from a soldier's nose, he, at night, left[2] the camp with the said prince and took the road to Agra.

Kokaltāsh K. was not remiss in devotion to his master, but as there was rivalry between him and Ẓūl-fiqār K., the materials of envy boiled over, and in councils they contradicted one another, and did not provide for the final issue of things, or do what was fitting. Moreover, the reigning sovereign was infatuated with L'al Kunwar and had bidden farewell to thought and prudence, and did not look after the affairs of state. The flower of success did not blossom, and the parterre of wish took the colours of autumn. In the battle which took place with Farrukh Siyar in 1123[3] near Agra, Khān Jahān stood firm and fell in his master's service

'ALĪ QULĪ KHĀN ZAMĀN.

His father was Ḥaidar Sultan Uzbeg Shaibānī. In the battle of Jām he joined[4] the Persians and attained the rank of an Amīr. At the time of the returning of Humāyūn from Persia he entered into service with his two sons 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur and did good service in the conquest of Qandahar. When the king was pro-

[1] The husband of his wife's sister, Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 160.

[2] Siyar M. I. 50, Irvine l.c., 185. Elliot VII 435.

[3] 1123 is the year stated by Khāfī K. II. 721, but it really was 1124, and the last month of that year. The English date is 10th January, 1713. See Irvine l.c , 198.

[4] Though Ḥaidar was an Uzbeg by race, he had married a Persian wife, and apparently he fought on the side of Tahmāsp and the Persians in the battle of Jām which took place in September 1528.

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ceeding towards Kabul, a plague broke out in the camp and many died. Among them was Ḥaidar Sultan. 'Alī Qulī always behaved well in battle, and did especially well in the conquest of India, and rose to the rank of an Amīr. When a madman named Qambar collected a number of men in the Dūāb and Sambhal and opened the hand of plunder, 'Alī Qulī was appointed to put him down. He soon got possession of him and sent his head to court. When Akbar came to the throne, 'Alī Qulī K. had fighting with Shādī [1] K., who was one of the Afghan leaders. When he got news of the advance of Hemū towards Delhi, he regarded that as the more important matter and went off to Delhi. He had not arrived when Tardī Beg K. was defeated. He heard of this in Mīrtha and went towards the king. Akbar also on hearing the news of Hemū's presumption had returned from the Panjab. 'Alī Qulī waited upon him and went off as vanguard from Sirhind with 10,000 horse. It chanced that an engagement took place in Pānīpat where the battle between Bābar and Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī had taken place. A great battle ensued, and suddenly an arrow pierced Hemū's eye. His army lost courage and fled, and Akbar and Bairām K. had approached near the field of battle when there came the good news of victory. The officers who had distinguished themselves were exalted by suitable titles, and 'Alī Qulī was called Khān Zamān, and had an increase of rank and fief. After that he won great victories in Sambhal, and subdued many of the seditious as far as Lakhnau.[2] He also acquired much property and many elephants. In the third year Shāham Beg, the son of a camel-driver, who possessed beauty of form and on this account was one of Humāyūn's body-guard, and with whom the Khān Zamān, owing to his evil nature, had long been in love, fled from the presence and came to the Khān Zamān. The latter did not regard the majesty of empire, and according to the evil practice of Transoxiana called him Pādishāham "My king" and prostrated himself before him. When his doing of such things became known, he was summoned to court, but though orders were issued to him

[1] Text wrongly has Shāhī.

[2] It is Lakhnau also in A.N. II. 56, but it seems that the place meant is Lakhnor in Sambhal. See Elliot V 384, and the note.

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about the camel-driver's son they had no effect. This was the beginning of the cloud which came over the king's heart with regard to 'Alī Qulī. He gave many of his fiefs to men for their maintenance, and 'Alī Qulī in his presumption and immodesty became obstinate. Bairām K. out of magnanimity (or perhaps, from pride) overlooked this and did not attempt to put him down, but Mullā Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī—who was the Khān-Khānān's vakil and was master of the power of the State—disliked the Khān Zamān. In the fourth year the remainder of his estates was confiscated and given to Jalāīr officers,[1] and he was appointed to Jaunpūr where the Afghans were plotting opposition.

The Khān Zamān sent his confidential servant, Burj 'Alī by name, to make his apologies and to conciliate the court. On the first day Pīr Muḥammad K., who was in the fort of Fīrūzābād (near Delhi) began a dispute with Burj 'Alī, and at the end said, "Fling him down from the tower of the fort." In consequence, his skull was fractured. The Khān Zamān perceived that his enemies desired, under the pretext of Shāham Beg, to destroy him. Accordingly he sent him away and went to Jaunpūr, and by great contests succeeded in bringing that extensive territory into order. When Bairām K. was set aside, the Afghans of that country thought their opportunity was come and raised up the son of 'Adilī and gave him the title of Sher Shah. They attacked Jaunpūr with a large force and 500 elephants. The Khān Zamān collected the officers of the districts and engaged the enemy. The latter were victorious and entered the lanes of the city. The Khān Zamān came from behind and regained what had been lost. He dispersed the foe and obtained many elephants and other plunder. But he did not send the fruits of these celestial victories to court, but became proud and arrogant. Akbar made an expedition to the eastern provinces in Zī-l-qada of the 6th year, July 1562. The Khān Zamān with his brother Bahādur K. did homage in the town of Karra—which is on the Ganges—and presented the rarities of the country together with noted elephants, and he was allowed to depart.

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1 A.N. II. 68, where Ḥusain K. Jalāīr is mentioned.

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In this year Fatḥ K. Patnī (or Panī) and others made the son of Selīm Shah the material of strife and collected a large army in Bihar and took possession of the Khān Zamān's estates. The Khān Zamān went there with other officers, and as he did not think it expedient to give battle he laid the foundation of a fort on the bank of the Sone and entrenched himself there. The Afghans attacked him, and he was compelled to come out and engage them. As soon as they encountered him, they routed the imperial forces. The Khān Zamān—who was sheltering himself behind the wall—set his mind upon death, and went to one of the bastions and discharged a cannon. By heaven's decree the ball struck Ḥasan K. Patnī's elephant, and there was a great uproar in the army, and the men fled. The Khān Zamān gained an unexpected victory. How the world acts like wine!

Verse.

It develops whatever one is.

The Khān Zamān in his arrogance did not recognize the rights of his master, and in the 10th year he in concert with the Uzbeg chiefs raised the standard of rebellion and went to war against the fiefholders of that country. When he heard of the approach of the royal army he crossed the Ganges and encamped near Ghazipur. Akbar came to Jaunpūr and sent Mun'im K., the Khān-Khānān, against him. That honest Turk in his simplicity accepted the Khān Zamān's hypocritical excuses and begged for his being forgiven. In company with Khwāja Jahān—who, at his request, had gone from Akbar to soothe and conciliate him (Khān Zamān)—he embarked on a boat and had an interview with the Khān Zamān. The latter, out of craft and hypocrisy did not agree to appear before Akbar in person, but sent off Ibrāhīm K. who was the greybeard among the Uzbegs together with his own mother and noted elephants. It was agreed that until the king returned he should not cross the Ganges. But the presumptuous man did not wait for the king's return and crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to take possession of his fiefs. Akbar censured Mun'im K. and went off on the expedition himself. The Khān Zamān heard of this and left his tents and other property and went off. After

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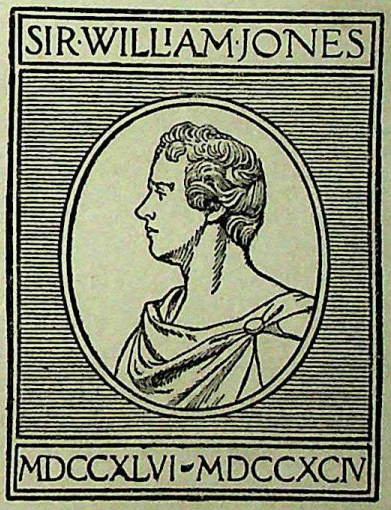

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that he again sought to unite himself with the Khān-Khānān and obtained once more, at Mun'im's intercession, the pardon of his crimes. Mīr Murtaẓa Sharīfī and Maulānā 'Abdullah Makhdūmu-l-Mulk went to the Khān Zamān and confirmed his repentance by exacting *toba*[1] (repentance or perhaps vows). After this, when Akbar proceeded to Lahore to put down the commotion of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Khān Zamān, who had become infected with sedition (*lit.* whose navel has been cut in sedition) again raised the head of disaffection and recited the *Khuṭba* in the name of Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He gave Oudh to Sikandar K. and Ibrāhīm K. and appointed his brother Bahādur K. to oppose Āṣaf K. and Majnūn K. in Karra Mānikpūr. He himself took possession of the territory up to the bank of the Ganges and came to Qanauj. He besieged M. Yūsuf K. (Mashhadī) who was the *jagirdar* there, in the fort of Shergarha four *kos* from Qanauj. On hearing of this offensive news Akbar hastened[2] to Agra from the Panjab and then went off eastwards. The Khān Zamān heard of this, and as he did not think that the king would return with such rapidity he recited the verse

Verse.[3]

His swift, gold-hooved steed beats the Sun
Which goes from east to west but halts a night.

He was helpless, and left the foot of the fort and went to Bahādur K. at Mānikpur. From there he in pargana Singraur made a bridge over the Ganges and crossed. The king hastened from (Rāī) Barelī and crossed the Ganges at Mānikpūr on an

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1 A.N. II. 268. For Mīr Murtaẓa's death, etc., see Badayūnī, Lowe 101.

2 Akbar did not make great haste on the way from Lahore to Agra. He stopped at Thānesar and saw the fight between the Sannyāsīs. He left the Panjab on 22nd March 1567. (Elliot V. 318). He left Agra, where he heard of the Khān Zamān's besieging Shergarh, on 3rd May, having arrived there 19 days before, *viz.*, on 15th April.

3 This comes from Ferishta, who probably does not mean that 'Alī Qulī actually uttered the words. The Darbāri Akbarī has a long account of the Khān Zamān, and in quoting the lines at p. 220 it says that Khān Zamān used them ironically. It also has a different reading, the word *mānd* ending both lines whereas the Maaṣir has *mānd* in the first line and *āmid* in the second. As Ferishta has *mānd* and *āmed* does not rhyme, I have adopted *mānd*. *Mānd* may also mean "resembles."

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elephant with ten or eleven men. He with a few men—in all there were one hundred horse—arrived to within half a *kos* of the enemy's camp and halted that night. Majnūn K. and Āṣaf K. came with their troops—which were the vanguard—and sent Akbar news one after the other. It chanced that on the night the Khān Zamān and Bahadur K. were in complete carelessness and were spending their time in drinking. Whoever spoke of the king's rapid march and of his being near at hand was supposed to be romancing. On the morning of Monday in the beginning of Ẕī-l-ḥajja 974, 9th June 1567, Majnūn K. was placed on the right wing and Āṣaf K. on the left, and in the fields of the village of Sakrāwal, one of the dependencies of Allahabad—which was afterwards styled Fatḥpūr—they reached the Khān Zamān. Akbar was on the elephant Bāl Sūndar, and he put M. Koka in the howda ('imārī) while he himself took the place of the driver. Bābā K. Qāqsāl in the first onset dispersed the enemy and came up to the Khān Zamān. One of the fugitives in his confusion struck against the Khān Zamān, and the turban fell off his head. Bahādur K. attacked Bābā K. and drove him off. Meanwhile the king had got on horseback. As the enterprises of the ungrateful are unsuccessful, Bahādur K. was made prisoner, and his army fled. The Khān Zamān maintained his ground and was asking about the position of his brother when suddenly he was struck by an arrow. Another arrow struck his horse and brought him to the ground. He was on foot and was drawing the arrow out of his body when the elephants of the royal centre arrived. The driver Somnāth drove the elephant Nar[1] Singh against him, and the Khān Zamān said, "I am a leader of the army, take me alive before the king and he will honour you." The driver said, "Thousands of men like you are passing away without name or mark. It is better to kill an illwisher of the king." He then trampled him under the foot of his elephant. As no one knew what had become of the Khān Zamān, the king while standing in the battlefield said: "Whoever will bring a Moghul's head from among the enemy will get an *ashrafī*, and whoever brings the head of a Hindustani will get a rupee." One of the

[1] This is the name given by the T.A. and by Badayūnī, but the A.N. II. 295 calls the elephant Nainsukh (delight of the eyes).

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plunderers had cut off his (K. Zamān's) head, and another took it from him on the way in the hope of the *ashrafī*. They say that a Hindu named Arzānī, who was the Khān Zamān's factotum, was standing there among the prisoners and looking at the heads; when his eye fell upon the head of the Khān Zamān, he took it up and smote his own head with it (?) and flung[1] it at the foot of the king's horse saying, "This is 'Alī Qulī's head." Akbar alighted from his horse and returned thanks to God, and sent the heads of both brothers to Agra and other places.

Verse.[2]

The chronogram found was Fatḥ Akbar Mubārik. "The glorious victory of Akbar." (974.) Another was *Dū khūn shuda.* (975). "There were two deaths."

The Khān Zamān had the rank of 5,000 and was a man of fame and majesty. He was unique for courage and vigour and

[1] There seems to be no authority for the statement in text that Arzānī flung the head at the foot of Akbar's horse. The man was deeply grieved at his master's death and struck his own head in sorrow either with the head or with his hand. See A.N. II. 295 and Badayūnī, Lowe 100. Badayūnī calls the Hindu Rai Arzānī.

[2] The verse is as follows:—

The heads of thy enemies! God forbid
That thy enemies should not do thee reverence (*sir nabashid*).

I stop my words at "the heads of thy enemies." For there is no better conclusion than this.

The verse which contains the chronogram is—

Verse.

'Alī Qulī and Bahādur were slain by the might of Heaven.
Beloved, ask not from me Bedil how it happened.
I sought the year of their deaths from the Sage of Reason.
He heaved a sigh and said, "There were two slayings."

The chronogram yields 975, which is one year too much; but a note to the text I. 630 points out first that the event took place in the last month of 974, so that the anachronism is not great, and secondly, that the heaving of a sigh means that the first letter of *ah* "a sigh" should be deducted, which would make the date right. The word "broken-hearted" (*bedil*) is probably the *takhallaṣ* or pen-name of the composer. The chronogram is given in Badayūnī, Lowe 101. The second chronogram given there, *viz.*:—

Qatl dū nimakḥarām be dīn
"The slaughter of two faithless traitors"

yields 975 and not 973 as stated by Mr. Lowe. Both brothers, *viz.*, 'Alī Zamān and Bahādur, were killed. The date as given by Badayūnī is 1 Ẓū-l-ḥajja 974=9th June, 1567. The name of the village where the battle was fought was Mankarwāl according to Elliot V. 321—and Badayūnī. But A.N. II. 296 has Sakrāwal.

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military skill. Though he was an Uzbeg, yet as he had been nurtured in Persia and his mother was of that country, he was a Shia. He did not practice any subterfuge (*taqīya*) about this. He had a poetical vein, and his *takhallaṣ* was Sultan.

ALIF KHĀN AMĀN BEG.

By family he was a Caghatai Barlās. His ancestors had served the Timurid family. 'Alī Sher K., one of the trusty officers of Timur, was an ancestor of his. His father Mīrzā Jān Beg —whose[1] nature afterwards changed so that there was a worsening of his character—was in the service of the Khān-Khānān M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm and attained high rank. When he died, Amān Beg revived the qualities of his ancestors and became a servant of Shah Jahan. He obtained the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse and was appointed[2] governor of the fort of Qandahar. He held this appointment for a long time, and in the 26th year got the title of Alif Khān. In the end of the same year 1063, 1653, he died. He had gallant sons. Among them was Qalandar Beg, who held the rank of 600 under Shah Jahan. After the first battle with Dārā Shikoh which took place near 'Imādpur in the vicinity of Samogarha in the Agra district, he obtained from Aurangzeb the title of Khān and the charge of the fort of Kalyān in the province of Bīdar, and went off to the Deccan. It was as if this family had been set up as the barbican of the court of the Sultanate! The Khān in question and his sons spent their lives in guarding the forts of the Deccan. After he had been long in Kalyān he guarded Ahmadnagar, and in the 15th year (of Aurangzeb) he became, in succession to Mukhtar Khān, the faujdār and governor of the fort of Ẓafarabad-Bīdar.[3]

When the fortress of Naldrug fell into the hands of the im-

---

1 I do not know what this refers to. A Jān Beg is mentioned in A.N. III. 718. 'Alī Sher is mentioned by D'Herbelot as the lieutenant of Sultan Ḥusain in Samarkand, and as for a time being Timur's colleague there. Perhaps the Jān Beg referred to is the man whom Jahangir had made Wazīru-l-Mulk when he was prince Tūzuk, J., p. 9.

2 Pādishahnāma I, Part II, 216. His rank is there stated as 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

3 Ẓafarabad is another name for Bīdar.

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perial servants, he became the governor thereof. Lastly he obtained the governorship of the fort of Gulbarga and also had the charge of the shrine of Saiyid Muḥammad Gesū[1] darāz—May the peace of God be upon him! He also served in war. He died one year before the victory over Bījāpūr. Among his sons—who were all masters of their profession—was Mīrzā Parvez Beg, who was governor of the fort of Mulkher *alias* Moẓaffarnagar which is eight *kos* from Gulbarga. Also there was Nūru-l-'aīyān, who obtained the title of Jān-bāz Khān, and afterwards was known by his grandfather's name and again by his father's. He in the beginning was governor of the fort of Murtaẓābād Mirich and afterwards died as governor of Naṣīrābād Dhārwar belonging to Bankāpūr. But the most famous was Parvez Beg. His first title was Jān bāz Khān, and afterwards he was called Beglar Khān. He was governor of many forts. When Ankar Fīrūzgarha was taken he was made governor of the fort, but a year had not elapsed when he died. His son Beg Muḥammad K. became governor of Adonī, and his son Mīrzā M'aālī became governor of Gulbarga. From there he went to Qandhar (in the Deccan) and died. His son Burhānu-d-din Qalandar was for a long time governor of Mulkher. He reckoned nothing as of any moment,[2] and was a qalandar pure and simple. He[3] was contented with the unsubstantial four walls of crumbling yellow stone which (God) had made.

'ALĪVERDĪ KHĀN MĪRZĀ BANDĪ.[4]

They say that he and Ḥājī Aḥmad were two brothers and the sons of Ḥājī Muḥammad who was steward (Bakāwal) on the estab-

1 A famous saint of the Deccan, 721-825 H., 1321-1421. See Rieu's Cat. I. 347*b*, and Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 381. See Haig's Hist. Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 90.

2 *Alif hech nadārad.* "He regards Alif as of no consequence." According to the Bahār-i-'Ajam this is a proverbial phrase, and a couplet of Ṣa'ib is quoted in explanation of it. Possibly the author is making a pun. Alif was Burhānu-d-dīn's ancestor's title, and the point may be that he did not regard his ancestry. *Alif shudan* is a phrase meaning "to be poor, or a recluse." The phrase *alif hech nadārad* may therefore mean "he did not mind being poor."

3 The sentence is metaphorical. Apparently *shikananda* here means "crumbling" and yellow stone means flesh.

4 There is the variant "Mirzā Hindī" Indian Prince" But it is M. Bandī in the Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn, p. 293. 'Alīverdī is said to mean "the gift

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lishment of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah (third S. Aurangzeb). 'Alīverdī when in poor circumstances had acquaintance [1] with Shujā'ud-daula, the Nāẓim of Bengal, and during the reign of Muḥammad Shah came to Bengal along with Ḥājī Aḥmad and trod the path of exile. Shujā'ud-daula received them with kindness and gave allowances to both brothers. He made them his companions and friends and did nothing without consulting them. He wrote to court and obtained a suitable rank and the title of Khān for 'Alīverdī. As the province of Patna was included in Bengal, 'Alīverdī was made deputy thereof. He during Shujā'ud-daula's life behaved presumptuously in Patna and obtained from the king the title of Mahābat K. and the substantive subahdarship of Patna. Shujā'ud-daula was obliged to leave him in possession of the province. After Shujā'ud-daula's death, and when the government of Bengal came to his son 'Alāud-daula Sarfarāz K., the latter owing to a penurious disposition, which is contrary to chiefship, turned off many soldiers. 'Alīverdī in the year 1152, 1739, took it into his head to seize Bengal and proceeded to Murshidabad with a strong army on the pretext of having an interview with Sarfarāz. He told his brother Ḥājī Aḥmad—who was in Sarfarāz's employ—what this intention was. Ḥājī Aḥmad helped him in his deceit. When Mahābat Jang approached, Sarfarāz awoke and went out with a small force to meet him. He made a feeble fight and was killed in 1153, 1740. Murshid Qulī K. who had the *takhallaṣ* of Makhmūr [2] and was the son-in-law of Shujā'ud-daula was at that time the governor of Orissa. He collected an army and hastened to engage 'Alīverdī and was defeated (near Balasore) and came to the Deccan to Āṣaf Jāh.

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of 'Alī. Siyar M. I. 276, translator's note. Verdī is often written Berdī.

[1] He was related to him through his mother. He went to Orissa, and his brother came afterwards. See Siyaru-l-M., translation I. 275. 'Alīverdī's mother was a Persian lady, of the Afshar tribe.

[2] "The intoxicated" As it was his pen-name, it was presumably adopted by himself, and means intoxicated in the sense of being filled with Divine Love or with poetical fervour. The Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn has Majbūr. Makhmūr is probably right as Beale says he was called poetically *sarshar*, which also means intoxicated. See also Rieu II. 796*b*, and Oude Cat. 194, where he is styled Makhmūr. He wrote Rekhtah poetry and died in the Deccan.

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Mīr Ḥabīb Ardistānī—who was Murshid Qulī K.'s *bakhshī*—went to Raghū Bhonsla who was *makāsdār* [1] of Berar and urged him to conquer Bengal. Raghū sent a large army under the leadership of Bhāskar Pandit, his Diwān, and 'Alī Qarāwal—who was his best general [2]—along with Mīr Ḥabīb to Bengal against 'Ālīverd. Fighting went on for nearly a month, and then 'Ālīverdī proposed peace. He invited Bhāskar Pandit, 'Alī Qarāwal and 22 [3] other leaders to his tent on the pretext of a banquet, and put them all to the sword. The army scattered like "The daughters of the Bier" (the constellation of Ursa Major). Raghū and Mīr Ḥabīb returned unsuccessful, but every year an army was sent to ravage Bengal. At last 'Alīverdī fixed to pay a sum of money to Raghū, and in lieu of it gave him Orissa, and so preserved the country from ruin. He ruled for thirteen years. After his death his daughter's son, who had the title of Sirāju-d-daula, ruled for ten months. In that time he plundered the port of Calcutta. Afterwards he was defeated by the army of the Feringhi hat-wearers and got into a boat and fled. When he came to Rājmaḥal, one of his servants by name Niẓām arrested him and sent him to Mīr J'aafar his Bakhshī, who was married to Mahābat K.'s sister and was in league with the Feringhis. His head was severed from his body by the pitiless sword, and Mīr J'aafar had the title of Shamsu-d-daula J'aafar 'Alī K. and became the ruler by the help of the Feringhis. In the year 1172, 1758-59, when the army of Sultan 'Alī Gohar came to Patna and besieged it, Ṣādiq 'Alī K. *alias* Mīran the son of Mīr J'aafar was appointed to relieve Patna. He stood firmly in the battle, and was wounded.[4] When the prince turned his rein towards Murshidabad,[5] Mīran marched off quickly and joined his father. Afterwards he went towards Purniya where

1 Properly mukhāṣadār, a collector or revenue-agent. See Wilson's Glossary, 352*b*.

2 'Alī Qarāwal was originally a Hindu and a Mahratta. Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn, 349.

3 Apparently the total number was 22.

4 Mīran's wounds are mentioned in the Siyar Mutakharīn, translation II. 344, and in the Riyāẓ S. 375. The battle took place near Bārh on the bank of the Adhuah (?). Shah 'Ālam had previously defeated Rām Narain at Fatūḥa.

5 The Riyāẓ has Bardwan and the Siyar M. says Bihar, but it appears that the prince's general did make an attempt to march on Murshidabad. See Siyar M. 345.

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Khādim Ḥasan, the Deputy-Governor, was behaving rebelliously. When he came near Bettiah, which is a dependency of Purniya, he on a night in 1173 (July 1760) was struck by lightning, and the harvest of his life was consumed. The chronogram is

Banāgah barq[1] *aftāda b* (*a*) *Mīran.*
"Suddenly lightning fell upon Mīran."

After this occurrence Qāsim 'Alī K. (Mīr Qāsim), the son-in-law of J'aafar 'Alī, dispossessed his father-in-law and became ruler. Accordingly J'aafar 'Alī went to Calcutta. In the end Qāsim 'Alī did not get on with the Christians, and J'aafar 'Alī laid hands on power for the second time. Qāsim 'Alī K. came away and brought the reigning king and Shujā'ud-daula, the Vizier, to the province (Bihar). But nothing was successful. For a long time he waited for his opportunity in attendance on the emperor. When he had no success, he for a time went away to outlying places. It is not[2] known what finally became of him. But J'aafar 'Alī K. died in 1178, 1765. After him his son Najmud-daula sat upon the masnad and died in 1179, 1766. After him Saifud-daula for a time and Mubārak Ullah for some months had the name of rulers. In 1185, 1771-1772, the whole of Bengal and Bihar fell into the possession of the hat-wearers.

ALLAH QULĪ KHĀN UZBEG.

He was the son of the famous Alang Tosh, who was one of the Cossacks and eminent horsemen of Tūrān. He belonged to the Almān tribe, and his name was Jatī. In a battle he attacked with his breast bare, and from that time he was known as Alang-tosh, for *alang*[3] means in Turkī bare, naked, and *tosh* means breast. He was servant of Naẓar Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, and held Kahmard and its appurtenances and the Hazārajāt in fief. As he

[1] The chronogram yields 1173. The event occurred in July 1760. For Khādim Ḥasan the Riyāẓ has Khādim Ḥusain.

[2] He died near Delhi, in 1777 (1191). At Kotwal an obscure village. (Beale). The Siyar M. IV. 51 says, he died at a town between Agra and Delhi.

[3] The spelling Alang or Ilang, الانگ, is wrong: it should be Ilang or Yālāng as in Maasir I. 740. See Zenker s. v. It is curious that *ulanga* is Bengalee for naked. *Tosh* is Turkī for breast.

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got small pay as a servant he was an *aimānci*[1] (?) and a plunderer and raided as far as Qandahar and Ghaznīn and so got his livelihood. He also constantly made incursions into Khurāsān. The Shah of Persia was unable to protect the peasantry against him. Gradually he added soldiering to his robberies, and extended his power far and wide, and in order to subdue the Hazāras, whose settlements were within the Ghaznīn boundary, and who from old times paid revenue to the ruler of Ghaznīn, he established a fort there and in the 19th year of Jahangir a great battle took[2] place between him and Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat K., who was ruling in Kabul on the part of his father. Many Uzbegs and Almāns were slain, and Alang Tosh felt the claws and was defeated. After the death of Jahangir and in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan, Naẓr Muḥammad K. thought he had an opportunity of conquering Kabul and drew up an army against it. Alangtosh did not fail to harry the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Kabul. At last when the time of Naẓr Muḥammad's power was coming to an end and his fortunes declined, he took away Alangtosh's fief without his having committed any fault, and gave it to his own son Subḥān Qulī. In similar manner he annoyed many of his officers, and *went to the place that he went to.* Allah Qulī, before Naẓr Muḥammad K. had deposed his elder brother Imām Qulī K. and had added Samarkand and Bokhara to Balkh, had separated from his father, and came to Kabul in the 13th year with the idea of serving Shah Jahan. The latter from his spirit of appreciation presented him with Rs. 5,000 by an assignment on the treasury at Atak. He also sent Rs. 5,000 to S'aīd K., the governor of Kabul, who had made an advance (to Allah Qulī). When in the 14th year he entered service, he was raised to the office of 1,000. Shah Jahan gradually advanced him to 2,000, and in the 22nd year when he had distinguished himself, along with Rustum K. and Qulīj K. in the battle with the Persians at Qandahar, he got an increase of 500. When in the 24th year J'aafar K. was sent off as governor of Bihar, the Khān

1 Probably the word is *almāncī*, for *al'mān* or *alamān* means plunder. *Almānjī* is given in P. de Courteille as meaning a plunderer.

2 Tūzuk J. 387.

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was appointed to that province. In the 26th year he came to the presence and was raised to the rank of 2,500 and 1,500 horse.

ALLAH YĀR KHĀN.

His father was Iftikhār K. Turkamān, who in the time of Jahangir was one of the auxiliaries in Bengal. When Islām K. Cistī became the governor of that province, he sent a force under the command of Shujā'at K. Shaikh Kabīr against Uṣmān K. Loḥānī, who was rebelling in that quarter. The command of the right wing was entrusted to Iftikhār K. When the battle was imminent[1] and the two forces were confronting one another, Uṣmān drove forward a warlike elephant against the imperial vanguard and defeated it and turned against Iftikhār. He stood firm and stretched forth the arm of battle, and after a number of his old servants and followers had been slain, Iftikhār was also killed.[2]

Allah Yār, after the heroism of his father, became a favourite of Jahangir and in time rose to be an Amir. In the end of that king's reign and the beginning of Shah Jahan's he attained the rank of 2,500, and according to old custom was enrolled among the auxiliaries of Bengal. Qāsim K., the governor of Bengal, sent his son 'Inayat Ullah along with the Khān to take the port of Hoogly, which is one of the leading ports in Bengal. The leadership and control were entrusted to the Khān. He did good service in this victory and by his skill and bravery rooted out in the fifth year the tree of infidelity and of the sway of the Frank which had put down its veins and fibres (*rag u resha*) in that country, and in place of the *nāqūs*[3] (wooden gong) he caused the voice of God's praise to resound. As a reward he received an increase in horsemen and in rank. After that, he during

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[1] *Kārzār tarāzū* a similar phrase to *jangtarāzū* used in the notices of Abu-l-Maalī and Jahangir Qulī.

[2] Literally "After a number of the old servants and helpers had decked the face of courage with the rouge of life-sacrifice, that drunkard with bravery's wine manfully drained the bowl of death."

[3] See Hughes' Dict. of Islam. The *nāqūs* is used in some eastern churches, but here must be understood to mean the bells. For account of siege of Hooghly see Elliot VII. 31.

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the government of Islām K. (Mashhadī) together with Islām K.'s brother Mīr Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī S'aadat K. led[1] an army into Kūc Hājū in the north of Bengal and did good service in extirpating the Assamese who attempted to help the ruler of Kūc Hājū and who trespassed into the imperial territory. He reduced the arrogant to obedience and returned safe and full of plunder. He was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same province (of Bengal) he died in the 23rd year, in the beginning of 1060, 1650. He had sons and other kindred. His sons Isfandiyār, Māh Yār and Ẕū-l-fiqār obtained suitable fiefs and appointments in that province. The second son died in the 22nd year in his father's lifetime, and the third in the 26th year, after his father's death. Raḥmān Yār, the brother of Allah Yār, obtained in the 25th year, at the request of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', the governor of the province, the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the office of the charge of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). Afterwards he got the title of Rashīd K., and in the 29th year he had been appointed as Prince Muḥammad Shujā's deputy to the charge of Orissa. He delayed to go there and occupied himself with his former employment (at Dacca). When Shujā retreated before Aurangzeb, he went off to Bengal in a ruined condition and vainly tried to oppose the pursuit of M'uaẓẓam K. Khān-Khānān, and in the 2nd year of Aurangzeb established himself in Tānda in order to spend the rains there. When he heard that Rashīd K. was recalcitrant and that a number of the landholders in that part of the country had joined with him in opposition and that he wished to take the imperial fleet and join M'uaẓẓam K., he deputed his eldest son Zainu-d-dīn[2] along with Saiyid 'Ālām Bārha in order that when he (the son) came to Dacca he might arrange to kill Raḥmān Yār. By fraud and pretext he (Zainu-d-dīn) one day

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1 Pādshāhnāma II. 75. It was in the 10th year of the reign 1047, 1637-1638. See also Khāfī K. II. 559.

2 Khāfī K. I. 570 and 618 has Zainu-l-'ābidīn, but at II. 49 he has Zainu-d-dīn. In the Blochmann MS. and the I.O. 628 we have *ke* instead of *ta* in the third last line of the biography. The account in text is taken from the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 515, where the name of Shujā's son is given as Zainu-d-dīn. It was Zainu-d-din, who went to Dacca and had Rashīd K. *alias* Raḥmān Yār put to death.

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summoned him to the hall of audience and gave a signal to his men. They all attacked Raḥmān Yār with their weapons and killed him.

ALLAH YĀR K. MĪR TŪZAK (Marshal, master of ceremonies).

He was a servant of Aurangzeb from the days of his princehood, and was in attendance in the battle with Mahārājah Jeswant Singh. He distinguished himself in the first battle against Dārā Shikoh. In the first year of the reign he received the title of Khān, and he conveyed the treasure from the royal camp to Multan for the expenses of the force which under the charge of Khalīl Ullah K. had set forth to pursue Dārā Shikoh. After the battle with Muhammad Shujā' he was made superintendent of the cavalcade (?) (darogha-i-mulāzamān-i-jilau) and given a commission of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the fifth year he was appointed in succession to Hūshdār K., darogha of the *ghusalkhāna* (private audience-room) and given a flag. He died in the 6th year, 1073, 1663.

AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN[1] ZAMĀN BAHĀDUR M.

Son and heir of Mahābat K. Zamāna Beg. His mother belonged to the Khānazāds of Mewat. In contradistinction to his father he was adorned with praiseworthy qualities, and was superior in excellencies to his contemporaries. Men were astonished at such a father having such a son. When in the 17th year of Jahangir, the die for overthrowing the fortune of Shah Jahan was cast in the name of Mahābat K., the latter was recalled from Kabul, and the management of that country was given to M. Amān Ullah as deputy for his father, and he received the rank of 3,000 and the title of Khānzād Khān.[2] The Uzbeg named Jatī, who belonged to the Almān tribe and was a servant of Naẓr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh—he was commonly called Īlangtosh because in battle he left his chest bare, for the Turks term "naked" *īl-*

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 158.

[2] Khānazād in variant and in Iqbālnāma. The explanation of *īlangtosh* is given in Iqbālnāma 228, where the real name is said to be Hastī or Ḥasnī. See also Tūzuk J. 388. Though here the word is written as Ilang, it is Alang or at least only Ilang at I., p. 187. But Ilang or Jeleng is right. See Zenker. s. v.

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ang, and chest *tosh*—was prominent on the borders of Khurāsān, and between Qandahar and Ghaznīn, and acquired a name as a raider and several times attacked Khurasan, so that the Shah of Persia (Shah Abbas) was alarmed [1] at him. He founded a fort [2] in the Hazārajāt in order to control the Hazāra tribe whose seat (*yūrat*) was on the boundaries of Ghaznīn, and who from old times paid tribute to the governor thereof. He also sent his sister's son with an army to overawe them. Thereupon the heads of the Hazāra tribe applied for help and redress to Khānzād K. He hastened with a well-equipped force against the Uzbegs, and their leader (Īlangtosh's sister's son) and a number of his followers were slain in battle. Khānzād K. also destroyed the fort. Īlangtosh by importunity got a sort of leave from Naẓr Muḥammad K.—who had no intention of attacking the imperial territories—and in the 19th year prepared for battle, accompanied by a large number of Uzbegs and Almāncīs,[3] at a distance [4] of two *kos* from Ghaznin. Khānzād K., with the help of the contingent of the province, distinguished himself in this battle and showed devotion in killing and making prisoners of the enemy. They say that the elephants did great things in this battle. Whenever the Uzbegs made an attack, the elephants were driven against them, and their horses took fright. In short the Uzbegs could not advance and Ilangtosh was obliged to fly. They say that in the battle an armed trooper was made prisoner. They were about to kill him when he cried out that he was a woman. When they stripped the trooper they found that he was a woman. She stated that nearly a thousand women like her were in the army, and wielded swords in a masculine manner. Khānzād K. pursued the foe for six *kos* and then returned victorious.

When the government of Bengal was given to Mahābat K., Khānzād K. was at his father's request recalled from Kabul. In the 20th year when Mahābat was censured and summoned to

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1 See Iqbālnāma 228, and Tūzuk J. 388.

2 At Citūr, Iqbālnāma 225, and Ṣawār in Tūzuk J. 386, where the word Ilang tosh is given as Palangposh.

3 Text Imancīs, but the word is Almān or Alamāncī, *i.e.* "robber." See T. Jahangiri 387.

4 Sark dara, Iqbālnāma, 226.

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court, the government of Bengal was assigned to Khānzād. Afterwards, when Mahābat K. in retribution for his deeds fled from the banks of the Jhelam, Khānzād was removed from his government of Bengal and came to court. By his excellent behaviour he retained respect and did not deviate one hair's breadth from submission to Āṣaf K. After Jahangir's death, he was associated with Āṣaf K. in the proceedings that were taken then. In the beginning[1] of Shah Jahan's reign he came from Lahore and did homage, and received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Khān Zamān and the government of Malwa in succession to Moẓaffar K. M'amūrī. In the same year, when his father was made governor of the Deccan, he went[2] there as his father's deputy. After that, when in the 2nd year the government of the Deccan was given to Irādat K., who had the name of A'ẓim K., Khān Zamān kissed the threshold and went off to his fief of Sambhal. When Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan to quell Khān Jahān Lodī, the Khān Zamān followed him and joined Āṣaf K. Yemenu-d-daula who had been appointed to chastise Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah, the ruler of Bījāpūr. In the 5th year at the time of the royal return from Burhānpūr to Upper India, the government of the Deccan and of Khandes was taken from A'ẓim K. and given to Mahābat K. who was then in charge of Delhi. An order was issued to Yemenu-d-daula to leave Khān Zamān and his contingent in Burhānpūr and to come to court with A'ẓim Khān and other officers. At the same time, Khān Zamān got[3] possession of the strong fort of Gālna. Maḥmūd K. the governor of the fort had withdrawn from obedience to Fatḥ K., the son of Malik 'Ambar, because he had put to death the Niẓām Shah, and wished to make over the fort to Sāhū Bhonsla. When Khān Zamān's father addressed himself, in the 6th year, to the taking of the lofty fort of Daulatabad, the Khān Zamān came with 5000 troopers prepared for battle, and went to every battery that needed assistance. At that time 20,000 cattle,[4] as also corn, and a number of the contingent troops, were in Ẓafarnagar, but were not able to join on

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1 Pādshāhnāma I. 158.
2 Pādshāhnāma I. 199.
3 Pādshāhnāma I. 442-444.
4 Pādshāhnāma I. 505. The cattle

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account of the predominance of banditti. Khān Zamān went there, and Sāhūji Bhonsla and Bahlūl K. surrounded him in Cakl-thāna[1] three *kos* from Khīrkī. The Khān Zamān maintained his ground, and discharged rockets, gajnal[2] (elephant-guns) and muskets. From whichever side the enemy advanced, they received a rebuff, and when night fell both armies left off fighting. The Khān Zamān remained on the field of battle and prudently waited (on guard) till the morning. The enemy saw that they could not succeed and retreated in despair. He conveyed the provisions to his father, and continually behaved bravely both in the batteries and on foraging parties. On another occasion he went off to bring in the corn, the money, and the gunpowder of the empire, which had reached Rohankhera and could not advance farther. Randaula K., Sāhū and Yāqūt Ḥabshī followed him up with the idea that they might lay hands on the convoy. The Khān Khānān heard of this and appointed Naṣīrī K. (*i.e.*, Khān Daurān) to assist him. Khān Zamān by his vigour and courage took everything (of the convoy) with him and was returning. When on the march the vanguard and the rearguard were more than a kos from the centre, and as they were entering Khirki the enemy suddenly fell upon them. A great fight took place. The enemy were punished and fled. After the victory over the fort (Daulatabad), he was, at the request of prince Shujā', appointed to take part in the siege of the strong fort of Parenda. Khān Zamān went off in advance and did not fail to drive mines and erect batteries, but on account of the double-facedness of the officers and the arrival of the rainy season, the taking of the fort was delayed. The prince Mahābat K. and others returned without having effected their object.

Although Mahābat K. was fonder of him than of all his other sons, and whenever it was mentioned that such and such a thing was the affair of Amān Ullah (sir—i—Amān Ullah) he would give up the claim even if it was a matter of lacs of rupees, yet from savagery and wickedness he would in public diwān use outrageous.

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were for carrying the grain, and in the Pādshāhnāma the phrase is *gāo-ghala*, not *gāo u ghala* as in text.

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. c. Bāgh Cakal-thāna.

[2] Pādshāhnāma I. p. 506, says gajnal = *badalica*.

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abuse about him. Though the Khān Zamān both openly and by hints sent messages to him begging him to have respect to his (Khān Zamān's) years and to preserve his honour, and not to bring him into contempt, Mahābat only insulted him the more. The Khān Zamān repeatedly said, "Death is not in my power, and what difficulty would there be in going away,[1] but I should be ruined both spiritually and materially." When his soul was specially afflicted, he went [2] off without taking leave and departed by the Rohinkhera *ghāt* with the intention of going to court. On the first day he reached Burhānpūr, and after a night crossed by the Handia ferry. Mahābat K. was vexed and grieved, and said, "If the courtiers—who are all against me—say evil things of me to the king, it will be ascribed (by the king) to enmity and envy, but now that such a son, who is famed throughout the world for goodness, goes off in this way, there will certainly be a bad mark against me. He has disgraced me in my old age." And then he would heave a cold sigh and [3] lay his hand upon his knee, and say, "Ah,[4] Amān Ullah, you will die young." They say that when Khān Zamān's arrival was reported to the king he recited this verse.

Verse.

The beloved is so treated, alas then for the stranger.

As it chanced on the day that Khān Zamān was to do homage there came the news of Mahābat K.'s death. Shah Jahan sent

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[1] The sentence is obscure, but nearly all the MSS. seem to agree in the reading *kushtan* "to kill." I cannot however think that Amān Ullah spoke of killing his own father. I think that we must read *gashtan*, to depart. Perhaps *cha qadr kār ast* means, "What sort of thing would it be for me to leave my father. I should be ruined morally and physically." Possibly we should read *kushtī* wrestling, and understand the son as saying that he could not contend with his father. B.M. MS. Add. 6557 apparently has *kushtī* "struggling or wrestling."

[2] Pādshāhnāma I, Part 2, p. 59, Khāfī K. I. 501.

[3] An attitude in prayer.

[4] Alluding to the belief that those who cause their elders to be ill-spoken of will die young. See B. 569 note, where a similar verse is quoted about 'Urfī as his chronogram. Apparently the eastern superstition referred to by B. is connected with the fifth Commandment. Mahābat's remark came true, for Amān Ullah only survived his father by two years, dying in 1046, while his father died in 1044, 1634-36.

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Yemenu-d-daulah and other officers to offer condolences and sent for Khān Zamān and treated him with various favours. As up to that time there had been one governor for Khandes and Berar, there was now a division [1] made. The Bālāghāt, which means Daulatabad, Aḥmadnagar, Sangmanīr, Junair, Pattan, Jālnapūr, Bīr, Dhārwar and part of Berar, and the whole of Telingāna, the revenue of which was one and twenty krors of *dāms*, was made over to him (Khān Zamān), and he was sent off to take charge. As in consequence of the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bandīla, the government of Malwa was made over to Khān Daurān, Khandes was assigned to Ilāhwardī, and Berar was made part of the Bālāghāt and given to the Khān Zamān.

In the 9th year when Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan to visit the fort of Daulatabad, the Khān Zamān was sent off with Rāo Satr Sāl and other Rajputs, as vanguard, and Bahādur K. Rohilla and a number of Afghans, as rearguard, to conquer the territory of [2] Camārgonda which was the home of Sāhū, and also the country of the Konkan which was in his possession, and likewise to devastate the Bījāpūr lands which were in that direction. He chastised Sāhū several times, and placed *thānas* in Camārgonda and other estates of Aḥmadnagar. When 'Ādil Shah submitted, he returned and received the title of Bahādur. After that, he was sent to take Junair, which is one of the great Niẓām Shāhī forts. The Khān Zamān regarded the pursuit and punishment of Sāhū as the most important matter, and followed him to the Konkan. He never ceased his pursuit. Sāhū allowed his home and goods to be plundered and took refuge in the fort of Māhūlī. As Randaula K. was ordered, on the part of 'Ādil Shah, to co-operate with the Khān Zamān Bahādur and to rescue the forts which Sāhū had taken possession of, and to make them part of the imperial territories, he invested Māhūlī on one side while Khān Zamān did so

1 Khāfī K. I. 502. Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 62. The Deccan was now divided into the Bālāghāt (above the Ghats) and the Payanghāt (below the Ghats). 1 *arb* and 20 krors of dāms would be £3,000,000.

2 "Thirty-two miles south of Aḥmadnagar. The Chambergoonder of the Bombay Route Map." Elliot vii. 52 note, and I. G. xxii. 309.

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on the other. Sāhū[1] became frightened and surrendered to the Khān Zamān the forts of Junair, Tringalwārī, Trimbak, Harīs, Jūdhan and Harsal (Harsira of Elliot), together with the relative of the Niẓām Shah,—who was with him,—in the 10th year of the reign 1046, 1636-37. When the ṣubāḥdārī of the whole of the four provinces of the Deccan was entrusted to Prince Aurangzeb Bahādur, the Khān Zamān returned to Daulatabad and entered into that prince's service. He had long suffered from various diseases. Sometimes he got well and sometimes he had relapses. At last in the end of the year in question he died.[2] The chronogram was *Rustum Zamāna mard*: "The Rustum of the age is dead." (1047,[3] 1637.) They say that when he recovered consciousness at the last breath, he uttered this famous stanza :—

Verse.

Amānī,[4] life hangs on the lip like a lamp at dawn :
I desire the signal which may end matters.

He was the unique of the age for courage and military skill. He was very choleric and jealous, but in spite of that he was so mild and courteous that those who were deadly enemies of his father unrolled for him the carpet of love and single-heartedness: though Mahābat K. used to say, "Their love is enmity against me, and if after my death this unanimity and friendship remain, you have permission to abuse me!" He was also unequalled for wisdom and knowledge. He wrote[5] a history of all the princes of the earth. He also composed the collection called the Ganj Bādāward.[6] Amānī was his poetical sobriquet and he is the author of a divān. These lines are from it :—

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[1] Elliot VII, 59, 60: Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 228, etc.

[2] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 257. He died on 14 Ẓīlḥajja 1046 = 29th April, 1637; *id.* 293.

[3] The chronogram is not quite correct for he died in the last month of 1046.

[4] I presume that it is the angel of death who is supposed to be speaking. Compare Johnson's "Counts death kind Nature's signal of retreat."

[5] Rieu. Cat. 509a. Sprenger's Cat. 330 and 109. Ethé Ind. Cat., p. 857, No. 1571? There is a copy of Amānī's diwān in the Bodleian Library. See Cat., p. 683, No. 1095.

[6] Bādāward was the name of the second of Khusrau's treasures. See

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Verse.

Write our name on the rim of the cup
That it may abide while the cup goes round.
Should the sphere not turn as we wish, say "Turn not":
Enough if the cup turn concordant with our wish.

He had one son. His name was M. Shukr Ullah. He was able and known to the sovereign. At the time when his father went to relieve Junair, he as his deputy was sent off to guard Burhānpūr.

AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN.

Grandson of Ilāhwirdī [1] K. ʿĀlamgīrī; his father probably was the Amān Ullah K., the son of Ilahwirdī, who after his father's death became *faujdār* of Agra and got the title of Khān. In the 22nd year he (the father) was *faujdār* of Gwaliyar and fell bravely at the battle [2] of the intrenchments of Bījāpūr. The subject of this notice apparently got his father's title and had a commission of 1000 with 500 horse and was distinguished among the *khānazādas*. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he came to the front by his courage and devotion and became an Amir. When in the beginning of 48th year the king—the holy warrior—(*jehād āīn*) addressed himself to the capture of the robber-castles, he after taking the fort of Rājgarha turned his rein towards capturing the fort of Tornā [3] which was distant four *kos*.

It is well known that in the end of Aurangzeb's reign many forts, which belonged to Siva [4] (Sivaji) and which were taken from his agents, were obtained by the imperial officers sending money to the governors, in order to get their own discharge (from the task of taking them). The governors therefore surrendered them. The king was quite aware of this, and so it repeatedly happened that the very sum which had been paid for the delivery of the fort was given to the taker after the capture by way of a present.

Rieu. II, 439b and 509b. Ethé states that it was a work on agriculture.

1 Or Ilāhvardī (the gift of God).

2 Maasir ʿĀlamgīrī, 262.

3 *id.* 486, Khāfī K. II, 521. Elliot VII, 377. Twenty m. S.W. Poonah. Rājgurh is three m. east of it, Grant-Duff I, 131-32.

4 Siva died in 1680, 27 years before the end of Aurangzeb's reign.

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But this fort came into the possession of the imperial servants by dint of courage and the stroke of the sword! The brief account of this is that Tarbīyat K. set[1] himself to run an entrenchment from the side of the gate and Muḥummad Amīn K. Bahādur barred the egress of the besieged in another direction. Sultan Ḥusain known as Mīr Malang on one side, and Amān Ullah on another girt up the loins of self-sacrifice. At last, on 15 Ẕul-Q'ada 1115, 11 March 1704, at night, Amān Ullah K. induced some Māwali[2] footmen to send, first, one of their number, who parted, as it were, with his life, to the stone heap (*sangchīn*, perhaps

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[1] *Bamūrcāl dawānī nishast.* The text has *dawālī*, which does not seem to have any sense. The B.M. MSS. which I have consulted have also *dawālī*. But the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī from which the passage has been copied has at p. 486 *dawān* (دوان), and it is so also in the B.M. MS. of the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī Add. 19, 495. My friend Mr. Irvine has suggested that dawānī is right and that the phrase means to run, *i.e.*, to make, a battery or entrenchment. I think that this view is correct, for I find in Khāfī K. I, 688, the phrase *naqb dawāndan* twice used to mean the driving of a mine. See also Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī, 413, three lines from foot, the phrase *murcāl rawān sākht*, and do. 413, two lines from foot, the phrase *murcāl dawīd*. The same phrase *murcāl dawānī* occurs in Maaṣir III, 41, six lines from foot.

[2] ماولی *māwalī*. This is the Mawulee of Grant-Duff, I. 224, and the word means an inhabitant of the Mawals or mountain-valleys: see *id.* I. 127. Grant-Duff says, "Both they and the Hetkurees possessed an extraordinary facility of climbing, and could mount a precipice, or scale a rock with ease where men of other countries must have run great risk of being dashed to pieces." In the Maaṣir 'Alamgīrī, 487, the word is wrongly written مادلیه *mādalpa*, with the variant *mādaliya*. It is written correctly in Khāfī K. II, 522, whom the Maaṣir has copied. The *māl ya'nī kumund* "*māl*, that is to say, noose or lasso" of the Maaṣir was perhaps "the strong narrow band of considerable length tightly girt about the loins" of Grant-Duff I. 224. Perhaps however *māl* is *māla*, a garland, and also a string, and the word is almost certainly connected with the *malchār* of the Pādshāhnāma, Part II, of vol. I, pp. 107, 108, and 109, referred to by Irvine, Army of Moghuls, p. 278. Mr. Irvine thought that *malchār* might mean a trench, but the expression *malchār khud*, "their own *malchār*," at top of p. 109, shows that this cannot be so. Also on p. 107 we have the word *malchār* followed a line or two below by the word *kumund*, and as if the two were synonymous. Grant-Duff refers to the escalade of Tornā in a note at I, p. 399. The day of the capture was also Aurangzeb's birthday and the day of his accession, Khāfī K. II. 522. It was the first day of Farwardīn. The account of a Māwali being sent up to fasten a rope or ladder of ropes may be compared with the account of the taking of Singurh in Grant-Duff I. 243.

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embrasure) of the fort, and to make his *māl*, *i.e.*, lasso fast to the stones. Five and twenty men got on the top of the lofty hill by help of this lasso and entered the fort. They raised the cry of victory. The Khān and his brother 'Aṭā Ullah K. and some others followed at their heels. Hamīdu-d-dīn K., who was waiting for his opportunity, on hearing this news fastened ropes on his waist like those who had gone before and got up. Many of the infidels who tried to oppose were slain. The others crept into the citadel and asked for quarter. The fort received the name of Fatūḥ-al-ghaib (marvellous victories), and Amān Ullah K. received an increase of 500 with 200 *dūāspa* (two horse) horse. After that he received royal favours and did many brilliant feats. He got promotion again and again, and after the victory of Wākinkera [1] he received drums in token of his good services. After the death of Aurangzeb he hastened from the Deccan to Upper India along with Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah and fought bravely in the battle with Bahādur Shah and was severely wounded. He then surrendered his borrowed life!

AMĀNAT K. MĪRAK M'UĪNU-D-DĪN AḤMAD.

The forgiven Khān was by name Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Amānat Khān Khwāfī. He was right-minded, well-principled; an acute perceiver of the truth; humble in disposition, independent in soul; of a heavenly nature, and a holy blend; of excellent manners, and praiseworthy morals; a master of gentleness, harmoniously elevated; of an excellent countenance, and lofty genius; pure-hearted, magnanimous; an established pillar of trust and reliability; a solid foundation of generosity and bounty; of sound judgment, and right-thinking; hating little, loving much.

The real home of his honoured ancestors was the city of Herat, the capital of Khurāsān. His grandfather Mīr Ḥasan was annoyed for some reason or other and took the path of separation from his father Mīr Ḥusain, who was one of the leading men of that city, and came to the township of Khwāf, which is a small tract in that kingdom, the inhabitants of which have been distinguished from early times for ingenuity and intellect. Khwāja 'Alāū-

[1] Elliot vii, 377.

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d-dīn Muḥammad, who was one of the principal men of Khwāf, had regard to old acquaintance with his ancestors, and received him with kindness and gladness, and took him into his house. As the light of greatness and nobility appeared on the forehead of his character, he gave him his daughter in marriage. In consequence, Mīr Ḥasan took up his abode there and became the father of a family. Afterwards when the famous Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn[1] Muḥammad Khwāfī, the son and heir of the Khwāja aforesaid, entered the service of Akbar and obtained high rank and consideration, Mīrak Kamāl, the son of Mīr Ḥasan, went off to India to his mother's brother (*taghai*) with his son Mīrak Ḥusain, and spent his days in affluence and comfort. There too he married one of the daughters of the Saiyids of his native city. Mīrak 'Aṭā Ullah was the fruit of this marriage, and in the Balkh campaign accompanied Prince Aurangzeb, and acquired respect and consideration. On account of some reason, he separated from Prince Aurangzeb and became one of the king's servants, and was raised to the rank of 700. He was first bakhshī of the *Aḥadīs* at Kabul and afterwards diwān of Patna. In that place the lamp of his life was extinguished in the close of Shah Jahan's reign. But Mīrak Ḥusain (the son by the first marriage) was distinguished during the reign of Jahangir for his skill and knowledge, and held high office. In the 8th year he was employed in company with Prince Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) in the campaign against the Rānā (of Udaipūr), and when Udaipūr was taken, and military stations were established in the Rānā's territory, Mīrak Ḥusain was made bakhshī and record-keeper of Kombalmīr. After that he became bakhshī of the Deccan, and after Shah Jahan's accession he became diwān of the Deccan. From that day to this—which is more than a hundred years—this office has been hereditary in the family. In the 8th year he received a present of Rs. 10,000, with a robe of honour and a horse, and was sent on an embassy to Naẓr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, in company with Payinda[2] Be, the ambassador of the said Khān, with presents to

[1] He was a very distinguished officer and became diwān of the empire. See Blochmann, 445.

[2] It is Nābahar Be in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 104. Cf. Khāfī K. I. 508-9.

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the value of Rs. 125,000. In the royal letter he was styled in eloquent language a Saiyid of true race and of approved abilities. On his return from Tūrān, he was censured for some reason When he died his heirs continued to be employed in the government service. Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang remembered the old intimacy and procured their advancement. The heir of the deceased, Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad, was in the flower of his youth. After acquiring the current sciences he entered the king's service, and in the year 1050, 1640, he was made bakhshī and historiographer of the province of Ajmere. After that it is probable that he went to the Deccan for service. Accordingly Shaikh M'arūf Bhakkarī writes in his Ẕakhīra-ul-Khwānīn, which was composed in 1060, 1650, "Mirak M'uīnu-d-din, the son of Mīrak Ḥusain Khwāfī—whose father and grandfather were higher than the sun for greatness and family—is perfectly endowed in this household (?) (*darīn ḥawālī*) with wisdom, knowledge, ability and calligraphy, and conducts himself with honour in the Deccan." In the 28th year of Shah Jahan, he was with Prince Dārā Shikoh in the Qandahar campaign, and after his return in the same year, he was, in 1064, 1654, made diwān, bakhshī and historiographer of the province of Multan. He spent a long time in that quarter. High and low, small and great, there beheld his truthfulness and honesty, and strength and counsel, and put the ring of devotion in their ears and behaved as his disciples. Up to the present day Mīrak Jīū's name is on the lips of the people there. At two *kos* distance from the city he made a house and garden which became known as "Kūtila-i-Mírak[1] Jīū." In the time of 'Ālamgīr he was made ṣubāḥdār of Kabul and received the title of Amānat Khān.

Though[2] the conferring of titles by an author of bounty (*i.e.*, a kingly benefactor, etc.) depends upon the qualities of the nominee, and it behoves the latter to strive to live up to his title, yet this cannot be said in this instance, for in it the name and the person named were identical. Or rather the latter was a thousand

[1] Kūtila or Kutilī is a Hindustani word signifying a granary.

[2] The sentence is obscure, and I am by no means sure that I have fully understood it.

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times nobler and more valuable than the name. In the world of creation and existence no quality comes up to trustworthiness and honesty (*amānat u dīānat*). They are very precious and very rare. Wherever they bloom there is a spring-time of blessings. They are the source of lofty dignities and the elixir of fortune and happiness. In the world's market, merchandise is disposed of by the brokerage of honesty, and in life's garden the fruits of success are to be gathered from the tree of Trust (amānat).

In fine he was promoted in the 14th year of 'Ālamgīr to the rank of 1000 with 200 horse, and to the diwānī of the Khālṣa in succession to 'Inayat K., and he received a crystal[1] inkstand. When in the 16th year Asad K.—who after the death of Ja'afar K. carried on the duties of the Viziership as deputy—withdrew his hand from affairs, Amañat K. and the *Diwān-i-tan*,[2] in accordance with orders, put their[3] own signatures and seals on the papers of their offices.

Inasmuch as the thoughts of honourable men who have no mixture of hypocrisy or self-interest are engrossed by duty to God, and the welfare of their master, they have no fear of the blame of critics. At this time the Begams of the palace and the confidential eunuchs, who had audience of the king and were proud of their intimacy, out of base covetousness did improper acts and repeatedly made improper recommendations. As now there was no place for such recommendations, and whatever was profitable to the government and was to the advantage of the people of God was carried out without the instigation of any adviser, the edge of their sword did not cut. Of necessity they girt up their loins for annoyance, and as nothing stopped their intrigues[4] they made use of the report[5] of 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm the *Peshdast*. As in consequence

[1] Maasir 'Ālamgīrī 110. and Blochmann 412, n. 1.

[2] For *tankhwāh*. The department of grants, Irvine A. of M. 39. For Asad K. Aṣafu-d-daulah's temporary retirement see his biography I. 311. The diwān-i-tan then was Kifayat K.

[3] See the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 126, where it is recorded that "it was ordered that Amānat K., the diwan of the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., the diwān-i-tan, should put their seals below the seal of the chief diwān and carry on the duties of the diwānī." This was in 1083, 1672-73. See also this quoted in Maasiru-l-Umarā I. 311.

[4] Literally "the nails of their digging were not stopped anywhere."

[5] In the Maasir 'Ālamgīri 144 it is mentioned that Amānat K. resigned

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of continual toil [1] Amānat K. was disgusted and was in search of an excuse for resigning, he made use of this affair and in the 18th year presented his resignation at Ḥasan Abdal. Though the king observed that the report of the Peshdast was no cause for resigning, Amānat would not agree. As the marks of honesty and skill (in Amānat) had been impressed on the heart of the king, he immediately appointed him to the charge [2] of Lahore and its fort. He also was made Diwān of the province. Though he declined financial work, yet the king ordered that his eldest son 'Abdu-l-Qādir should carry on the duties. There, besides the buildings of Kawāfīpura near the Chauk, he made a large building and baths which are famous throughout the world. In the 22nd year, when the king was staying at Ajmir, Amānat was made [3] Diwān of the provinces of the Deccan and received a robe of honour. From that time till now this office has mostly remained with this family. When in the 25th year Aurangabad was honoured by the king's presence, the house of Niẓām Shāh known as Sabz (green) Bungalow—which is at present the governor's house—was his (the king's residence). It belonged to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim. Amānat K. wished to buy the fort of Harsūl, which is two *kos* from the city, and to make it his permanent [4] residence. The king

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the *peshdastī* of the Khālsa and was appointed to the charge of Lahore. Then it says that Kifayat K., the *Peshdast* of the office of the *Tan*, was appointed to the peshdastī of the Khālṣa in Amānat's room. There is an account of Amānat K. in Khāfī K. II. 261 and 376-78. In the latter passage great praise is given to Amānt, but it is stated that he incurred the king's displeasure by remitting the poll-tax in a number of instances. This act was brought to the king's notice by Rashīd K., whom the Maasir 'Ālamgiri calls the *peshdast* of the Khālṣa. Khāfī K. calls him the Diwān of the Khālṣa and says he had a rivalry with Amānat. Perhaps Rashīd K. is another name for 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm. There is however an 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm named at p. 266 of the M. 'Ālamgīrī. He may have been a descendant of the Mullā Abdu-l-Ḥakīm of Sialkote and have made a report against Amānat for not collecting the *jiziya*.

[1] *Sifārish*, which has also the meaning of recommendations, and may refer to reports made by Amānat's enemies.

[2] This must be the Amānat of Manucci I. 159 and Catrou, who speak of him as being a great friend to the Christians. But they are wrong in speaking of him as an officer of Jahangir's time. He was great-grandfather of Shah Newāz the author of the Maasir U.

[3] Khafi K. II. 261.

[4] *ba ṭarīk multān*. multan etymologically means "root-place, perman-

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decided upon the residence of Malik 'Ambar which is close to Shāhganj (for Amānat). Amānat K. was not content to hire it, and so bought it from the government. Hence this too is known as the Kūtila (of Amanat ?).

In the beginning of the 27th year when the king went to Aḥmadnagar, inasmuch as his desire was to conquer Bījāpūr and Haidarabad, the pious man (Amānat) thought it right to abstain from a war against Muhammadans and presented his paper of resignation—which he had (always) at his finger-ends. The acute king read his countenance and did not take him with him, but left him in charge of Aurangabad. After some months of the year his spirit flew in 1095, 1684, to the gardens of paradise. He was buried south of the city near the shrine of Shāh Nūr Ḥamāmī. *Saiyid bihishtī shud*, "The Saiyid became paradisaical," gives the date 1095. In truth, the word of Death in the case of such wakeful hearts which gather outward beauties and store up spiritual rewards and live for ever is but a customary phrase.

Verse.[1]

Never are the men of soul dead, nor will they die.
Death is but a name when applied to their tribe.

The truth-knower Miyān[2] Shāh Nūr Ḥamāmī, who was a dervesh, who was master of perfection, frequently said, "What men ask from us is possessed by this bābāī pīr (young saint ?)" and then he would point to that heart-knower (shināsā dil) (Amānat).

Khāfī Khān, the author of the Lab-Labāb history, who was a man of sincere speech and a seeker after justice, has stated[3] that a really honest man who does not think of his own advancement, and who regards the welfare of the people as of more importance than the profit of the government, and in whose administration

ent abode." The meaning however may be that Amanat wanted to make his home in Harsūl just as he had formerly done in Multan.

[1] This couplet is Faizi's and occurs in his elegy on Fatḥ Ullah Shirazi.

See above p. 103 and the Akbarnāma III. 564.

[2] Shāh Nūr survived Amānat K., not dying until February 1693. (Beale.)

[3] Khāfī K. II. 261.

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no harm has been done to the person or property of a single individual, has, with the exception of Amānat K., been rarely seen or heard of. There were frequent instances of accountable collectors and impoverished landholders coming near to death in prison. Such things only produced oppression and gave a bad name to the government. He took a little in comparison with what was demanded from them, and fixed instalments for each person and then released them. Accordingly in Lahore on one occasion the news-writers reported that there had been a loss of two lacs of rupis on this account. The king was displeased, but when he became acquainted with the facts of the case, he applauded Amānat. In the Deccan [1] also there was an old balance of ten or twelve lacs of rupis debited against imaginary (*saqīmu-l-ḥāl*) ryots. Every year *aḥadīs* and manṣabdārs were appointed. They did not realise a single *dām* of it and showed [2] a large amount as held in suspense (*mauqūfāna*). Similarly he by one stroke of his pen wrote off as remitted a large sum due from needy proprietors as *peshkash* (presents due by them to the king or his officers).

By chance [3] the king one day was praising his honesty. Amānat said, "There is not another traitor (*khāīn*) like me, for

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[1] *id.* 377.

[2] This passage is obscure both in the text and in Khāfi Khān. Judging from the sentence that follows I am inclined to think that the real meaning is that Amānat did not collect the money but wrote it off as irrecoverable (*mauqūfāna*) as remitted. Observe that in Khāfī K. there is a dash after *miraftandand* (377, line 7) to indicate that there is a break in the sentence. The meaning however may be that the collectors did not allow the ryots any credit for the current year for what they paid, but credited everything to these old and imaginary balances. The Maaṣir in copying Khāfī K. has altered his phraseology and omitted one or two important words. The words "*tūmār nadāra l*" in the text and in Khafi K. (377, line 8) seem to me to be a technical expression. Khāfī K. has after them the word *navishta*, and apparently he means that Amānat wrote "*tūmār nadārad*," i e., unrealisable, or "not to be entered in the accounts," and so remitted these old and imaginary balances. It was an old custom in Bengal to make the ryots who remained, or the head-man, responsible for the rents of ryots who had died or run away (*palatoka*), and I imagine that the same practice was followed in the Deccan.

[3] *id.* 377, where the conversation is given at greater length. The final treasury referred to by the king means the treasury in heaven. Khāfī K. represents him as saying that Amānat looked after both his earthly and his heavenly treasure. The Maaṣir does not go on to say that Aurangzeb, though he forgave the

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every year I remit sums due by debtors to my master." The king observed, "I know that you are heaping up money for me in the final treasury."

In short, the service which this great man performed for the State in a small office—for his rank was not more than 2000—was a strange one. There were many dealings which were contrary to humanity, and so though they were all royal orders, from piety and gentleness of heart he did not carry them into effect. On account of so acting contrary to the pleasure of his master he used to tender his resignation; but the righteous king had regard to his disinterestedness and honesty and passed over the matter without notice.

They tell that Mukhlaṣ[1] Khān Bakhshī used to relate that Amānat K. held a singular position in the king's mind. At the time when the king was at Aurangabad Prince M'uīzzud-dīn represented: "Our workshops have for want of space been placed outside of the city, and in this rainy season they are becoming rotten. I ask that the mansions of Sanjar Beg deceased, whose bath is famous in that city, which have recently been escheated, and which the heirs have not yet quitted, may be given for the storing of our goods." The king therefore issued an order upon the relatives of the deceased. No attention was paid to it. The petition of the prince was again brought before the king, and an order was given to Muḥammad[2] 'Alī the Khānsāmān—who had no equal or partner in respect of intimacy and influence (with the king)—that he should set some one over Amānat K. to see that the building was delivered up to the prince's men. The worshipper of right (Amānat) did not attend to this either. At last one day in a cortège, when both of them were in the retinue, Muḥammad 'Alī K. represented that although a *sazāwal* had been appointed to

other remissions, censured Amānat for remitting the poll-tax (*jeziya*), and that in consequence Amānat refrained in future from remitting the poll-tax. See p. 378. The Maaṣir has the phrase "end of the words" at the close of the abstract of Khāfī K. as if it were a verbatim quotation.

[1] Perhaps a poet. See Khāfī K. II. 381. But more probably the Mukhlaṣ K. of Maasir III. 566 who was Bakhshī of Balkh.

[2] Son of Ḥakīm Daud Taqarrab K. III. 625.

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make over the house to the prince (*murṣhidzāda* "his Master's son"), nothing had been done. The king turned to Amānat K., and he frankly said, "The place cannot be made over to the prince at this season of lightning and rain (*barq u bārān*). Where will Sanjar Beg's people find shelter and shielding (*sir u sāya*). I'm frightened for myself for I have a wife and children (*kul u kuware*); to-morrow this day's case may be theirs." At the same time he tendered his resignation in order that such a task as this might be assigned to some one else. The king hung his head and was silent.[1]

In his mode of life he had nothing in common with the rich, and had no acquaintanceship with the pursuits of the worldly. He was fond of learning and possessed the current accomplishments. He composed a treatise on the laws of Islam, which is a collection of the rules of the Law. He was a master of Shikasta and Nasta'līq writing. He had seven sons and eight daughters, and they all left large progeny. But the second son Wazārat Khān, whose poetical name was Girāmī, was pre-eminent for excellences. He had a poetical vein and is the author of a divān. This verse of his is famous.

(Verse, see above in Gholām 'Alī's preface.)

He had a son called Mīrak M'uīn K. who died some time before his father and left no offspring. The accounts of the others, *viz.*, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K., Mīr Ḥusain Amānat K. No. 2, and Kāẓim K. the direct grandfather of the writer of these pages, have been separately written. It is due to the good qualities of this great man that in this world of change, where in the twinkling of an eye great families become weak and contemptible, his children during four generations have up to the time of writing,

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1 I am indebted to my friend Mr. Irvine for help in under-standing this passage. I think that کوری here does not mean blind people but that کور is *kuwar* a son and that *kul u kuware* must be a Deccani phrase for wife and children. *Kul* however may also mean household or domestics. The phrase "to morrow," etc., may be compared with the Latin inscription often found in graveyards, Hodie mihi cras tibi. Amānat was referring to the inhuman practice according to which an officer's property escheated to the crown. See Bernier on the subject in connection with Shah Jahan.

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1159,[1] 1746, been Diwāns of the Deccan and have filled other high offices with honour and credit. Such absence of misfortune is rarely seen in other families.

AMĀNAT KHĀN THE 2ND.

He was Mīr Ḥusain, the third son of Amānat K. Khwāfi. On account of his uprightness and ability he was the companion and friend of his father. After the latter's death he, as well as his brothers, became a favourite of the Khalīfa-r-Raḥmān (the Vicar of God) Aurangzeb, and, though in small offices, was regarded as a confidant. It was like "One[2] of the blessings from the Barmecides," he inheriting all the respects that his father had. High and low of this family were treated with the favour shown to *Khānazāds* (children of the household). They say that one day the appreciative king appeared in public audience. When the Khān (Amānat No. 2) entered with his son the enclosure (*sarāparda*) a *chōbdār* (usher)—a set of men who for the most part deserve on account of their mordacity and mischievousness the rod (*cob*) and are fit for the gallows, seized the son's hand and kept him back. The Khān in his wrath paid no heed to the respect due to the place where he was, but turned round and seized that saucy fellow and went on and represented to the king: "If sons of the house are to be insulted by fellows like this, what expectation have they of fame and honour in the king's service?" The king out of respect to him dismissed the whole of the guard of that day.

As the ability of the Khān made an impression on the king, when he, near the end of the 31st year, was at Bījāpūr, in the beginning[3] of the 32nd year conferred on him his father's title and made him diwān of Bījāpūr. When in the end of the 33rd year (June 1690) he left the town of Badrī,[4] which is 17 *kos* north of

[1] At this time the author had been for four or five years out of employ. He was not restored till the following year, 1160. Perhaps he never was formally dismissed.

[2] A proverb. See D'Herbelot s.v. Barmekian. As pointed out by him, the story is told in the Nigaristan. See Bombay lithograph of 1829, p. 39, *et seq.*

[3] Maasir A. 317.

[4] This can hardly be the Bīdar of I.G. See Maasir A. 335. Galgala is the Gulgulla of Grant-Duff I. 378, and Tūrgal is the Toorgul of *id.* 186. It

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Bījāpūr, and came to Quṭbābād Galgala belonging to Tūrgal, 12 *kos* north of Bījāpūr and on the Kishna, the Khān was raised from the position of diwān of Bijapur to that of *daftardār-i-tan* in the place of Ḥājī Shafī Khān. In the 36th year he was made governor [1] of Aurangabad in the room of M'amūr K. and had his rank increased to one of 1500 with 900 horse. In the same year he was summoned to court and given the office of *biyutāti-i-rikāb* (steward) on the death of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm K. At this time he was again appointed governor of the fort of Aurangabad. At last he was made *maṭṣadī* of the port of Surat. He managed matters there to the profit of the king and the comfort of the subjects, and got promotion. In the 43rd year, 1111, 1699-1700, he died.[2] He is buried outside that town near the city-wall. He had four sons. The first was Mir Ḥasan who married the daughter of Muḥammad Murād K. Uzbeg. He is the father of the writer's mother. He died of plague in Galgala in the prime of his youth. Their son was Kamālu-d-dīn 'Alī K. who is beloved by his cotemporaries for his praiseworthy character and right-thinking. At the time of writing he manages the estates of Aurangabad which are the fief of Āṣaf Jāh. The second, Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Irādatmand K., is the son-in-law of his uncle Dīānat K. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir. In the time of Aurangzeb he was appointed to the *biyūtātī* of Aurangabad and in the time of Bahādur Shah was made diwān of Burhanpur. The third is Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Niyāzmand K. He was for a long time diwān of Berar and in the beginning of the present reign (Muḥammad Shah's) went to Bengal. Ja'afar K. (Murshid Qulī) the Nāẓim there out of love for his father welcomed him and made him superintendent of the fleet, which is the highest post in that province, and obtained for him from the court the title of Amānat K. and an increase of rank. After the death of Ja'afar K. he was made *faujdār* of the estates in that province, and in the year 1157, 1744, he died. The fourth was Mīr Muḥammad Taqī [3] K. who is

is the Toragal of the maps. See Mr. Irvine's article in Numismatic Supplement VII of A.S.B. for 1907, p. 57. It is 36 m. S. Galgala and is on the Malprabha river, a tributary of the Kistna.

[1] *id.* 347. [2] Maaṣir A. 412.

[3] See Khāfī Khan II. 666-68. The name is there, p. 688, given as Muḥammad Naqī The capture of Burhāndūr and the death of Mīr Aḥmad the governor took place in the reign of

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married to the writer's full aunt. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was made *bakhshī* of Burhānpūr. In the catastrophe of Mīr Aḥmad K. the governor there who was killed in battle with the Mahrattas many of the *matṣadīs* (clerks) were made prisoners. Every one of them sought to get deliverance from their clutches by craft and deceit. He from simplicity showed himself as in good circumstances and paid a large ransom. He did not approve of minimising his position. All his descendants are alive.

(RĀO) AMAR SINGH.

Eldest son of Rajah Gaj Singh Rāthor. He began with a suitable office, and in the 2nd year of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 2000 with 1300 horse. In the 8th year his rank was 2500 with 1500 horse, and he had the present of a flag and an elephant. In the same year he was appointed, along with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. When the fort of Dhāmūnī was taken, and Khān Daurān went inside, and Amar Singh and other leaders were outside, and waiting for the morning and the looters had entered and were occupied in looking for plunder, the ashes of a torch fell into the powder magazine under the fort, and the bastion was blown up. The pieces of stone mostly fell outside, and killed several of his companions. After returning from there he obtained the rank of 3000 with 2500 horse.

When in the 9th year the king went in person to the Deccan to put down the disturbance of Sāhū Bhonsla,—who, in spite of the Niẓāmu-l-mulk's being imprisoned in Gwalior, had raised up a boy from among the Niẓam's relatives and was making a commotion,—and after crossing the Narbudda established his camp near the fort of Daulatabad, he made three of his officers leaders (of armies) and sent them off, and he deputed Amar Singh to accompany Khān Daurān Bahādur. In the 10th year he came to

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Shah 'Ālam (Bahādur Shah) in the year 1161, 1748. Khāfi K. tells how one officer Sharafu-d-dīn, the Biyūtāt (the Registrar or perhaps the Surveyor) of the city, passed himself off as a musician and so escaped for a ransom of Rs. 1,200. Muḥammad Naqī, according to Khāfī K., who was a relative, was too honest or too dignified to do this, and so admitted his official rank and had to pay Rs. 30,000. Khāfī K. calls him bakhshī and reporter (*wāqa'nigār*) of the city of Burhānpūr.

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court with Khān Daurān, and in the 11th year when 'Alī Mardān K. made over the fort of Qandahar to the imperial servants, and there was a probability that Shah Ṣafī would come in person to that neighbourhood, Sultan Shujā' was sent off there with a large force, and Amar Singh received a *khilat*, a horse with a silvern saddle, and a drum, and was made one of his companions. Afterwards, when his father died in that year, and the Rāj and the succession went to his younger brother Jeswant Singh for reasons which have been stated at the end of the notice [1] of Rajah Gaj Singh, he received an increase of 500 horse and the title of Rāo, and his rank became 3000 with 3000 horse. When in the 14th year Sultan Murād Bakhsh was sent to Kabul for the second time, he was appointed to accompany him. After an order came for chastising Rajah Jagat Singh the son of Rajah Bāsū who had become rebellious, he went off with the prince, and in the 15th year, when the Rajah in question had surrendered, and the prince waited upon his father, Amar Singh was also gratified by a reception. In the same year, when a movement of the king of Persia towards Qandahar became known, and Sultan Dārā Shikoh was sent in that direction, he had an increase of 1000 and held the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was appointed to accompany the prince. As it then happened by Divine decree that the king of Persia died, the prince received orders to return, and Amar Singh came back and did homage. In the 17th year in the end of Jamāda-al-awwal corresponding to 1054, 25 July [2] 1644, as he had been unable for some time to present himself on account of illness, he on convalescence came to the darbār. After doing obeisance he suddenly drew his dagger and killed Ṣalābat K. Bakhshī, as detailed in the account of the latter. On this catastrophe Khalīl [3] Ullah K. and Arjan the son of Rajah Bethal Dās Gaur fell upon him. He struck Arjan two or three times with his dagger, and

[1] See Maasir II. 225.

[2] The Dutch clergyman Baldaeus says the occurrence was on 4 August 1644 in the afternoon, and that Amar Singh was offended because Ṣalābat asked him why he had not previously paid his respects.

[3] Baldaeus says Gali (Khalil?) K. and the son of Rajah Betal Dās finished him. The king ordered Amar's body to be thrown into the river, and this offended the Rajputs.

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Khalīl Ullah K. struck Amar Singh with his sword. Arjan also struck him twice with his sword. Meanwhile other men came up and finished him. Though the king made inquiry into the origin of this uproar, nothing appeared except the long use of intoxicants aggravated by the illness of some days. But before this there had been a dispute[1] about boundaries between his men—who were in his fief of Nāgor—and the men of Rāo Karn the son of Rāo Sūr Bhūrtīha[2] the jagirdār of Bīkānīr—who had been appointed to the Deccan campaign—and his (Amar Singh's) business men had been killed. Amar Singh had written to his men to collect a force and to attack Karn's troopers, and Karn learning this had written to Ṣalābat K. and asked for an Amīn (to settle the boundary). Accordingly Ṣalābat K. had reported the matter, and an Amīn had been appointed. Perhaps, Amar Singh had looked upon this as siding with Karn and so committed the outrage.

After this occurrence, Mīr Khān Mīr Tūzak, and Mulak Chand the accountant of the daulātkhānakhāṣ, brought the body of Amar Singh, in accordance with orders, outside the vestibule (*dihlīz*) of the *khilwatkhāna* (private chamber) and sent for his men, in order that they might take it to his house. Fifteen of his servants heard of the affair and laid hands on their swords and daggers; Mulak Chand was killed, and Mīr Khān was wounded and died on the following night. Meanwhile the Aḥadīs and others came out and sent that rabble to hell. Six of the mace-bearers were killed and six were wounded. Not contented with this, a number of Amar Singh's servants resolved that they would go to Arjan's house and kill him. Balūn Rāthor and Bhāo Singh Rāthor, who at first had been servants of Amar Singh and his father and afterwards had become servants of the king, shared in this enterprise.[3]

When this was reported to the king, he forgave the crew for

[1] Pādishāhnāma II. 382.

[2] See account of Rāo Karn Bhūrtīha II. 287.

[3] The story is told at length in the Pādshāhnāma II. 380 *et seq.* See also Tod's Rajasthan, Chapter V, Annals of Marwar. Tod tells the story of Amar Singh, whom he calls Umra, being disinherited by his father, and also gives details of his outrage and death. Tod and the Pādshāhnāma have Buloo or Balui instead of Balūn as in text.

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their ignorance and ordered men to go and explain to them that if they wished, they could go to their homes with their families and goods. Why should they ruin their house and honour? After the extent of their obstinacy was perceived, an order was given to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha and the men of the *jilau* (bodyguard) and to Rashīd K. Anṣārī—whose turn it was to be on guard—to go and kill them. They opposed and fought as long as there was breath in their bodies, and then were slain. Among the king's men, Saiyid 'Abdu-r-rasūl Bārha—who was a brave man—and Saiyid Ghulām Muḥammad, son of Muḥīu-d-dīn his brother, and five of his relatives were slain. Amar Singh's son Rai Singh came and did homage in the 18th year and received the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 19th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh in the affair of Balkh and Badakhshān, and in the 25th year he held the office of 1500 with 800 horse and accompanied Sultan Aurangzeb on the second occasion to Qandahar. In the 26th year he accompanied Dārā Shikoh, and in the 28th year he was appointed, along with S'aad Ullah K., to raze Chitor. In the 30th year he received an increase of 200 horse.

When the sovereignty came to Aurangzeb and the victorious army had reached Mathura, Rai Singh did homage and went with Khalīl Ullah in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. In the battle with Sultan Shujā' he was in attendance on the king. After the return to Ajmere he, in order to spite Maharaja Jeswant Singh, received the title of Rajah and a robe of honour, an elephant and a female elephant, an adorned sword, a drum, and one lac of rupees, and received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and was made head of the Rāthor clan, and ruler of Jodhpūr. He was in the *altamsh* (reserve of the vanguard) in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards he was appointed to the campaign of the Deccan and did good service along with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh in attacking Siva Bhonsla's lands and in devastating the country of the 'Ādil Khan. In the 16th year, when Khān-Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was made viceroy of the Deccan, he was appointed to his vanguard. In the 18th year, in the act of preparing for battle with 'Abdu-l-Karīm Miyāna—who had drawn up his forces,—he fell ill and died. Rāorāsapūra outside the city of Aurangabad was

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established by him. After him, his son Indra Singh received a suitable *manṣab* and became the leader of his native country; in the 22nd year, on the death of Maharajah Jeswant Singh, he received[1] the title of Rajah, a robe of honour, a decorated sword, a horse with golden trappings, an elephant, a flag, a *togh* and drum. In the 24th year he went with Sultan M'uaẓẓam in pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar. Afterwards, he was for a long time appointed to serve under Fīrūz Jang, and in the 48th year had the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse. After Aurangzeb's death he went to A'ẓim Shah and was made an officer of 5000. Along with Zūlfiqār K. he was appointed to meet Sultan Bīdār Bakht who had, in accordance with an indication from his father, come to Ujjain but had no army with him. Indra Singh however turned aside on the road and went home. Har Nāth Singh one of his grandchildren had come before this to the Deccan and received an estate in the province of Bihar in fief. He died in 1190, 1776. Indra Singh's great-grandson Mān Singh was a long time in the Deccan, and was going home when he was killed on the road by the Bhīls.

AMĪN K. DECCANĪ.

Son of Khān Zamān Shaikh Niẓām. In the battle fought by Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah he and his half-brother Farīd were the advanced guard (*muqaddama-ul-jaish*), and his full brothers Khān 'Ālam and Manawar were in the vanguard (*harāwal*). He showed much valour and such as befitted his name and race. As some days of his life remained, he escaped without injury. They say that when Khān 'Ālam and Manawar K. rushed against 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān they fell upon that prince's left, drove off the men in front of them and came to the rear. When they looked towards their own left, the prince's[2] howdah came into view. They turned

[1] The bestowal of the title of Rajah on Indra Singh and his receiving the rank of 3000 zāt with 2000 horse, of which 300 were dūāspa, are recorded in the Akhbārs presented to the R.A.S. by Colonel Tod in 1828. He is called in the Akhbār the Zamindar of Nagaur.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 588 and Siyar M. I., p. 7. The prince meant is Bahādur Shah's son 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān—afterwards drowned in the Rāvī. The word for howdah is *bangala*, and it appears from Khāfī K. II. 98 that this was the name of a kind of howdah which Aurangzeb had invent-

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round and with thirty troopers flew like moths (round a candle) in that direction. Bahādur Shah after the victory had consideration upon Amīn K., and though he had been on the opposite side, he, on account of his being the survivor of a brave family, encompassed him with favours. Afterwards he made him faujdār of Serā,[1] which is an expression for the Carnatic of Bījāpūr. It is a wide and rich territory. As contiguous to that Sarkār was the territory of various zamindars, each of these paid tribute in accordance with his possessions. Among them was the Mysorian, the ruler of Srīrangpatan (Seringapatam), whose revenue is more than four krors of rupees. There is no other zamindari in the Deccan which is equal to it for its equipments, extent of territory and abundance of treasure, or rather there is none which comes up to one-hundredth part thereof. It was subjected to a fixed tribute. The faujdār of Serā used to collect more or less revenue according to his strength, and, in the course of demanding an increase, things ended in a campaign. Accordingly it happened in the time of the Khān (Amīn) that a large force was appointed under the command of the Dalawā, which is the same thing as Commander-in-Chief. After a fight, and manful struggles on both sides, the Khān's men fled on account of the superior numbers of the enemy. He himself with 300 brave men stood firm, and was near losing his life. Suddenly, an arrow (or a bullet), from his hand killed the leader on the other side, and defeat became victory. His authority was established. Men of every quarter felt awe (*ḥiṣāb bardāshtand*) of him, and those who lived at a distance recognized his power and supremacy. Afterwards the faujdārī of Karnūl was conferred on him, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar, Ḥaidar Qulī K. the chief Diwan of the Deccan procured for him the ṣubāḥdārī of Berar. His Naib had taken possession and he was still in[2] Bālkanda, which was his old estate, when news came of the approach of the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. Out of shortsightedness and arro-

ed. The battle referred to in the text is that of Jajau near Agra, which was fought 8th June, 1707, between Bahādur Shah and Aẓim Shah. The latter was defeated and slain along with his two sons.

[1] Serā or Chera, an old name for the southern part of the Madras Presidency. See Chera in I.G. X, 192.

[2] E. Nānder and S. Godavery.

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gance, the Khān delayed to go and welcome him. After the victory over Dāūd K., the Amīru-l-Umarā sent one of his companions—Asad 'Alī K. Jūlāq, whose grandfather was one of 'Alī Mardān's Turks—to take possession of Berar, but when the Khān submitted, it was restored to him. When 'Iwaz K. Bahādur was appointed from the court to that government, the Khān went off to the administration of Nānder. Owing to greed and injustice and at the instigation of the zamindars of pargana of Bodhan [1] appertaining to Nānder,[2] there arose an unjust quarrel with the fiefholder, who was Māndhata [3] by name, and whose father Kānhojī Sirkiyā [4] was one of the Mahratta panj-hazārīs, and had performed exploits in the time of Aurangzeb. Amīn K. got him into his power by means of agreements and promises, and destroyed him. Subsequently he, owing to the old quarrel, sought to punish Jagpat Īlma (?) who had taken possession of Nirmal,[5] and that proprietor, knowing of this, asked assistance from Fath Singh the adopted son of Rajah Sāhū who was the makāsdār [6] of that district. Another circumstance increased the audacity of that wicked person (either Jagpat or Fath Singh). The account of it is as follows: At this time the Mahratta peace had been made, which fixed the stain of a bad name on the Amīru-l-Umarā, which will last till the judgment-day. The agreement was that in the case of those estates where, on account of the strength of their position and the resistance of the landholders, the *chaut* could not be collected, the Amīru-l-Umarā should render assistance. As in the *t'ālūqs* administered by the Khān not one *dām* of the *chaut* had been collected in some places, even in the time of the height of the robbers' (the Mahrattas) success, the Khān in spite of the letters of the Amīrū-l-Umarā would not lend himself to the disgrace [7] and altogether neglected to collect

[1] In Sarkār Telingāna, Jarrett II. 237. I.G. VIII. 254.

[2] Nānder is in the Nizām's Dominions, on the Godavery and N. of Haidarabad.

[3] Possibly this is the name of a place, and the Manhat of Grant-Duff's map.

[4] The Sirkay family of Grant-Duff, I. 29.

[5] Jarrett II. 237. Neermal of Grant-Duff's map. E. Nānder.

[6] See Grant-Duff I. 80, 220. It was the title of a revenue officer.

[7] Khāfī K. II. 789.

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the *chaut*. The province was taken from him and given to Mīrzā 'Alī Yūsuf K. who was one of the brave men of the time. The Khān—whose authority had been diminished by the report that he had been superseded—went off to Bālkanda on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. All at once Fatḥ Singh and Jagpat came against him. He looked to his lineage and glory and did not consider the number of the foe and went to encounter them with a few men. As in this topsy-turvy world, success is twinned with failure, and fortune and misfortune come together, the Khān played away against these worthless fellows his amīrship and his many years of reputation, but at last escaped [1] and came to Bālkanda.[2] After that, Saiyid 'Ālam 'Alī K. Bahādur, when he was master of the Deccan, restored him to his province of Nānder, and appointed him to the command of the right wing in the battle that he had with Nawāb Fatḥ Jang (Āsaf Jāh). The worthless fellow acted in an unsoldierlike manner and did not put his hand to the work and became a mere spectator, and drew the line of erasure over the deeds of his ancestors. Though after the victory Fatḥ Jang sent him back to his *t'alūqs*, his position in hearts was lost and his reputation was gone. At the same time, as 'Iwaẓ K. Bahādur was, on account of his rapacity (*shaltāq*), averse to his returning to Berar, he procured his being set aside, and Mutahawar K. Bahādur Khweshgī's being appointed in his room. As soon as he heard of this he went to Nawāb Fatḥ Jang—who had then gone towards Adonī,—but received no encouragement. He returned and settled at the town of Parbanī,[3] which was an estate in his fief and is twelve *kos* from Pāthrī. In the *mashrūt* (i.e. *assigned*) *maḥals* of Nānder he offered opposition to the collector. Although the Khān aforesaid tried to amend him yet he did not emerge from his ignorance and folly. At last he was arrested by him and remained in prison for a long time. When his son Muqarrib K.—in whose biography [4] there has been mention made of these things—was promoted to service, he was by his

1 Khāfī K. II. 790. He was wounded and made prisoner.

2 Balkonda of Grant-Duff's map, E. Nānder and S. Godavari.

3 In Sarkār Pāthrī. Jarrett II. 236. The Parbhanī of I.G. XIX, 410.

4 See Maaṣir III. 796.

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intercession released, and villages yielding Rs. 50,000 were settled upon him out of Bālkanda for his expenses, and he spent a long time in the charge[1] of his son. As he felt distressed by his control, he in the 6th year of Muḥammad Shah came to Aurangabad and sought the help of 'Iwaẓ K. Bahādur and entertained hopes of recovering his rents and jagir. At this time Āṣaf Jāh came from Upper India, and the battle with Mubāriz K. took place. From the necessity of the time he got fresh encouragement and bound the girdle of companionship on the waist of endeavour, and after remaining in the city (Aurangabad) for some time, making preparations, he came out. When from reverses and a succession of errors his senses and intellect had left him and he had become debased, he vainly thought of turning over a new leaf and by marching in the evening and the night joined Mubāriz K. (in Haidarabad), who had secretly[2] shaken the chain of promises and agreements. On the day of battle, without his having achieved anything, the figure of his life was, by the water of the enemies' sword, obliterated from the page of Time. This happened[3] in the year 1137, 1724.

AMĪNU-D-DAULA AMĪNU-D-DĪN KẖĀN BAHĀDUR SAMBALĪ.

He was one of the shaikhzādas of Sambhal which lies N. E. the capital. His lineage went back to Tamīm[4] Anṣārī. He began his service under Jahāndār Shah, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar he was made one of the *yesāwals* (state-attendants). In the time of Firdūs Arāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh) he was promoted and made Mīr Tūzuk (master of the ceremonies). Gradually he rose to having the rank of 4000, and 6000 with 6000 horse, and had the title of

[1] The text has *dastnigar* which means "needy." Probably we should read *dastgīr*, or else *dastnigāh*.

[2] Probably this rather refers to the hopes held out to Mubāriz by Muḥammad Shah.

[3] In the biography of the son Muqarrib K., Maaṣir III. 796, it is mentioned that the father and son fought on opposite sides, and that the son had his father's head cut off. The battle in which Amīn K. Deccanī was killed occurred in the beginning of 1137, 10 October, 1724. Mubāriz K. was killed in the same battle.

[4] See D'Herbelot s.v.

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Amīnu-d-daula, and the gift of the estate of Sambhal with fully[1] three lacs of rupees of revenue. He was a devoted gourmand (*yār-bāshi*) and a voluptuary. In the same reign, after the departure of Nādir Shah from India, he died. He made many houses, gardens and *serais* in his native country. Among his sons, Amīnu-d-dīn K. and Irshād K. were distinguished.[2]

(MUḤAMMAD) AMĪN KẖĀN MĪR MUḤAMMAD AMĪN.

S. Mu'azzam K. Mīr Jumla Ardistānī. When the oppression of his father by Quṭb Shah the ruler of Telang was stopped by the exertions of Prince Aurāngzeb, he was released from prison and went to wait upon Sultan Muḥammad who had been sent on in advance to that country. He met Sultan Muḥammad twelve *kos* from Haidarabad and was relieved of his fears. In the 30th year of Shah Jahan he, along with his father, entered the imperial service. When he came to Burhānpūr he, on account of the rain and of illness, fell somewhat behind. Afterwards he came to court and received a robe of honour and the title of Kẖān. In the same year Mū'azzam (Mīr Jumla) K. obtained leave to attend upon Prince Aurangzeb and to attack and devastate the country of 'Ādil Shah. He performed this duty well and Muḥammad Amīn had the increase of 1000 personality, and his rank became 3000 with 1000 horse and he was ordered to act as deputy-Vizier till the arrival of his father. When in the 31st year Mū'azzam K., on account of certain things which were disapproved of, was deprived of the diwanship, Muḥammad K. also was inhibited from office. But as his rectitude and ability had been impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, he had an increase of 500 horse, and the gift of a decorated pen-case and was made Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Dānishmand K. (Bernier's patron) who resigned his appointment.

When Prince Aurangzeb arrested Mū'azzam K., who according to an order was going to court with his troops, and would on

[1] *ba kāmal*, which I suppose means this. There is the variant *bakābul*.

[2] This biography is signed Q. The Tazkira-ul-Umarā of Kewal Rām says that Amīnu-d-daulah died in the 19th year of Muḥammad Shah's reign (1739).

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no account put off his journey, and kept him under surveillance in the Deccan, Dārā Shikoh, on hearing of this, was convinced that the thing was done in collusion between the Khān and Aurangzeb and impressed this view on Shah Jahan. Muḥammad Amīn was suspected without cause, and Dārā having got permission to arrest him had him brought from his house and imprisoned. After three or four days the king was convinced of his innocence and released him from the confinement in which Dārā had placed him. After Dārā's defeat, Muḥammad Amīn, on the second day after the standards of victory had been unfurled, and when the hunting-box of Samogarha on the bank of the Jumna had been brightened by Aurangzeb's presence, hastened to pay his respects. He was graciously received, and obtained the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the same month he was confirmed in the post of Mīr Bakhshī. When in the battle with Shujā', Rajah Jeswant Singh behaved treacherously and withdrew from Aurangzeb's army and went rapidly home, with the intention of joining Dārā, Muḥammad Amīn, after the battle and the return from there, was sent with a well-equipped army to punish Jeswant. But as Dārā—who was marching from Ahmadabad to Ajmere—had approached, Muḥammad Amīn turned back near Puhkar (Pūshkar) and joined the king's army. In the 2nd year his rank was 5000 with 4000 horse, and in the 5th year he had an increase of 1000 horse.

When in the beginning of the 6th year Mīr Jumla died in Bengal, Prince Muḥammad Mū'azzam visited Muḥammad Amīn and administered consolations, and brought him with him to the king. A robe of honour was bestowed upon him. In the 10th year the Yūsufzai tribe again assembled at Ohand—which is the mouth of the hill-country—and made a disturbance, and Muḥammad Amīn was sent with a suitable force to chastise them. Though before the arrival of the Khān, Shamsher[1] K. Tarīn had defeated and punished the tribe, yet the Khān also entered their territory and devastated their country and then returned in accordance with the king's orders. Thereupon he was appointed governor of Lahore in succession to Ibrāhīm K. In the 13th year he was made governor

[1] Maasir A. 61 and 'Ālamgīrnāma 1045, 1053, etc.

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of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. (the 2nd), and in the same year Ja'afar K. the Grand Vizier died, and Asad K. carried on some of the business as deputy. The king considered that only a first-rate officer could carry on the duties, and so summoned Muḥammad Amīn to court. In the 14th year he came and was received with princely favours. But though he was famed for his business capacity and his ripe judgment, yet he had some defects and he accepted the Viziership on certain conditions which were altogether opposed to the king's disposition, and annoyed him by some of his objections and representations.

As Fate had decreed that an evil day should come to him he obtained leave to go and make the settlement of Kabul. He received royal gifts, and among them was the elephant 'Ālam[1] Gumān with silver trappings. Inasmuch as the dyes[2] of arrogance produce nothing but yellowness to the face, and the wind of the moustache of conceit only casts the dust of failure on one's fortune, and presumption causes joy to the enemy, and ends in failure, and haughtiness leads to contempt and a bad ending, the Khān in his self-will took all the materials of grandeur and magnificence with him, and thought to march from Peshawar to the capital of Afghanistan and to root out the turbulent Afghans.

In the 15th year, on 3[3] Muḥarram 1083, 21 April 1672, before he had traversed the Khyber, though news had come that the Afghans on hearing of his design had closed the roads and were numerous as ants and locusts, he in his arrogance made no account of them and went on. During the march, from want of care and from treachery, there occurred what happened in Akbar's time to Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abul-fatḥ and Rajah Bīrbal. The Afghans attacked on all sides and shot arrows and threw stones. The troops got confused, and the men, the horses and the elephants fell upon one another. Some thousands fell from the

[1] Mentioned in the Tūzuk Jehāngīrī.

[2] *baqamhāī gharūr.* Baqam is Brazil-wood, and the dye produced from it. It also appears to be a name for the datura-plant; for *bād i-barūt*, see Bahūr 'Ajam and Vullers, s.v.

[3] Irvine, Manucci II, 200, note, gives on the authority of the T. Muḥammadī, 7 Muḥarram = May 6, 1672 N.S., as the date. It is also stated there that the son-in-law was killed on this occasion.

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heights into abysses and were killed. Muḥammad Amīn in his pride wished to sacrifice [1] his life, but his servants seized his rein and led him away. Not thinking of his honour he hastened back in a miserable condition to Peshawar. 'Abdullah K. his worthy son was killed in that imbroglio. The baggage was plundered and many men's wives were made prisoners. The young daughter [2] of Muḥammad Amīn and some of his ladies were released on payment of heavy ransoms.

They say that after this catastrophe the Khān wrote to the king that what fate had decreed had occurred, but that if the task were again committed to him, he would amend matters. The king asked for advice, and Amīr K. (s. Khalīl Ullah, Maaṣir I, 277) said that, like a wounded boar, Muḥammad Amīn would fling himself against the enemy whether it were feasible or not. Accordingly, his rank which was 6000 with 5000 horse was reduced by 1000 *zāt* and he was sent to be governor of Gujarat. And an order was given that he should go there without presenting himself at court. He served there for a long time, and in the 23rd year when Aurangzeb was at Ajmere, he was sent for and did homage. He accompanied the Rānā to Udāipūr, and after receiving royal favours took leave at Chitor. In the 25th year on 8 Jumāda-al-akhirī 1093, 4 June 1682, he died in Aḥmadabad. Seventy [3] lacs of rupees, and one lac and 35,000 ashrafīs and *ibrāhīmīs*, and 76 elephants and other properties were confiscated. He had (*i.e.* he left) no son. Saiyid Muḥammad was his sister's son, and his son-in-law was Saiyid Sultan Karbalai, who was a leading Saiyid of that holy place. He at first had come to Haidarabad. The ruler there, 'Abdullah Quṭb Shah, chose him for his son-in-law. It happened that on the day the marriage was to take place, Mīr Aḥmad'Arab, who was the elder son-in-law and had the management of affairs, and was the intermediary on this occasion, had words with the Saiyid, and this went so far that

[1] Maaṣir A., 118.

[2] Khāfī K. II, 233.

[3] Maaṣir A., 226, where it is said there were also 432 horses. Manucci has a good deal to say about Muḥammad Amīn and speaks of his great wealth. See vol. II, 196, *et seq.* I do not know the value of the *ibrāhīmī*. Presumably it was a Deccanī coin. The Maaṣir A., 219, gives 20 instead of 8 Jumāda the 2nd as the date of death.

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that hapless Saiyid set fire to the furniture (preparations) and came away.

Though Muḥammad Amīn was proud and self-conceited, yet he was one of the unique [1] of the age for honesty and truth. He strove after right-thinking. He had a powerful memory. In the end of his life, at the time when he was governor of Gujarat, he in a very short time became a Ḥāfiẓ of the holy volume. Consequently Aurangzeb called him Muḥammad Amīn K. Ḥāfiẓ. He was a bigoted Imāmiya. He did not admit Hindus to his privacy. If any of the great Rajahs, who could not be denied, came to see him, he afterwards had the house washed and the carpets removed, and changed his clothes.

(SAIYID) AMĪR K. KHAWĀFĪ.

His name was Saiyid Mīr and he was the younger brother of Shaikh Mīr. When Aurangzeb, after the first battle with Dārā Shikoh proceeded from Agra to Delhi and on the way arrested Murād Bakhsh, who had shown signs of presumption, and sent him to the fort of Delhi, he made Amīr K. governor of the fort and presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, and gave him the title of Amīr K., a sum of Rs. 7000, and made his rank 2000 with 500 horse. In the first year of the reign he conveyed Murād Bakhsh to the fort of Gwalior and then joined the royal army. When in the battle near Ajmere Shaikh Mīr fell in the king's service, Amīr K. obtained the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the 3rd year he was appointed, with a suitable force, to chastise Rāo Karn, zamindar of Bikānīr, who in Shah Jahan's time belonged to the Deccan contingent, and had at the time of the contest between Aurangzeb and Dārā Shikoh left the Deccan without orders and gone to his native country. When he arrived at the borders of Bikānīr he brought Rāo Karn, who had respectfully appeared before him, to court. In the 4th year he was appointed to the charge of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and received a robe of honour, a special sword and

[1] Maaṣir A., 219.

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dagger set with pearls, a Persian horse, a special elephant and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, of which 1000 were two-horse and three-horse. In the 6th year after the return of the royal retinue from Kashmīr to Lahore he was summoned to court, and then after some time was allowed to go to his estates. In the 8th year he, the second time, came unattended to court and was received with favour, and then returned to Kabul. In the 11th year he was removed from there and came to court. As he had resigned his office, he took up his residence in the capital. In the 13th year corresponding to 1080, 1669-70, he died.[1] As he was without sons, his brother Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī's sons were given mourning dresses.

AMĪR KHĀN MĪR MĪRĀN.

Son of Khalīl Ullah K. of Yezd. His mother Ḥamīda Bānū Begam was the daughter of Saif K. and the daughter's daughter of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. In the 29th year of Shah Jahan he had an increase of 500 with 100 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse and was made Mīr Tūzuk. In the 31st year when Khalīl Ullah K. became governor of Delhi, he obtained the title of Mīr Khān and was appointed to accompany his father. In the reign of Aurangzeb he, after his father's death, obtained an increase of rank and was made faujdār of the hill-country (Kohistan) of Jamū. In the 10th[2] year he was appointed to accompany Muḥammad Amīn K. Mīr Bakhshī on his expedition to chastise the insolent Yūsufzai. The general sent him with a force to the neighbourhood of Shahbāzgarha, which is near Langarkot, and he plundered the villages of the Yūsufzai, and then he came to the plain[3] (*faẓāî*) of (inside of) Koh Kara Mār, and set fire to some other villages. He returned to camp with much cattle. In the 12th year he was appointed, in place of Ḥasan 'Alī K., to be

[1] Apparently Amīr Khwāfī is the author of the history of 5 years of Aurangzeb's reign described in Rieu 1, 265.

[2] 'Ālamgīrnāma 1045, 1057, etc., Maaṣir A. 61.

[3] The passage is taken from 'Ālamgīrnāma 1059. The Koh Karā Mār seems to be the Black Mountain of the expedition of 1868 and to be near Abbotabad.

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darogha of the *mansabdars*. In the same year, on the death of Ilahverdi K. ʿĀlamgīrī, he was made governor of Allahabad, and received a *manṣab* of 4000 with 3000 ḥorse, consisting of two-horse troopers. In the 14th year he was removed from his appointment and brought to court, and for some reason he was for some days deprived of office. In the same year he was restored and was treated with favour. When in the 17th year he was nominated to the faujdārī of Īrij [1] he refused the appointment and in consequence was deprived of his rank and went into retirement. In the 18th year (Maaṣir A. 139) he again was received into favour and obtained the title of Amīr Khān and an increase of rank. He received [2] charge of the government of Bihar. There he exerted himself in chastising ʿĀlam, Ismʿaīl and other Afghans of Shahjahanpur and Kānt Golah, and seized them when they had taken refuge in a fort. In the 19th year he came to court and joined the expedition of Shah ʿĀlam Bahādur to Kabul.

From a long time this country had been a house of turmoil from its occupation by Afghan tribes. Especially was it so in the time of Akbar. On every opportunity it rose into rebellion. The royal armies, in order to root out these sedition-mongers repeatedly trod the land under their horses' hoofs. When it had been filled with revenge and slaughter, though many retired into obscurity, yet the sparks were not entirely extinguished, and the old state [3] of things revived. Śaīd K. Bahādur Ẓafar Jang rooted out most of the thorns, and afterwards the army of Shah Jahan arrived at Kabul the capital and there was coming and going of the armies which marched to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and which also

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[1] In the province of Agra, Jarrett II, 187, Maaṣir A. 132. From his opinions being asked in the 15th year about Mīr Jumla's son Muḥammad Amīn, it would seem that he was then in favour. See Maaṣir U. III, 619.

[2] Kānt Golah and Shāhjahānpur were not in Bihar but in Rohilkand. Amīr K.'s report about these is mentioned at p. 146 of Maaṣir A., and his coming from Bihar is mentioned later, p. 148. For Kānt Golah and Shahjahanpur see Elliot Supp. Glossary II, 167. Perhaps, however, the Afghans had fled from Rohilkand to Bihar and Bengal, and been there seized by Amir K., for it is mentioned that he sent them in with Ibrāhīm K. who was coming from Bengal to court.

[3] *Maham kahna lang*, see Vullers II, 928a, for explanation of term *kahn lang*, "res quae e loco suo exire vel moveri non potest."

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passed by this road for the Qandahar expedition. On these occasions the most of the Afghans abandoned their disturbances and placed the foot of respect under the skirt of obedience. Many of the presumptuous who lived in their own land and did not submit their necks to the yoke of tribute became submissive.[1] In short the affairs of that country took a proper shape and there was ostensible peace. Afterwards when there was the rule of Aurangzeb, and the governors became slothful and fond of their ease, the Afghans again grew haughty and presumptuous, and became like a wasp's nest. They were numerous as ants or locusts and swooped upon the land like crows and kites, for the imperial armies submitted to be plundered by those evil-doers, and the high officers when confronted with them simply allowed themselves to be robbed and killed, and made no opposition. At last the royal standards reached Ḥasan Abdāl, and there was much planning. The thread[2] of their dissensions could not be extracted. After returning to Lahore, Prince Muḥammad, styled Shah ʿĀlam Bahādur, was chosen for the work. The Prince either by his own right understanding, or from secret knowledge such as often inspires the fortunate, perceived that the settlement of this distracted country was implicated in the governorship of Amīr K., and wrote to court to this effect. The Khān in the 20th year 1088,[3] 1677, on 4 Muḥarram, 21st February, was made governor of the province in place of ʿĀẓim K. Koka. Aghar (Aghuz ?) K. was in the vanguard, and a beginning was made by chastising the Afghans of Peshawar. Thereafter the army proceeded into the Lamghānāt. Aghar (or Aghuz) K. in that neighbourhood showed great activity in slaying Afghans and engaged in a close conflict with Īmal[4] K. who had taken the title of Shah and struck coins in his own name in the hills. He showed his courage by standing firm, when his men took to flight. He was nearly being killed, when some of his well-wishers showed devotion and seized his rein and brought him

[1] Lit. "drew back their feet from their limit," that is, kept themselves within bounds.

[2] Apparently a metaphor taken from the process of extracting the worm that produces the Delhi sore.

[3] Text 1008, but evidently it should be 1088.

[4] Khāfī K. II, 233, 243, etc.

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out from that dangerous place. Amīr K., after showing the strength of his army, by degrees practised such soothing and kindness towards those strangers to the kingdom of civility that the heads of the tribes gave up their savagery and wildness and visited him without any apprehensions. They settled accounts, and during his government of two and twenty years he never met with any disaster, nor submitted to any humiliation nor did any evil act. On 27 Shawāl of the 42nd year 1109, 27th April 1698, he bade the world adieu. He was attached to the Imāmiya (Shia) religion, and sent much money to the learned and pious men of Persia. He was buried in the capital in his father's tomb. He was an officer full of wisdom and sagacity. It would be good if the secretaries of the age and learned thinkers could take sketches of plans, wholesale or in part, from the margin of his heart. His ingenuity of thought removed the wickedness of strife from the kingdom's conscience, and his index-finger detected the pulse of the age and grasped the vein [1] which puts sedition to sleep. His effective hands made the hands of oppressors surrender, and his active feet tripped up the feet of robbery. He cast down the foundation of force. He stripped off the wings of tyranny. A lofty fortune is a great possession! Whatever nursling he planted in the garden of his thoughts became a fruit-bearing tree. Nothing appeared on the tablet of his projects but what was successful. Nor did anything appear on the page of his hopes which did not take the form of fulfilment. He so drew by the noose of kindness the Afghan leaders—who held their necks and heads higher than the heavens—that they became obedient, and he so captured by sincerity and friendship those savages that they voluntarily bound themselves to the saddle-straps of obedience. By the magic of his right-thinking, the leaders of that tribe spread out the carpet of mutual dissension and fell upon one another. Stranger still, every one of them sought to improve his affairs by taking the advice of Amīr K.

They say that at one time there were few of the Afghan tribes which did not rally round Imal Khān. Every one in the

1 *rag-i-khwāb-i-fitna.* See Vullers II, 49a, for this phrase.

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hill country took some days' provisions and presented themselves. There was tumult and there was a great assemblage. It was impossible for the army of the subāḥdār of Kabul to cope with this. Amīr Khān was troubled and got 'Abdullah K. Khweshgī, who was a leading man among the *manṣabdārs* and auxiliaries, and was famed for his dexterity and craft, to write a false letter to the chief of every tribe to this effect: " We for a long time were waiting for some hidden good, and that the sovereignty might be transferred to the Afghans. God be praised that our old hope has been realized. But we are unacquainted with the disposition of the person who has been raised to the throne. Write to us if he be fit for empire; then we too shall approach him, for service with the Moghuls is a profitless thing." In reply they wrote praises of Īmal Khān and urged him to come in. 'Abdullah K. again wrote, " These qualities are excellent, but the finest thing in rule is justice and consideration for the subjects of every class. In order to test him, be good enough to take the trouble to enquire how he will divide the territory among the tribes if it come into his possession. If he be timid or partial, it will at once become evident." The heads of the tribes acted upon his counsel and sent a message to Īmal K. He was at a stand-stay as to how he should divide a small country among a great number. On this account there was a schism among them. Many of the ignorant and of the general public went off. He was compelled to make a beginning of a division. As of course he paid attention to his own set and favoured those who were nearer to him, the others raised a dispute. Each of the leaders went off to his own country and wrote letters to 'Abdullah K. forbidding him to join.

Amīr K.'s wife was known as Ṣāḥibjī, and was the daughter of 'Alī Mardān K. Amīru-l-umarā (the famous maker of canals). She was a wonderful lady for her prudence and knowledge of affairs. She took part in political and financial matters and showed excellent sense in the conduct of business. They say that one night news came to Aurangzeb of the death of Amīr K. Immediately he sent for Irshad K., who for a while was diwān of Kabul, and at this time was diwān of the Khālṣa, and said to him that a heavy misfortune had occurred, viz. the death of Amīr

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K. A country which was prepared for any amount of tumult and disaffection was left unguarded, and it was to be feared that there would be a rebellion before another governor could arrive. Irshad K. insisted upon it that Amīr K. was alive; who said he was dead? The king put the official report into his hands, and he replied, "I admit it, but the administration of that country is bound up with Ṣāḥibjī. As long as she is alive, there is no probability of a disturbance." Aurangzeb immediately wroṭe to that able administratrix, and told her to conduct affairs until the arrival of Prince Shah 'Ālam.

They say that as the coming and going of governors in that turbulent country was not devoid of danger, it seemed impossible that the camp of a deceased governor could depart in safety. Ṣāḥibjī so concealed the death of Amīr K. that there was absolutely no rumour of it. She got a person who resembled Amīr K. to sit in an ayīnadār[1] palanquin and so make the journey, stage by stage. Every day the soldiers saluted him and took leave. When the cortège emerged from the hill-country, she performed the mourning rites.

They say that till Bahādur Shah arrived, and he was a long time in coming, Ṣāḥibjī made great arrangements for the administration of the country. As most of the chiefs had come to mourn for Amīr K., she kept them honourably near her, and sent messages to the Afghans to the effect that they should act according to their customs and abstain from tumult and highway robbery, and not exceed their position. "Otherwise the ball and the field were ready (metaphor from polo). If I win, my name will remain till the judgment-day." They felt the justice of this, and renewed their oaths and promises, and did not in any way prove disobedient.

It was reported by trustworthy persons that when this chaste

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1 Lit. "mirror-holding." Probably it here means a palanquin or litter provided with glass-doors. See Bernier II, 235, who says that *takht-rawān* or litters were furnished with glass-doors, II, p. 235. As Grant-Duff points out, there is a difference between a palanquin and a palki, III, 79, n. In the Maaṣir A., p. 354, we have the phrase pālkī āyīna applied to a palki sent as a present by Aurangzeb to his second son Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh.

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lady was one day in the time of her youth passing along the narrow streets in her litter, a royal elephant, which was the premier one of them all, appeared, in the height of its pride, in front of her. Though the guardians of order wanted to turn him, the driver would not be restrained, for his tribe is never without haughtiness, and the glory of the imperial equipage added to his arrogance. He drove the elephant on, and though men put their hands to their quivers, the elephant put his trunk on the litter, and wanted to twist it and to tread it under foot. The bearers threw the litter on the ground and fled. That lion-hearted woman jumped out on to a money-changer's shop which was opposite the litter, got inside, and shut the door. Amīr K. for some days was moved by Indian jealousy to displeasure, and wanted to separate from her, but Shah Jahan rebuked him and said, "She did a manly act, and saved her honour and yours. If the elephant had twisted her in his trunk and shown her to the world, how would her modesty have remained?"

Amīr K. had no children by Ṣāḥibjī, and as she fully ruled him, he in great secrecy kept mistresses and had many children by them. At last this came to Ṣāḥibjī's knowledge, and she behaved kindly to them and brought them up. Two years after Amīr K.'s death and after she had administered the affairs of Kabul she came to Burhānpūr. As permission had been given to her to go to Mecca she sent off Amīr K.'s sons to court and hastened to the port of Surat. Afterwards, when Amīr K.'s property had been examined, an order was sent that Ṣāḥibjī herself should come to court, but her ship had sailed before the order reached her. As she spent large sums of money at Mecca, the Sharīf and others treated her with honour. The eldest son of Amīr K. obtained the title of Mīr Ḵẖān and the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and was married to the daughter of Bahramand K. Mīr Bakhshī. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was appointed as deputy of Aṣāfu-d-daula to the government of Lahore. Another of his sons was M. Jāfar 'Aqīdat K. who in the time of Bahādur Shah was made governor of Patna, and afterwards bakhshī of Prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān. The accounts of M. Ibrāhīm Marḥamat K. and M. Isāḥaq Amīr K.—who were more distinguished than their other

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brothers, and both of whom as well as Khadīja Begam, the wife of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 2nd, were by one mother—have been written separately. The other sons did not attain so much fame. For instance there were Hādī K. who went to Patna when Marḥamat was Naib there, and Saif K., who was *faujdār* of Purnia, and Asad Ullah K. who on the recommendation of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh was made bakhshī of the Deccan.

AMĪR KHĀN SINDHĪ.

His name was 'Abdu-l-Karīm, and he was the son of Amīr K., son of Amīr Abū-l-qāsim[1] Nimakīn. When his grandfather became attached to Bhakkar in the time of his government he made his tomb there. His father also died in the province of Tatta and was buried beside his father. On this account that country has been the birth-place and educational home of many of the family. Hence the application of the word Sindhī. But they really were Saiyids of Herat, as has been shown in the account of Amīr K.'s ancestors. Also in the biography of Amīr K. deceased it has been stated[2] that he, like his father, had many children. Even at the age of one hundred he did not fail to beget children. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm was the youngest of all his brothers. As none but the sons of amīrs and khānazādas (house-born ones) is reckoned fit for the personal service of kings, and the passage to this is by being a *khwāṣī* (personal attendant), 'Abdu-l-Karīm was at first a *khwāṣī* and afterwards a leader of *khwāṣīs*. As promotion[3] and exaltation were in his horoscope, he in the 26th year, when the city of Aurangabad had acquired the name of Khujasta Banyād by the king's advent, was made superintendent of the oratory. Afterwards he had charge of the seven guards[4] (haft caukī) along with the care of the oratory. As

1 Blochmann 470.

2 See above, p. 173.

3 See Blochmann 472. His first employment was apparently that of collector of the poll-tax for Burhānpur, Khāfī K. II, 278-79. See also id. 338, where he is called Sharīf K. and spoken of as having collected the poll-tax with great severity.

4 Blochmann 257. The guarding of the palace, etc., was apparently arranged by having seven changes of guards. See Maaṣir A. 240.

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the king desired to advance him, he was also appointed superintendent of the *naqqāsh-khāna*.[1] In the end of the 28th year he was found[2] in fault and was removed from the office of superintendent of the oratory (jānamāzkhāna). In the 29th year when Prince Shah 'Ālam Bahādur and Khān Jahān defeated the army of Abū-l-ḥasan, the ruler of Telang, and took the city of Haidarabad, Amīr K. was sent[3] (by Aurangzeb) with robes of honour and jewels to the prince and the leading officers. Some other persons of note accompanied him. When they came within four *kos* of Haidarabad, Shaikh Niẓām of Haidarabad fell upon them with a body of men. Najābat K. and Aṣālat K.—whom Qulīj K. the governor of Ẓafarabād[4] had given as guides—on account of the old association that they had with the enemy, joined him (Niẓām). The jewels, the dresses of honour, and other things, and the merchandise, and the equipments of the men who had accompanied the party as if it were a caravan, were plundered. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm, who fell wounded on the field, was made prisoner and conveyed to Ābu-l-ḥasan. Four days afterwards he was conveyed from Golconda to the prince's camp near Haidarabad by men who then withdrew[5] themselves. Muḥammad Murād K. ḥājib (chamberlain or perhaps here envoy) heard of this and brought him to his house and treated him kindly. When his wounds were healed, he waited upon the prince, and conveyed the verbal messages he had been entrusted with. On taking leave of him he went with Khān Jahān Bahādur who had been summoned to the Presence, and rubbed his forehead on the threshold of sovereignty. During the siege of Golconda, as Sharīf K., the *Krorī* of the camp-treasury, had been appointed to collect the poll-tax of four provinces of the Deccan, Amīr K. was appointed to act as his deputy as treasury-*krorī*. At the same time he was

[1] Maasir A. 255. "The picture gallery," but probably Aurangzeb did not allow of portrait-painting. The paintings were probably illuminations to books. The author of the Maasir A. states in the same place that Amīr K. was made accountant (*mashraf*) of the same office (*naqqāshkhāna*).

[2] id. 261.

[3] id. 268.

[4] Another name for Bidar, W.N.W. Haidarabad. It probably received the name of Ẓafarabād because it was taken in one day by Aurangzeb. See Grant-Duff I, 156, and note.

[5] Maasir 'Alamgīrī 269.

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also appointed superintendent of Fines.[1] In the 33rd year as a reward for his good service as Treasury-*krorī*, whereby he showed plenty and cheapness alongside of the scarcity and dearness in Haidarabad, he received the title of Multafat K. (the provident Khān). Afterwards, on the death of Khwāja Ḥayāt K., he was put in charge of the *abdārkhāna*[2] (stillroom). In the 36th year he was made superintendent of the pages (*darogha-i-khwāṣān*) on the death of Anwar K. the son of Waẓīr K. Shahjaḥanī, and obtained a *manṣab* of 1000 and became envied by his contemporaries for his intimacy and understanding of the disposition (of Aurangzeb). In the 45th year he had the title of Khānazād K., and after that had the title of Mīr prefixed to that of Khanazad K., and in the 48th year, after the taking of Torna, he obtained the hereditary title of his father—that of Amīr K. At that time the king said, "Your father Mīr K., when he became Amīr K., gave a lac of rupees as *peshkash* to Shah Jahan for the addition of the letter *alif*, what do you offer?" He replied, "May there be thousands and thousands of life-sacrifices for the holy personality! My life and property are devoted to Your Majesty." Next day he presented the Koran written by Yāqūt.[3] His Majesty said: "You have presented a thing which the world and all that is "therein could not equal in value." After the taking of Wākinkera he got an increase of 500 and had a *manṣab* of 3000. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he was his companion, and had no superior in companionship and in the confidence reposed in him. Night and day he was in attendance. In the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī it is stated[4] that at Devāpūr, three *kos* from Wakinkera, the king was attacked by illness, and this was so severe that he sometimes became delirious. As he had reached the age of 90, men began to

1 Blochmann 131. See Maaṣir A. 304. His business probably was to realize the fines imposed on the inhabitants of Bījāpūr and Golconda.

2 Blochmann 55.

3 A famous calligraphist, but Yāqūt is also the name of a kind of writing.

4 508 *et seq.* Aurangzeb wrote many letters to Amīr K. Sindhī. See Rieu's Cat. I, 400b. The Maaṣir A. 507 says, "Three kos from Raḥmānbakhsh Khaira." But this was the name given by Aurangzeb to Wākinkhera after its capture. See Khāfī K. II, 538. Wākinkhera is E.S.E. Bijapur, and Devāpūr was near the Kistna.

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despair, and the country was nearly being upset by the dread of what might happen.

Amīr K. used to tell[1] how one day at this time when the king was very weak he heard him saying under his breath :—

Verse.

When you have reached your 80th and 90th year,
Many evils have you suffered from Time,
When after that you attain the 100th stage,
It is death in the form of life.

"When this fell upon my ear I quickly said, 'Save Your Majesty, the Shaikh of Ganj (Niẓāmī), May God's mercy be upon him! uttered these lines as a prelude to a couplet, which is this :—

Verse.

Then, 'tis better that you remain joyful,
And that in that joy you remember God.

He said, "Repeat the lines." I did so several times, and he signed to me to give them him in writing. I wrote them out, and he read them over. The Giver of strength gave him power, and in the morning he came out to the hall of justice. He said, "Your verse has given me perfect health, and conveyed strength to weakness."

The Khān was endowed with a quick intelligence and an excellent understanding. One day during the siege of Bījāpūr the king was carried in a litter (*takht-rawān*) to see a mound (*damdama*) which had been raised to a level with the battlements, and cannon balls from the fort were passing over the litter, when Amīr K., who was then superintendent of the oratory and had not yet become a person of consequence, made this impromptu line and wrote it on a piece of paper with a lead-pencil[2] (qalm-i-

[1] id. 59. The lines come from the Khusrau and Shīrīn, near the beginning.

[2] See Vullers, s.v. qalm, p. 737, cols. 1 and 2. M.A. 279.

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surb) and presented it, *Fatḥ Bījāpūr*[1] *zūdī mī shawad* "The conquest of Bijapur will soon take place." 1099 (1688). The king received it as a good omen and said, "God grant that it be so." In the same week the fort was surrendered. After the fort of Golconda was taken the chronogram[1] was found (by Amir K.):— *Fatḥ qilā Gulkanda, mubārak bādā.* "The conquest of Golconda, may it be blessed." 1099 (1688). He was approved of by the king, and as he had the demerits of annoyance and presumption, he gave himself airs (lit. he set the peak of the cap of presumption crookedly on the head of license), and though of low rank he bore himself head and shoulders higher than the leading officers. He acquired such influence that the highest of them made entreaties to him. When an order had been given that with the exception of him who had had a palanquin given him from the imperial establishment, no one, either of the princes or of the officers entitled to travel in a palanquin, should enter the enclosure (*gulālbār*[2]), he, who was at that time termed Multafat

[1] The two chronograms seem to yield 1099 or 1687-88, but if so they are both wrong. Bījāpūr and Golconda were not taken in the same year. Bījāpūr was taken first, and in the year 1097 or 1686, some time in October. The chronogram in the text gives 'Abdu l-Karīm's correctly as stated in the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī 279, but I think the editors have made a mistake in reckoning the p of Bijapur as equal to b and consequently as representing the figure 2. There is no p in Arabic, and though p is often in *abjad* regarded as = b, this is not the case here. If we deduct the p, we get 1097 the real date of the capture of Bījāpūr as shown in the M.A. and in Khāfī K. Possibly 'Abdul-l-Karīm, as he was writing extempore, made a mistake in his count and forgot that though *ḥā* is the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, it counts 8 in *abjad*. Golconda was taken in the following year 1098 or about September 1687. The chronogram in text wrongly has *bādā* as the last word, whereas it should be only *bād* as in Khāfī K. 368, and in M.A. 300. This gives 1098, which is the correct date, as appears from the M.A., pp. 298-99.

With reference to the litter or takht rawān of the text it may be noticed that the M.A. represents it as being carried on the backs of horses, p. 278, unless indeed takht-rawān is used there rhetorically for a saddle. Ordinarily a takht-rawān was borne by men. See Bernier II, 235, and 238. The date of the visit was 25 Shawāl 1097, 4 September 1686, and Bījāpūr was taken on 4 Ẓilq'ada in the 30th year of the reign 1097 = 12 September 1686. Golconda was taken on 24 Ẓīlq'ada 1098, or 21 September 1687.

[2] The gulālbār was a red screen round the daulat-khāna or collection of imperial tents. The privilege referred to is mentioned in the Maaṣir A. 354. For gulālbār or "red wall" see Blochmann 45 and 54, and Irvine

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Khān, and the Jumla-ul-mulk Asad Khān, were, shortly afterwards, allowed to enter in their palanquins. After that, permission was also granted to Bahramand Khān, Mukhlaṣ Khān and Rūḥ Ullah Khān. It may be gathered from this what his position was and what a place he had taken in the king's heart. He was also of surpassing trustworthiness. Agents [1] at his orders would send him the productions of every country at one-half or one-third of the real price. He took notice of this and privately made a full enquiry and ascertained what the price was. After the death of Aurangzeb he accompanied Muḥammad 'Aẓim Shāh, but as he had no force he remained with the baggage in Gwaliyar. When Bahādur Shah became king and the officers of the former reign, whether loyal or the reverse, obtained promotion, Amīr K. too was raised to the rank of 3000 with 500 horse, but he had not the same intimacy nor the same pomp. He felt helpless and accepted the governorship of Agra fort and retired into obscurity, and saved himself from seeing things that should not be seen. Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān, who for worth and humanity was the unique of the age, gave him in consideration of his old pre-eminence the governorship of Agra. Afterwards he was removed from this and confined to the government of the fort.

When in the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar weakness had crept into the management of public affairs owing to the predominance of the Saiyids of Bārha, and there came a necessity for consulting the officers of Aurangzeb, 'Inayat Ullah K., Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K. Bahādur and Muḥammad Niyāz K. all were again received into favour, and Amīr K. also was summoned from Agra and made superintendent of the personal attendants. After

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A. of M. 199. Perhaps *gulāl* is Turki and means "red rose."

[1] *ahl rūzgār*, which I think must mean here agents, though it may also mean workmen or men of business. Presumably the goods were sent to him in his public capacity. His agents perhaps understated the price in order to gain his favour, or it may be that workmen and others sent him the goods under cost price, knowing that he would ascertain the real value and pay them accordingly. The text differs from the Blochmann MS. and from I.O. 628. The text has *dar parda qadaghan-i-isti'āb* where the MSS. have *tadyīn* instead of *qadaghan*. I think however the text is right. The text has *arz* "price" but the MSS. have *āz* "avarice" and they have 'ḥazīz' instead of *ḥissas*.

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the deposition of the king and when the reins of power fell into the hands of the Saiyids of Bārha, Amīr K. was made Ṣadru-l-ṣadūr in the place of Afẓal K. They say that Quṭbu-l-mulk (the elder Saiyid) out of regard to his former eminence did not cease to honour him, and made him sit on a corner of his own *masnad*. At this same time death called him. None of his sons distinguished [1] themselves. They were contented with their father's acquisitions, except Abu-l-Khair K., who, on account of his relationship with Khān [2] Daurān Khwāja 'Āṣim, obtained the title of Khān in the reign of the deceased emperor and had a position (*dastgāh*). He died in company with the Khān Daurān aforesaid. Mir Abū-l-wafā, the grandson of Ẓīyāu-d-dīn K. the elder brother of Amīr K., became distinguished in comparison with his sons. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he was honoured by being made superintendent of the Oratory. The emperor was impressed by his ability and resource. Accordingly,[3] one day a report in cypher of Prince Bahādur Shah was produced before the emperor. As the cypher was not known, the emperor made over his private memorandum-book to the Mīr and said, "We have entered in it explanations of two or three cyphers. Compare them with this cypher and make out its meaning." The Mīr by his cleverness and quickness brought out the meaning of the hidden cypher and wrote it out and presented it, and was applauded.

'ĀQIL KHĀN 'INAYAT ULLAH.

Brother's son and adopted son of Afẓal K. Mullā Shukr Ullah. His father's name was 'Abdul-l-Ḥaqq, who during Shah

[1] One son, Ashraf, collected and published Aurangzeb's letters to his father. See Rieu I. 400b.

[2] Maaṣir I. 819. He was Amīru-l-Umarā and was wounded in battle with Nadir Shah and died of his wounds. Mīr 'Abdul-l-wafā fell along with him. This Khān Daurān is not mentioned by Beale in his list of Khan Daurāns, but his death is described in Elliot VIII, 62. The emperor referred to as deceased is presumably Muḥammad Shah who died in 1748.

[3] Maaṣir A., pp. 459, 460. There we have the negative "*du sih ramz nāwāzah*" "two or three obscure cyphers" but I am not sure if this is right. The Maaṣir A. adds that Mīr Abū-l-wafā received the reward of a *muhr* weighing 50 *muhrs*, Rs. 500, and an increase of horse for interpreting the cypher!

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Jahan's reign attained the rank of 1000 with 200 horse and was called Amānat Khān. He wrote *naskh* exceedingly well, and in the 15th year, as a reward for the inscription which he had written on the cupola (the Taj) of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī, received the gift of an elephant. He died in the 16th year. 'Āqil K., in the 12th year, was made 'Arẓ mukarrir (reviser of petitions), and afterwards received the title of 'Āqil K. In succession to Multafat K. he was made diwān of the Biyūtāt and in the 15th year his rank was 2000 with 500 horse, and he had the appointment of Mīr Sāmān. In the 17th year, when Mūsavī K. died, he was made 'Arẓ Waqāī of the provinces and of the department[1] of presents which also had belonged to Mūsavī K. In the 18th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and the office of Arẓ Waqāī of the provinces was given to Mullā 'Alā-ul mulk in his room. In the 19th year his rank was 2500 with 800 horse. Afterwards, when, in succession to him, the office of Khānsāmān was given to Mullá 'Ala-ul-mulkī, he received an increase of 200 horse and was made 2nd Bakhshī, and Arẓ Waqā'ī of the provinces. In the 20th year he was sent off with a body of troops to convey 25 lacs of rupees to Ghorī to Shāh Beg K. the thānadār there. In the same year his rank became 3000 with 1000 horse, and he had the gift of a flag. In the end of the 22nd year corresponding to 1059, 1649, at the time when Kabul was the halting-place of the standards of victory, he suddenly died. He was versed in poetry and in accounts. The adopted daughter of Satī[2] Khānim—who had charge of the king's harem—was married to him.

The said Khānim was descended from a Māzhindarān family, and she was the sister of Ṭālib[3] Āmulī who in the reign of Jahangir received the title of Maliku-sh-sh'aarāi (king of poets). After the death of her husband Naṣīrā, the brother of Ḥakīm Rukna[4] of Kāshān, she by good fortune entered the service of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī (Nūr Maḥal, the wife of Shah Jahan). As she was adorned with an eloquent tongue, and a knowledge of etiquette, and knew house-keeping and medicine, she advanced beyond other servants

[1] *Risāla-i-in'aām.* Pādshāhnāma II, 373.

[2] Pādshāhnāma I. 151, 394; II. 628.

[3] Rieu 679b.

[4] Rieu 603a.

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and reached the rank of *muhrdār* (sealer). As she knew[1] the art of reading (the Qoran) and was acquainted with Persian literature, she was appointed to be instructress to the Begam Ṣāḥib (Aurangzeb's eldest daughter) and so attained to high distinction (rose to the sphere of Saturn, the seventh heaven). After the death of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī, the king, who appreciated her merit, made her head of the Harem. As she had no child, she after Ṭāliba's death adopted[2] his two daughters. The eldest was married to ʿĀqil K., and the younger to Zīā-ud-dīn, who was styled Raḥmat K. and who was the son of Ḥakīm Quṭba, the brother of Ḥakīm Ruknā. In the 20th year, when the royal residence was Lahore, the younger daughter—of whom the Khānīm was very fond—died in childbed. The Khānim went home and mourned for her for some days. After that, the king sent for her and placed her in the quarters that he had in the palace, and personally came to her there and administered her consolation. She, after discharging the duties connected with the presence[3] of the king, went to her appointed dwelling and surrendered her soul to God. The king gave from the treasury Rs. 10,000 for her funeral and burial, and ordered that her body should be kept in a temporary grave. After a year and odd it was conveyed to Agra and buried at a cost of Rs. 30,000 in a tomb west of the sepulchre of the Mahad ʿAlīya (Nūr Maḥal) in the Jilaukhāna Chauk (the square of the equipages?). A village yielding Rs. 3000[4] was assigned for the expenses (of the upkeep) of the tomb.

(RAJAH) ANŪP SINGH BADGŪJAR.[5]

He is known as Anī Rai Singhdalan. Badgūjar is a tribe of Rajputs. His ancestors were zamindars. They say that his grandfather on account of poverty used to hunt deer, and live upon their flesh. By chance he one day in the jungle fired at what he thought was a tiger. He hit a royal *cīta* which they had let loose

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 629.

2 She sent for them from Persia. Pādshāhnāma II. 630. See also Maasir U. II. 283, notice of Raḥmat K.

3 The duty of preparing Shah Jahan's breakfast. Pādshahnāma II. 630. (*Khūrāndīn māḥazar khāṣa*).

4 Text 30,000, but it is 3000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 629.

5 Elliot's Supp. Gloss. I. 38. "One of the 36 royal races of Rajputs."

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at the deer, and which had secretly entered the jungle. The bell and golden collar enabled Anūp Singh's grandfather to recognize that it belonged to the royal establishment. He took off the trappings and flung the body into a well. Those who were looking for the *cīta* came to the well and gathered that this was the work of the Rajput who was always going about hunting. They went to his house and got the bell and collar. They also seized him and brought him before Akbar. When he was told what had happened, he approved of his courage and marksmanship and took him into his service. On account of his love for shooting he gave him a suitable office. His son Bīr Narayan also received a post and rose higher than his father. When his son Anūp came to years of discretion, he by his good service attained, in last years of Akbar's reign, the rank of head of the khidmatgārs who are called khwāṣṣ. He also discharged the same duties for a time during the reign of Jahangir. In the fifth year of his reign Jahangir was one day engaged in pergunnah Bārī in hunting with leopards (yoz). In the course of this, Anūp Sing who was bringing on a party of the hunters[1] learnt that there was a powerful tiger and went off towards it. With the help of the party he surrounded it and sent word to the king. Though it was the end of the day, and the elephants—which are necessary for hunting this dangerous animal—were not present, Jahangir, from his love for tiger-hunting, rode off to the spot. After seeing the tiger he dismounted and fired at it twice. As it was not badly wounded, it went to a low place and lay down. As the sun had declined and he was bent on shooting the tiger, and except Prince Shah Jahan, Raja Rām Dās Kachwāha, Anūp Singh, I'timād Rai, Ḥayat K. K., superintendent of the abdarkhāna (wine-cellar), Kamāl Qarāwal and three or four *khwāṣṣ*, no one else was present, he advanced some steps and fired. It happened that this time too no such wound was produced as would stop the tiger's spring. In his rage the tiger rushed at the king, roaring and growling. There was such a stampede of men that Jahangir was pressed

1 The text has the word *bāra* which I do not know, but which the Maasir explains as meaning a number. Apparently the word is *pāra* for this occurs in the Tūzuk J. 89, line 16.

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backwards and at the side, and after going back one or two paces he fell. He himself writes that two or three in their confusion trampled over his chest. Meanwhile the prince fired, but without effect. The tiger came upon Anūp Singh who was sitting down and holding the stand (*pāya*) of the special gun in his hand. He struck the tiger on the head with a stick that he had in his hand. The tiger threw him down. At this time when the tiger's head was towards the king, Anūp Singh put one hand into the tiger's mouth and rested the other on his shoulder. The Prince on the left side drew his sword and wished to strike the tiger on the shoulder, but seeing Anūp Rai's hand there, he struck the tiger on the loins. Rām Dās also used his sword, and Ḥayat struck some blows with a stick. The tiger left Anūp and went off. He, as his hand, on account of the rings, had not been made useless, followed the tiger and struck him with a sword. When the tiger turned round, he struck him again on the face so that the skin of his eye-brows came off and fell over his eyes. Meanwhile men assembled and at last disposed of the tiger.[1] Anūp got the title of Anī Rai Singhdalan, i.e. the subduer of the tiger, and an increase to his *manṣab*. When one day Jahangir for some reason blamed him, he immediately drew his dagger and struck himself on the belly. From that time his rank and influence increased. Sometimes he was leader of an army. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan, when his father Bīr Narayan, who had a *manṣab* of 1000 with 600 horse, died, Anūp Rai got the title of Rajah. In the 10th year he died. He had attained to the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse. He also had some literature and skill in letter-writing. Jai Rām was his son. Of him an account has been given.

RAJAH ANURŪDHA GAUR.

Eldest son of Rajah Bethal Dās. When his father was made faujdār of Ajmere, he was made his deputy and took charge of the office. In the 19th year of Shah Jahan, his rank was 1500 with 1000 horse, and in the 24th year he was given a flag.

1 The account of the affair is abridged from that in the Tūzuk, J. 89, et seq. Jahangir, p. 90, says that *ani* means in Hindi a leader, and *singhdalan* means tiger-slayer. See also Iqbālnāma 46, etc.

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In the 25th year, when his father died, his rank was 3000 with 3000 cavalry, two-horse and three-horse, and he had the title of Rajah and the gift of a drum, a horse, and an elephant. On his father's death, he was made governor of the fort of Ranthambhūr. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who was appointed for the second time to the Qandahar expedition. When he returned in the 26th year, he was allowed to go to his fief and after that he went off with prince Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar. After coming there he went off with Rustum K. Bahādur Fīrūz Jang to Bast. In the 28th year he went with S'aad Ullah K. Bahādur to raze Chitor and to punish the Rajah. In the 31st year when Sulaimān Shikoh under the guardianship of the Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shujā—who was doing futile things—he received the rank of 3500 with 3000 horse—two-horse and three-horse—and went off with Sulaimān Shikoh. After the accession of Aurangzeb he entered into service, and in the 1st year he was directed to accompany Muḥammad Sultan who had been appointed to the affair of Shujā. Meanwhile on account of some illness he stayed in Agra and went off while still ill. After leaving the capital he died in 1069, 1659.

'ĀQIL K. MĪR 'ASKARĪ.

He was originally of Khawāf, and he was one of the Wālā Shāhīs (household troops) of Aurangzeb. In the time when the latter was prince, he was his second bakhshī. When the prince was proceeding from the Deccan to Upper India on the occasion of his father's illness, 'Āqil K. was left in Aurangabad to protect the city. After Aurangzeb's accession, he came to court and received the title of 'Āqil K. and was made faujdār of the Miyān Dūāb. In the 4th year he was removed, and on account of illnesses went into retirement and went to Lahore on an allowance of Rs. 10,000 a year. In the 6th year, at the time when the emperor returned to Lahore from Kashmir, he was treated with favour and came out of his retirement. He received a robe of honour and a *manṣab* of 2000 with 700 horse. Afterwards, he was made superintendent of the *ghusalkhāna*. In the 9th year he

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had an increase of 500 personality, and in the 12th year again went into retirement and received an annual allowance of Rs. 12,000. He again became an object of favour, and in the 22nd year was made *bakhshī-i-tan* (superintendent of grants) in succession to Ṣafī K. In the 24th year he was exalted by being made governor of the metropolitan province (Delhi), and was for a long time in that appointment. He died (lit. went into the retirement of non-existence) in the 40th year, 1107,[1] 1695-96. He had a disposition disposed to poverty and independence, and was of a steady mind. He did service in a stately manner, and was haughty with his equals.

When Mahābat[2] K. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was appointed to the government of Lahore, he asked for an order for viewing the fort and the royal buildings (of Delhi). His request was complied with and an order was issued to ʻĀqil K. in accordance therewith. He wrote in reply that for certain reasons he could not send (nakẖwāham ṭalbīd) for Mahābat: Firstly, a Haidarabad man was not a fitting person to see the royal buildings. Secondly, the entrances to the houses were, out of precaution, kept closed, and the rooms were uncarpeted. Nor was it right that they should be cleaned and carpeted for his inspection. Thirdly, the behaviour which was expected from him (ʻAqil) at an interview would not be displayed. For every reason it was preferable not to give him admission. After Mahābat came to the capital and sent a message, he absolutely declined (to admit him). The king too had regard to his long service and to his fidelity and loyalty, and overlooked his presumption and obstinacy, and entrusted the highest offices to him. He was not without external perfections. As he was devoted to the service of Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn Rāz Ilāhī—may the mercy of God be upon him!—he adopted the pen-name of Rāzī.[3] His diwān and masnavī

1 1108, according to Rieu Cat. II. 699a. It is also 1108 in Maaṣir A. 883, from which the account in text of his manners is taken.

2 Maaṣir, III. 628. See the story in Maaṣir A. 383. M. Ibrāhīm was a renegade.

3 Rieu II. 699a and Ethé I.O. Cat., pp. 896-95. His muraqqa is an imitation of Jalālu-d-dīn Rumi's Maṣnavī. Ethé, p. 895, Sprenger Cat. 543 and 123. Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn belonged to Burhānpūr and died in 1083, 1672-73.

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are well known. He regarded himself as unique for his capacity of explaining the niceties of the maṣnavī of the Maulānā of Rūm (Jalālu-d-dīn). He was of a liberal disposition and compassionate. This verse is his,[1] and he repeated it when Prince Aurangzeb went a-riding on the day of the death of Zainābādī.

Verse.

How easy love appeared, how hard it was,
How hard parting seemed, what ease the beloved attained!

The prince bade him repeat the lines once or twice, and then asked him whom they were by. 'Āqil replied, "They are by one who does not wish while in the service of his benefactor to call himself a poet."

'ARAB BAHĀDUR.

In Akbar's time he was one of the officers appointed to the eastern districts, and he earned a good name by his bravery and useful service. The pargana of Sasseram in Bihar was held by him in fief. When the officers of that quarter stirred up rebellion, he too threw the dust of disloyalty on his head and showed signs of sedition. In the 25th year, when Moẓaffar K., the governor of Bengal, sent the goods of Khān Jahān Ḥusain Qulī to court, and many soldiers and traders accompanied them, Muḥibb 'Alī K. —after the convoy had reached Bihar—appointed[2] one Ḥabsh K. to go with it with a body of troops. 'Arab hastened after the caravan, and when it had crossed at the Causā ferry, he laid hands on some elephants which had fallen behind. After that he attacked Purokhotam, the diwān of the province,—who was collecting the soldiers in Baksar (Buxar),—on a day when he was performing his devotions on the bank of the Ganges. He defended himself, but was wounded and fell on the field, and died[3] on the second day. When Muḥibb 'Alī heard of this, he came and fought with 'Arab and made him take

1 See the story in Maasir I. 792 in notice of the Khān Zamān Mīr Khalīl.

2 A.N. III. 286.

3 A.N. III. 287.

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to flight. Afterwards, when Shahbāz K. was sent off to that quarter from court, and came to the estates of Dalpat Ujjainiya, and after chastising him, placed Sa'adat 'Alī K. in the fort of Kānt,[1] a dependency of Rhotas, 'Arab, in conjunction with Dalpat, attacked the fort. A great fight took place, and Sa'adat 'Alī was killed while doing his duty, and 'Arab wickedly drank[2] his blood and smeared some on his forehead! Afterwards, he joined M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and took part with him in two battles with Shahbāz K. After he was defeated, he separated, and raised the dust of dissension in Sambal. As the fief-holders there acted with concord and fought, he was defeated. He then went to Bihar and had an encounter with a force sent by the Khān 'Aẓim Koka and fled. He hastened to Jaunpūr. When Govardhan, the son of Rajah Todar Mal, was by Akbar's orders sent to punish him, he retreated into the hills. Afterwards he made his home in the hill-country of Bahraich and built a fort. He made this his refuge when he returned from plundering. One day he had gone off on an expedition. Kharak[3] Rai the land-holder sent his son Dūlah Rai against the fort. 'Arab's gate-keepers thought he was 'Arab and did not resist him. The zamindar's people seized the accumulated property. As they were returning, 'Arab lay in wait for them, and when they came up he scattered them. Dulah Rai, who had remained behind, came up and defeated him. 'Arab and two men with him fell into a place;[4] the landholder followed them and put an end to 'Arab. This affair occurred in the 31st year corresponding to 994, 1586. S. Abū-l-faẓl records[5] in the Akbarnāma that three days before this the Mīr Shikār,

[1] كنت in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157. See also Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, who identifies it with Bijyaygarh, the fort in the Mīrzapūr district so well known in connection with Chait Singh. There is a Kantit in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 161. Possibly some of the authorities have made a confusion between 'Arab Bahādur and 'Arab, which was another name for Niyābat K.

[2] A.N. III. 324.

[3] A.N. III. 492.

[4] *Jānibe*. A.N. III. has *jai* "place," and there is the variant *cāhī* "a well."

[5] A.N. III. 493: it is not mentioned there that Akbar was then at Chinhat. Nor does it appear that there is a Chinhat or Chanhat in the Dūāb. There was a Chanīwat in the Rechnan Dūāb, Jarrett II. 320. The Ṭabaqāt A. says 'Arab Bahādur was killed in pargana Sherkot. Elliot V. 453. Sherkot was in Sarkār Sambhal, Jarrett II. 290.

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'Arab by name, fell into the river Bihat (the Jhilam) and that the king who was then in Chinhat (?) in the Dūāb said, "I have a presentiment that the days of 'Arab have come to an end."

'ARAB KHĀN.

His name was Nūr Muḥammad. In the reign of Shah Jahan he obtained a *manṣab*, and in the third year, when the city of Burhanpur was the royal residence, and three armies were sent, under the command of three leaders, to chastise Khān Jahān Lodī and to devastate the lands of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Deccanī, as he had taken Khan Jahān under his protection, he was appointed to accompany the 'Aẓim K. After that he was appointed to the Deccan contingent, and in the 7th year, when Prince Shujā' came to the Deccan to take Parenda, and the Khān Zamān was sent in advance, he was left in Ẓafarnagar with 500 troopers to guard the routes. In the end of that year he had the title of 'Arab K. and his rank was 1500 with 800 horse. In the 9th year, when the Deccan was the royal abode for the second time, and an army marched to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla, and to ravage 'Ādil Shah's country, he was sent with Khān Daurān, and did good service in chastising 'Ādil K.'s men. In the 10th year his rank became 2000 with 1500 horse *dūāspa* and *sihāspa*, and he was made governor of the fort of Fatḥābād Dhārwār. Afterwards he received an increase of 500 horse. In the 24th year he was given drums. Afterwards, when he had for seventeen years spent his days with honour in guarding Fatḥābad Dhārwar, he in the 27th year, corresponding to 1063, 1653, went to Paradise. His son was Qil'adār K., and of him a separate account has been given.

ARSLĀN KHĀN.[1]

Son of Ilahwardī K. the 1st. In the 5th year of Aurangzeb he was made *faujdār* of Benares in the place of Khwāja Ṣādiq Badakhshī. In the 7th year he became *faujdār* of Siwistān in Sind in place of Zīyāu-d-dīn K. and got the rank of 1000 with 900 horse, of whom 700 were two-horse and three-horse, and the title

[1] Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī, 82.

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of Arslān K. (the Lion-khān). In the 10th year he was appointed faujdār of Sultanpur Bilehri [1] and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse which were two- and three-horse. In the 40th year he had an increase of 500. No more details of him have been received.

ASAD KHAN MĀMŪRĪ.[2]

Son of 'Abdu-l-Wahāb K. who had the poetical name of Ināyatī, and was the younger brother of Moẓaffar K. Māmūrī. He (Moẓaffar) held a good position as an eloquent writer, and wrote a *divan*. In Jahangir's time Asad was first the governor of Qandahar. Afterwards, when Sultan Dāwar Bakhsh s. Khusrau became governor of Gujarat under the guardianship of Khān 'Aẓim Koka, he was made bakhshī thereof, and died there. Asad Khān loved soldiering. When he went with his uncle Moẓaffar to Tatta he took into his service young men of the Arghūnia clan and distinguished himself by his courage. He was also noticed by the sovereign, and when Sultan Parvez went, under the guardianship of Mahābat K., in pursuit of the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), he was one of the auxiliaries. Mahābat K., after coming to Burhanpur, put him in charge of Ilicpūr. When the other officers and the *manṣabdars* of the Dēccan were appointed to help Mullā Muḥammad (Lārī) 'Ādil Shāhī, he went with them. Suddenly 'Ādil Shāh (of Bijapur) received a great defeat in the battle of Bhātūrī,[3] which was between Mullā Muḥammad and Malik 'Ambar, and some of the imperial officers were made prisoners. Asad K. by his activity got away from the battlefield and arrived at Burhanpur. When Shah Jahan returned from Bengal and proceeded to besiege that city, Asad [4] in conjunction with Rāo Ratan defended it well. The prince had to raise the siege, and Asad was promoted by being made Bakhshī of the Deccan.

They say that Khān Jahān Lodī, who became governor of the

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1 Variant Malharī. Perhaps Bilehrī in Oudh. Jarrett II. 174.

2 'Mamūra is near Kabul. Elliot V. 316.

3 Battle fought 5 kos from Aḥmadnagar in 1033, 1624. Iqbālnāma 236, Elliot VI. 415. Mullā Muḥammad was killed.

4 Elliot VI. 394, 395.

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Deccan after the death of Sultan Parvez, used to rise up in honour of Fāẓil K. Āqā Afẓal, who was diwan of the Deccan, but did not rise for Asad. The latter was much displeased and would say, "He rises for a Mogul, and does not rise for me who am a Saiyid." In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he was removed from office and came to court, bringing[1] with him 14 elephants as *peshkash*. As at the time of the siege of Burhanpur his men had used foul language in the presence of Shah Jahan's men, he was much frightened, but as Shah Jahan was an ocean of kindness he received him well and comforted him. In the second year he was made[2] faujdār of Lakhī Jangal (in Sind), and with a personal allowance of 500 was made manṣabdār of 2500 with 2500 horse. In the 4th year, 1041, 1632, he died[3] in Lahore.

ASAD KHĀN ĀSAFU-DAULA JAMLA-AL-MULK.

His name was Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, and he was the son of Ẓūl-fiqār K. Qaramānlū. He was the grandson of Ṣādiq K. Mīr Bakhshī and son-in-law of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. From his early years he was, on account of his personal beauty and external accomplishments, a favourite with Shah Jahan, and was conspicuous among his contemporaries. In the 27th year he received the title of Asad K. and was made Master of the Horse, and afterwards 2nd Bakhshi.

When the throne of the Caliphate was adorned by the accession of 'Ālamgīr, he was encompassed by favours, and after having for a long time zealously served as 2nd Bakhshī, he was in the fifth year raised to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the 13th year, after the death of the prime minister J'aafar K., he was made Deputy Vizier and received an ornamented dagger and two quids[4] of pān from the king's own hands. An order was given that he should be styled the risāla[5] (dār) of Prince Muḥammad

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[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 197.
[2] Pādshāhnāma I. 288.
[3] Pādshāhnāma I. 397.
[4] M.A. 103.
[5] This is an obscure passage. It is taken from the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī 103-4, but the word for astrologer (*munajjim*) is wanting there. However the text is probably right, for at p. 124 of the same work Dānat K. is described as an unrivalled astrologer. I am not sure of the meaning

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'Muazzam and that Dīānat K., the astrologer, should be made his sealer. In the same year he was removed from the office of 2nd Bakhshī and in the 14th year made Mīr Bakhshī on the death of Lashkar K. In the beginning of Zī-l-ḥajja of the 16th year Asad K. resigned[1] the deputyship (of the diwānī) and an order was issued that Amānat K., diwān of the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., *diwān-i-tan*, should put their seals below that of the chief diwān, and carry on the affairs of the diwānī. On 10 Shabān of the 19th year the Khān again received the ornamental ink-stand and obtained the great name of Grand Vizier. In the end of the 20th year, when Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was censured and dismissed from the Deccan, the charge of the affairs there was bestowed on Diler K., until a subāhdār should be appointed. Jumla-al-mulk, with a large army and suitable equipment, was sent to the Deccan, and arrived at Aurangabad when the occurrence of much tumult was reported to the king. Shāh 'Alam was sent off to the Deccan as Naẓim, and Asad K. returned. In the beginning of the 22nd year he waited on the king at Kishngarha[2] in the province of Ajmere. When in the 25th year Aurangzeb proceeded to the Deccan to chastise Sumbhā Bhonsla (the son of Sivaji), who had given shelter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, Jumla-ul-mulk was left in Ajmere with Prince 'Azīmu-d-din[3] in order that the Rajputs might not make a disturbance. After that in the 27th year he paid his respects at Ahmadnagar and, after the victory of Bijapur, he was made Vizier. The chronogram is *Zībā shuda masnad wazārat*. 1097, 1686. "The divan of the Viziership was

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of the word *risāla*, but think it is used for risāladār as at p. 259 of Blochmann's Āīn. The fact that *muhr* is almost certainly used in the text and in the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī for *muhrdār* favours this view. See Blochmann's note 21. The verb *nawistan* is used here to signify "styled, or called." See a similar use in M. Ālamgiri 460, l. 9 from foot where we are told that the hall of justice was now styled (*mīnawīsand*) the *diwān-i-maẓālim*, and also Khāfi K. II, 602, line 8. It is noticeable that in the M.A., pp. 103—04, the verbs are in the plural, viz., *nawīsand* and *bāshand*, instead of *nawīsad* and *bāshad* as in text. Risāla or Risāladar probably means either Secretary, or keeper of diary. I.O. M.S. Ethé 628 has *nawīsand* and *bāshad*.

[1] M.A. 125-6.

[2] M.A. 172. "Kishngarh is in Rajputanah, north east of Ajmer." Irvine, "Later Mughals," A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 152, note.

[3] That is, Prince Muhammad 'Aẓīm. See Maṣir 'Ālamgīrī 212.

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adorned." After Golconda was taken he had an addition of 1000 horse and arrived at the lofty rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the 34th year he was appointed to chastise the enemy on the other side of the Kistna (i.e., the south side) and to take the fort of Nandīāl[1] otherwise Ghāzīpur, and to arrange for the government of the Bālāghāt of the Haidarabad Carnatic. After taking Nandīāl, he encamped in Cuddapah, which is on the borders of the Carnatic. An order was given to Prince Kām Bakhsh to take the fort of Wākinkera. As Rūḥ Ullah had been ordered to undertake that work he proceeded towards Wākinkera to assist Jumla-ul-mulk. After the imperial army had arrived at Cuddapah, an order came in the 37th year that both forces should proceed to help Ẕūlfiqār K., who was besieging Ginjee. After coming there a disagreement arose between the prince and Jumla-ul-mulk on account of certain matters. By the exertions of evil-disposed persons, this became vehement. Jumla-ul-mulk, on the strength of the documentary evidence of some secret letters, which the prince had sent to Rāmāī[2] the governor of the fort by the instrumentality of some men who did not think of their latter end, wrote to the king and was authorized to keep Rāo Dalpat Bundīla night and day in attendance on the prince and to put a stop to equipages and councils (*diwān*) and to the coming and going of strangers. At this time it was ascertained by spies visiting the fort that Kām Bakhsh, on account of his dislike of Jumla-ul-mulk, had decided upon going off to the fort on a dark night. Accordingly Asad K., after consulting with Ẕūl-fiqār K. (his son) and other leaders of the siege-force, presumptuously entered the prince's quarters and put him under arrest. He removed from Gingee, and in accordance with orders sent the prince to court. He himself stayed for a time

[1] Nandbal in text: it is Nandiyal or Nandial in M.A. 354 and in I.G. It is south of Kurnool.

[2] Text has Rai only. There is the variant Rāmāī, and this is supported by Maaṣīr A. 356 which has Rāmāī Jahannamī "the hellish Rāmāī." He is the Rajah Ram of Grant-Duff I. 301. He was a son of Sivaji and succeeded to the throne after Sumbhaji, *id.* 371. It was from him that the English obtained the site of Fort St. David. For account of Kām Bakhsh's intrigues, etc., see Maaṣir A. 356, Khāfī K. II. 420, Elliot VII. 348, and Grant-Duff I. 381.

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in Sankar.[1] Afterwards,[2] when summoned to the presence, many apprehensions about the painful case of the prince occurred to him. On the day of his attendance when he came to the place of saluting, Multafat K. (Amīr K. Sindhī), the superintendent of the pages, was standing near the throne and whispered, "There's a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge." The king said, "You have quoted aptly." He permitted him to do homage and treated him with favour.

When Aurangzeb, in the 43rd year of his reign, after staying four years in Islampūrī commonly known as Bramapura,[3] placed his world-conquering foot in the stirrup of a world-traversing steed with the laudable design of waging a holy war and of taking the forts and devastating the territories of Sīva Bhonsla, in 1110, 1698—99, he left the holy Nawāb Zīnatu-n-nisā Begam (his daughter) there with the servants of the harem and appointed Asad K. to guard them. In the 45th year, at the beginning of the affair of Khelna,[4] he was summoned to court and received the title of Amīru-l-Umarā. Fatḥ Ullah K., Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K. and Rajah Jai Singh were appointed to act under him in taking the fortress lofty as heaven (Khelna). After it was taken, as the Amīru-l-Umarā was feeble, a gracious order[5] was issued that he should come out by a passage (rāhrā, a corridor) from the inside of the Hall of Justice—which had received by command the name of Diwan-i-Maẓālim ("The hall of grievances")—and sit

[1] Text سنکر Sankar. The passage is taken from the Maasir A. 364, third last line, where we have the statement that the Jumla-ul-mulk stayed, according to orders, in Nasratābād-Sakkar. For an account of this mint-town see Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 264. It is Sagar of the maps and is in the Niẓām's territory, and is W.S.W. Haidarabad.

[2] Maasir A. 364—65. The line quoted by Multafat occurs in Badayūnī I. 447.

[3] The Brimhapooree of Grant-Duff I. 378, 391. It was on the Beema (Bhima) below Punderpur and N.N.W. Bijapur. The text wrongly has 1010 instead of 1110. Sīva had been dead for 18 years when Aurangzeb made this expedition.

[4] Now Vishalgurh, Grant-Duff, I. 62 note and 377 Maasir A., 445. It is in the Syahadri range or Western Ghats and is S. Sattara and W. Panala, i.e. Banī Shahdrug. The taking of Khelna is also described in Khāfī K. II, 491.

[5] This is taken from the Maasir A. 460, though the staff is not mentioned there. The chamber was probably Aurangzeb's private room.

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within a railing (*kaṭhara*) at the distance of one cubit from the steps of the chamber (*ḥujra*). For three days he was to sit there, and after that he was to get a staff.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Prince Muḥammad Aẓim Shah also treated Asad K. with honour and made him Vizier. When the prince left Gwaliyar in order to fight with Bahādur Shah he left him there with the baggage, and he also left there his full sister Zinatu-n-nisā Begam whom Bahādur Shah (afterwards) styled Begam Ṣāḥib. When the breeze of victory blew, by the favour of God, on the standards of Bahādur Shah, that mild sovereign had regard to Asad K.'s long service and his confidential position and summoned him to court. Some courtiers said that he had been the leading partner in 'Aẓim Shah's affairs. The king replied,[1] "If at that disturbed time our own sons had been in the Deccan, they would have felt themselves obliged to support their uncle." After he had presented himself, he received the title of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣafu-d-daula and was made Vakil—who in former times was master of all affairs, political and financial—and was allowed to have his music played in the king's presence. As the king considered it a matter of the first importance to conciliate Mun'im K. the Khān Khānān—who had many claims to consideration and was Grand Vizier—and as it was proper[2] that the Vizier should stand at the head of the divan and present the papers to the prime minister (*vakīl-i-matlaq*) for signature, as other leading officers of departments did, and as this was felt by the Khān Khānān to be disagreeable, it was arranged that as Āṣafu-d-daula was old and wanted comfort and repose he should go to Shahjahanabad (Delhi) and spend his days in peace, and that Ẕūlfiqār should carry on the duties of the Vakālat as deputy. But on account of preserving the dignity of Khān-Khānān no other vakālat duty was attached (to Ẕūlfiqār) except that of using the *vakālat* seal which was to be put on grants and orders subsequent to the seal of the viziership. Asafu-d-daulah five[3] times

[1] Khāfī K. II. 600.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 601. See also Siyaru. Mutakharīn I. 15 and Irādāt K.'s Memoirs, p. 46.

[3] Probably this refers to the fact that Bahādur Shah reigned for five years. Or perhaps it means that his orchestra played five times a day.

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beat the music of success in the capital and possessed the materials of a prosperous life.

When the sovereignty came to Jahāndār Shah, and Ẕūlfiqār became supreme in the affairs of the empire, Asad K. gave up the insignia of office. On the two or three occasions that he went to court, his palanquin was put down at the diwan-i-'āmm and he sat near the throne. The King in conversation used to call him uncle. After Jahāndār[1] Shah had been defeated and had fled from Agra he came to Āṣafu-d-daulah's house (in Delhi) and wished to collect a force and to make another attempt. Ẕulfiqār too came[2] and was vehement about doing this. Asad K., who was an old and experienced man, of a good disposition and fond of repose, did not agree and said to his son: "M'uīzu-d-dīn is a drunkard and addicted to frivolity and low company, and is unappreciative; he is unfit to rule. How can it be right to support a man like this, and to stir up slumbering strife again, and to cause evil to the country and ruin to the world. God knows what the end will be! It is right that you and I should support whatever scion of the Timurids is fit for the throne." On the same day he arrested Jahāndār and sent him to the fort. He did not know that fate was laughing at his plans. This thought for the end and prudence for self-interest were the cause of the destruction of his son's life and the ruin of the honour and prosperity of his house! But as inquiries about Fate and perspicacity about the secrets thereof are not within human power, why should helpless man incur reproach and blame for such a purpose? The right[3] thing for the time and the best for the final

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1 Khāfī K. II. 725. Elliot VII, 440.

2 He arrived after the emperor. This passage may be compared with the Siyar Mutakharīn. Apparently both writers are following the same original. Irādat K., Memoirs, p. 95, says that the populace compelled Asad K. to imprison Jāhandar Shah.

3 I am not sure of the meaning of this or the preceding sentence. I understand the passage as meaning that, seeing that the decrees of Fate cannot be known, man should not try to be too clever and incur blame by doing wrong in order that good may come. But perhaps the meaning is that as the decrees of Fate cannot be known one should not be blamed for being mistaken about them. The Blochmann MS. has a different reading just before the passage "But they say, etc." It has *goīnd* instead of *būd*. "They say what he did was ex-

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result may be one and the same thing. But people say that honour and a regard to reputation, or rather justice and humanity, did not require that, when the king of India, with all his rights, and after granting so many favours, had come to his house in reliance upon him at such a time of misfortune, and consulted him about his plans, he should seize and make him over to his enemies to be evil-entreated. If he himself, from old age, was incapable of exertion, he might have let him go off with his followers. He would then have gone to whatever waste or wild his ruined fortunes led him. Nor would Asad K. have pushed him further on the road he was going.

Be this as it may, when Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar perceived that the distracted king and vizier had gone off to the capital he was afraid lest they should turn again and there be a new disturbance. So he sent through Mīr Jumla Samarkandī comforting letters to father and son and soothed their troubled minds by flatteries and cajoleries. They say that the Saiyids of Bārha did not share the king's counsels in this matter and did not know about this. On the contrary, they felt certain that they (Asad and his son) would come to the battle-field. Why would not they act in accordance with their own interests? They sent[1] them messages that they should enter into service through them, so that no harm might come to them. As the managers of fate had a different intention, father and son were deceived by the false promises of the king, and did not trouble themselves about the Saiyids, but regarded the applying to them as a cause of loss to themselves. When Mīr Jumla heard of the Saiyid's message he hastily sent Taqarrab K. Shirāzī to Asafu-d-daula (Asad K.), with the announcement that if they wanted to recommend themselves to the king they should be on their guard against joining Quṭbu-l-mulk and the Amīru-l-Umarā. They say that he even swore this on the Koran. At any rate, when the king arrived at Bāra Pula,[2] Delhi, Aṣafu-d-daula and Ẓūlfiqār K. went and with perfect

pedient for the time and in agreement with the (probable) final result.''

For a full account of Jahāndār's flight to Delhi, and his capture by Asad K., see Irvine's Later Moghuls, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 204, etc.

[1] Khāfī K. II, 732.

[2] بارہ پلہ *bāra pula*. This must be

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serenity waited upon him. The king comforted them by presenting them with jewels and robes of honour, and by gracious words, and then dismissed them. He ordered that Ẕūlfiqār K. should remain in attendance on account of certain business. Aṣafu-d-daula perceived that something evil was going to happen and went to his house with a sad heart and inflamed eyes. On the same day they killed Ẕūlfiqār in the manner that has been described in his biography. Next day Asad K. was imprisoned and his house confiscated. Nothing was left to him, but a hundred rupis a day were allowed him from the treasury for his subsistence. At the feast of the Accession they wished to send him jewels and a robe of honour. Ḥusain Alī K. Amīru-l-umarā desired that he might personally convey them. They say that the Amīru-l-umarā paid his respects according to the old formula, and that Asad K. also, according to old custom, when he was coming and going (*majī-u-zahāb*), laid [1] his hand upon his (own) breast—and gave the *pān* with his own hands and dismissed him. In the 5th year, 1129, 1717, when he was 94 years old, he departed from this world full of sorrow. Another Amīr of such a good disposition, so little injurious, and so patient, possessed of external beauty and of goodness, who treated his inferiors with kindness and gentleness, and was firm and dignified with his rivals, could not be found among his contemporaries. From the beginning of his career he was successful and always threw double sixes into the cup of his desires. Heaven—that deceitful dicer—played unfairly the last hand with him, and the doubling Cossack (*qazāq-i-inqilāb*)

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the Bāra Pool of Harcourt's Delhi, and Mr. Keene's map, and which is described by the former as "a large native bridge with eleven arches, paved with stone slabs. It is just beyond Humāyūn's tomb, on the high road to Bullubghur." It is therefore to the south of Delhi (about four miles away). Bāra Pul might mean the twelve arches. Pul is a common name for a bridge. The bridge was built in Jahangir's time and is described and figured in Syed Aḥmad's Aṯār Ṣanādīd, p. 27. It has only eleven arches. For an account of Asad K. and his son's presentation to Farrukh Siyar and of the murder of Ẕū-l-fiqār, see Irvine's Later Moguls, A.S.B.J. for 1898, p. 145, etc.

[1] This passage seems to be illustrated by the note to Siyaru-l-Mutakherin i, 246. The old way of making obeisance was to place the hands over the navel, which, according to the translator, is higher up in natives, and Asad Ullah probably did obeisance in this way to the robes sent him.

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made a two-horse[1] attack upon the home of his peace when he was close to his goal. A morning of joy ne'er shone from a pitiless heaven that evening did not darken: Nor a sweet morsel ever tickled the palate which was not blended with a hundred poisons. Whom did the faithless one ever unite with that it did not cast away? Wherever it sate, it soon rose up.

Verse.

Heaven soon repents of its bounties;
The sun bestows a cake[2] in the morning and takes it back at eve.

Among the goodnesses of Jumla-ul-mulk they relate that when Aurangzeb in the 47th year, after the taking of the fort of Kandana known as Bakhshanda Bakhsh (the gift of the Giver), came to Maḥābād-Pūna to spend the rainy season, by chance the quarters of the Amīru-l-umarā were in low ground, and the tents of 'Inayat Ullah K. *diwān-i-khālsa-u-tan* were on high ground. After some days had elapsed, when the said Khān had put an enclosure round his female apartments, Amīru-l-umarā's eunuch Basant,[3] who controlled his household, sent a message to 'Inayat K. to clear out as the Nawāb's tents would be placed there. The Khān said, "Good, but give time in order that I may find another place." The eunuch, a haughty Turk, replied by bidding him leave at once. As 'Inayat was helpless he moved to another place. The king came to know of this, and sent a message to Jumla-ul-mulk through Hamīdu-d-dīn K. Bahādur directing him to give the place to 'Inayat K., and to move and take another place. Asad K. delayed a little, and an order was given that he should go to the quarters of 'Inayat Ullah and apologize. At that time it chanced that 'Inayat Ullah was in his bath. Jumla-ul-mulk came and sate in the diwānkhāna, and 'Inayat quickly

[1] Duāspa tākht. General Briggs, in a note to Ferishta, says that the dūaspa or two-horse mode of attack is described by Malcolm in his history. The Turkoman robbers often took two horses into the field.

[2] The sun's disk is often compared to a round cake of bread.

[3] Nisbat in text, but see Maasir A., 475.

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came out. Amīru-l-Umarā took his hand and brought him to his house (tent) and presented him with nine pieces of cloth and humbled[1] himself before him. He showed him kindness and friendship to the end of the interview and afterwards never showed any dislike or displeasure, but was more and more gracious. Such men have existed under the heavens! They say that the expenses of his harem and for the purveyors of music and song were so great that his revenues did not meet them. On account of chronic haemorrhoids he never sate on the ground if he could help it. Always in his house he lay on a couch. Besides Ẕūlfiqār K. he had a son named 'Inayat K. by Newal Bāī, who was called Rānī. He ('Inayat) wrote a good hand, and became superintendent of the jewel-room and had a suitable *manṣab*. By order of the king he married[2] the daughter of Abūl-Ḥasan of Hyderabad, but he fell into evil ways and became insane. He got permission to go to the capital and there conducted himself improperly. Continually there came complaints about him from Delhi. There he died in the same condition. His son Ṣāliḥ K. obtained in the time of Jahandār Shāh the title of 'Itiqād K. and a high rank. His brother Mīrzā Kāẓim, by associating with dancers and convivialists, ruined his reputation, and by his evil ways opened the doors of disgrace on his career.

ĀṢAFU-D-DAULA AMĪRU-L-MAMĀLIK.

He was the third son of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His real name was Saiyid Muḥammad. In the life-time of his father he received the title of Khān and the name Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur, and was appointed to the government of Haidarabad. After his father's death when Nāṣir Jang, the martyr, went to Pondicherry to suppress the rebellion of Moẓaffar Jang, Ṣalābat went with him. After Nāṣir Jang's martyrdom, he returned with

1 *iqāmat goyān*—words expressive, apparently, of earnest entreaty. More probably the meaning is "gave him them, saying they were in honour of his visiting him," *i.e.* as his *footing*. The story is told at length in the Maaṣir A., 475, etc.

2 Khāfī K. II, 407, Abūl-ḥasan was the unfortunate king of Haidarabad and Golconda. The marriage was in 1103, 1692.

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Moẓaffar Jang. When, on the march, Moẓaffar Jang was killed by the Afghans, Ṣalābat J. sate upon the *masnad*, as he was older than the other brothers. He received from the emperor Aḥmad Shah an increase of rank and the title of Āṣafu-d-daula Ẓaffar Jang. Afterwards [1] he received the title of Amīru-l-mamālik. Rajah Roghanāth Dās, who was his minister, conciliated and took into service a body of hat-wearing Frenchmen who had come with Moẓaffar Jang. Ṣalābat K. came to Aurangabad in 1164, 1751, and attacked the country of the Mahrattas. Afterwards peace was made and he came to Haidarabad. On the march Roghanāth Dās was killed [2] by his soldiers, and Raknu-d-daulah Saiyid Lashkar K. became his prime minister. In the second following year (1165) when Ghāzīu-d-dīn Fīrūz Jang, his elder brother, was appointed to the government of the Deccan and came to Aurangabad along with the Mahrattas, though he shortly afterwards died, the Mahrattas on the strength of his grants took most of Khandes and some parts of the province of Aurangabad. His household affairs throughout his rule were dependent on the opinions of his officers. When the grant of the government of the Deccan was given from the emperor to his brother Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jah—who had formerly been declared to be heir-apparent, and been invested with the duties of government—he was necessarily put into retirement. He died in prison in 1177, 1763, and a report spread that his guards had killed [3] him.

ĀṢAF [4] KHĀN KHWĀJA GHĪYĀSU-D-DĪN 'ALĪ QAZWĪNĪ.

He was the son of Āqā Mullā dawāt dār (inkstand-holder), who, it is notorious, was in the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī

[1] In the time of Ālamgīr the 2nd (Gholām 'Alī Azāl).

[2] At Balkee on 7 April 1752. Grant-Duff II, 54. Siyaru-l-M. III., 324 and note. On 13 Jumāda al-akhirī 1165 (Gholam Ali).

[3] He was imprisoned in July 1762 and was murdered on 8 Rabī-al-awwal 1177, 16 September 1763. Grant-Duff II, 167. The same date is given in the Khazāna 'Āmrā, Lucknow lith., p. 71. He was imprisoned in the fort of Bīdar. This biography may be compared with that in the Khazāna 'Amrā.

[4] Blochmann 433 and 369. He is

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one of the privileged courtiers. His other sons M. Badī'u-z-zamān and M. Aḥmad Beg became Viziers of Persia. They say that he was descended from the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shihābu-d-dīn[1] Suhrawardī, whose perfections it is unnecessary to describe, and whose lineage ascended to Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakru-ṣ-ṣādiq. In Ṣūfism he (Suhrawardī) was allied to his uncle S. Najību-d-dīn Suhrawardī. He was a congeries of exoteric and esoteric sciences and was the Shaikh of Shaikhs of Bagdad. He was the author of elegant treatises such as the 'Awārifu-l-m'uārif (*Scientiae scientiarum*). In the year 633, 1235-36, or 632, he died. Khwāja Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī was distinguished for his eloquence and industry, and was not without vigour and courage. When he came to India he had the good fortune to be the recipient of favours from Akbar and to be made Bakhshī. In the year 981, 1573, he took part in the nine days' rapid march to Gujarat and did good service in the battle with the rebels there who had besieged M. Koka in Ahmadabad, and received the title of Āṣaf K. At the time of the victorious return to the capital he was made Bakhshī of the province in order that he might co-operate with M. Koka in improving the army. In the 21st year he was appointed with a number of other officers to the province of Īdar, which is a dependency of Ahmadabad. He was to clear it of rebels. The zamindar Narain Dās Rāhtor presumptuously came out from the defiles to give battle, and there were great hand-to-hand combats. The imperial vanguard gave way and M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, who was in command, was killed, and a disaster was imminent. Āṣaf K. and the leaders of the right and left wings redoubled their efforts, and the enemy was defeated. In the close of the 23rd year Akbar sent him to Malwa and Gujarat in order that, having with the co-operation of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., the Nāẓim of that place, brought the army of Malwa to submit to the branding regulation, he might hasten to Gujarat. He was, with the co-operation[2]

the Āṣaf K. II of Blochmann. His daughter married Ghiāṣ Beg and became the mother of Nūr Jahān.

1 Beale, p. 360, col. 2. He was born in 1145 A.D., and died in 1234 according to Beale. See also Blochmann's note, p. 433.

2 A.N. III. 264.

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of Qulīj K. the governor, there to improve the condition of the troops, and to ascertain their condition. Āṣaf K. performed the duty in accordance with the royal orders and acted with honesty and truth. In 989, 1581, he died in Gujarat. One of his sons was Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn. When Sultan Khusrau was captured and was placed by Jahangir for some days in the charge of Āṣaf K., M. J'aafar; Nūru-d-dīn, who was Āṣaf K.'s cousin, went by himself to Khusrau and kept him company and arranged that whenever an opportunity offered he would have him released and made prosperous. Afterwards, when Khusrau was made over to I'tibār K. the eunuch, Nūru-d-dīn took into his confidence a Hindu who used to visit Khusrau and gave a list to him of all the devoted followers of Khusrau. In the course of five or six months nearly 400 persons had become bound by oaths that they would attack Jahangir on the road. By chance one of the party got offended (with his comrades) and gave information to Khwāja Waisī Diwān of Prince Sultan Kharram. The Khwāja immediately reported to the Prince, and he conveyed the news to Jahangir. Immediately those doomed men were produced, and an order was given that Nūru-d-dīn, Muḥammad Sharīf, the son of I'timādu-d-daula, and some others should be executed. The list of the names which had been obtained from the Hindu servant of I'tibar K. was at the petition of Khān Jahān Lodī thrown by Jahangir into the fire unread. Otherwise many would have been capitally punished.[1]

ĀṢAF KHĀN MĪRZĀ QIWĀMU-D-DĪN J'AAFAR BEG.

Son of Mīrzā Badī'u-z-zamān, who was son of Aqā Mullāi Dawātdār (inkstand-holder) of Qazwīn. I. Badī-z-zamān was vizier of Kāshān in the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, and M. J'aafar Beg along with his father and grandfather was one of the Shāh's courtiers. In the 22nd year, 985, 1577, he in the prime of his youth came to India and waited upon Akbar in company[2] with

[1] See Khāfī K. I. 258 and Tūzuk J. 58. The conspiracy was in the 2nd year and was discovered when J. was in Afghanistan and returning from Kabul. The account in text is mainly taken from the Iqbālnāma, p. 28. It appears that the plot had been going on for five or six months.

[2] A.N. III, 228.

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his paternal uncle M. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf K. Bakhshī, who had come to court after he had finished the affairs of Īdar. Akbar appointed him to the rank of 200 in the contingent (*dakhil*)[1] of Āṣaf Khān. He was not pleased with the smallness of this appointment, gave up service and ceased to attend court. The emperor was displeased, and sent him to Bengal, which was an unhealthy climate then, and where criminals who were sent there did not survive.

They say Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī[2] of Transoxiana, who was one of the old poets and lived in a perfectly free manner, met in with J'aafar in Agra and enquired about his circumstances. When he heard his story he said: "My dainty youth, don't go to Bengal." The Mīrzā replied: 'What can I do, I am going in reliance upon God." The jovial fellow said, "Don't go in reliance on Him. He is the same God who sent such a person as Imām Ḥusain to the Karbala to be martyred." It chanced that when the Mīrzā arrived in Bengal, Khān Jahān, the governor, was ill, and afterwards died. Moẓaffar K. Turbatī then succeeded him. No long time had elapsed when the rebellion of the Qāqshāls and the turbulence of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī raised the dust of disaffection in that country. Things went so far that Moẓaffar K. came to the fort of Tānda and shut himself up there. The Mīrzā was with him. When he was seized, many of his companions were held to ransom, but he by cleverness and plausibility escaped such demands, and came away and did homage at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. As he had gone away in contempt and failure and had again, owing to the guidance of good fortune, attached himself to the saddle-straps of fortune, Akbar approved of him and shortly afterwards gave him the rank of 2000 and the title of Āṣaf Khān. He was also made[3] Mīr Bakhshī in the room of Qāẓī 'Alī, and was sent against the Rānā of Udaipur. He did not fail to attack and plunder and to kill and to distinguish himself. In the 32nd year

1 B. 231 and Irvine, Moghul Army, 160. B. 411 following M'utamid. Iqbālnāma 4 makes the appointment one of bīsti, *i.e.* 20. And evidently the 200 of the Maaṣir is a mistake.

2 Badayūnī III. 172 and B. 566. The story comes from the Iqbālnāma, p. 5.

3 Apparently he was made Mīr Bakhshī in 989 when Akbar was on the way to Kabul. See Tūzuk, J. 50.

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when Ismʻaīl Qulī K. Turkoman was censured for leaving the passes open so that Jalālu-d-dīn Raushānī got out, Āṣaf K. was appointed to succeed him and made thānadār of Sawad (Swat). In the 38th year, 1000, 1592, when Jalāla Raushānī, who had gone to ʻAbdullah K., the king of Tūrān, had come back unsuccessful and begun a disturbance in Tīrah, and had been joined by the Afrīdīs and the Orakzai, Āṣaf K. was sent from court to extirpate him. In 1001, 1592-93, he, in conjunction with Zain K. Koka, chastised[1] Jalāla and made his family prisoners together with Waḥadat ʻAlī, who was said to be his brother, and other relatives and connexions to the number of nearly 400 persons, and produced them before Akbar. In the 39th year when Kashmīr was taken from M. Yūsuf K. and given in fief (*tankẖwāh*] to Aḥmad Beg K.,[2] Muḥammad Qulaī Afshār, Ḥasan Arab and Aimāq Badakhshī,[3] Āṣaf K. was sent off in order to divide the country properly among the fief-holders. He reserved the saffron and the game for the exchequer and fixed the revenue at 31 lacs of *karwārs* in accordance with the settlement[4] of Qāẓī ʻAlī, each *karwār* being estimated at 24 *dāms*. After dividing the fiefs properly he in three days made the journey from Kashmīr to Lahore. In the 42nd year, when the territory of Kashmīr became disorganized on account of the disputes among the fief-holders, Āṣaf K. was appointed governor. In the 44th year, beginning of 1098, he, in place of Rai Patr Dās, was appointed to the *Diwānī-kul* (the whole diwānī) and carried on the duties for two years in a consummate manner. When in 1013,[5] 1604-05, Sultan Selīm (Jahangir) cast away the thoughts of rebellion, and on the occasion of condolences for the death of Miriam Makānī waited upon his father and was for twelve days shut up in the *ghusalkẖāna*[6] and then was treated graciously, and it was agreed that he should get

[1] Elliot V. 467, Badayūnī II. 388, A.N. III. 640, etc.

[2] Blochmann's MS. has Kabuli.

[3] Perhaps the Aimāqs of Badakhshan. The original passage is A.N. III. 654, line 33. There the passage reads "Muhammadī Beg Aimāq of Badakhshan."

[4] A.N. III, 661.

[5] A.N. III, 832.

[6] Private audience chamber, lit. bathroom. See Bernier. The ghusalkẖāna was another name for the diwān kẖāna kẖāṣ. See Gladwin's Persian Munshi, "Rules observed during the reign of Shah Jahan," p. 51.

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the province of Gujarat in fief and give up Allahabad and Bihar which he had taken possession of without orders, the *ṣubaḥdārī* of Bihar was given to Āṣaf K. and he was raised to the rank of 3000 and sent off to govern that province. When the crown came to Jahangir, Asaf K. was sent for and made guardian of Prince Sultan Parviz. He was sent to chastise the Rānā,—a business which arose at that time—but on account of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau he was recalled. In the 2nd year, 1015, 1606-7, when Jahangir proceeded to Kabul, he was made Vakil in place of Sharīf K., the Amīru-l-umarā, who remained in Lahore on account of severe illness, and raised to the rank of 5000 and received a jewelled writing-case. The leading men (*danyādārān*, see B. 412, n. 2.) of the Deccan, especially Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian, after the death of Akbar put forth the foot of audacity and wrested many of the estates in the Balāghāt from the imperial servants. The Khān-Khānān from insouciance and factiousness did not strive in the beginning to extinguish the flames, and allowed them to rise high. Afterwards, when he did attend to the matter, and asked for help, Jahangir appointed Sultan Parviz under the guardianship of Āṣaf Khān, and also sent, one after the other, great officers such as Rajah Mān Singh, Khān Jahān Lodī, the Amīru-l-Umarā, the Khān A'ẓim and 'Abdullah K.—each of whom was able singly to conquer a kingdom—but from want of guidance on the part of the prince, excessive wine-drinking, and plundering enterprises, the work did not go forward. On the contrary, on account of the treachery of the officers, every time that they led an army into the Bālāghāt it had to turn back with failure and disgrace. In consequence of these oppositions Āṣaf K.'s plans did not succeed. At last, in the 7th year, 1021, 1612, he died there[1] "from natural causes." "A hundred regrets for Āṣaf Khān" gives the date[2] (*ṣad ḥaif z Aṣàf Khān*, 1021. "One hundred regrets for Asaf K."). He was one of the unique of the age. He was supreme in every science, and complete in all knowledge. His swift intelligence and lofty capacity were

1 He died at Burhānpūr at the age of 63. Tūzuk J. 108, 222 of translation.

2 M'utamid K. in the Iqbālnāma, p. 67, claims to have extemporized this chronogram.

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famous. He himself used to say, "Whatever I do not comprehend off-hand will turn out to be without meaning." They say he could read a whole series of lines at a glance. In eloquence, skill and the disposal of financial and political matters he was pre-eminent. He was adorned outwardly and inwardly. He had great power in poetry and in polite literature. In the belief of a number of persons no one has treated better than he the subject[1] of Khusrau and Shīrīn since the days of S. Niẓāmī of Ganj.

(*Verses.*[2])

They say he took much pleasure in flowers, and rosbeds, and gardens and parterres, and planted seeds and seedlings with his own hands. He frequently worked, spade in hand. He had also gathered[3] together many women. In his last illness he sent away one hundred beauties.[4] He left many children, male and female, but none of his sons distinguished himself. Mīrzā Zain-l-'ābidīn attained the rank of 1500 with 1500 horse and died in the second year of Shah Jahan. His son M. J'aafar, who had the same name and *takhallaṣ* as his grandfather, wrote good poetry. He had a passion for collecting animals in every season. There was great friendship between him, Zāhid Khān Koka and Mīrzā Sāqī,[5] the son of Saif Koka, and Shah Jahan called them the "Three friends." At last he left his office and settled in Agra. Shah Jahan made him an annual allowance, and in the time of Aurangzeb it was increased. He died in 1094, 1683. These verses are his.

(*Verses.*)

Another of Āṣaf K.'s sons was Suhrāb K. In Shah Jahan's time he obtained an office of 1500 and 1000 horse, and then died. Another was M. 'Alī Asghar. He was the one of the brothers who was the greatest voluptuary and least restrained. He did

[1] His poem was called the Nūrnāma and was dedicated to Jahangir. Tūzuk, p. 108. Rieu, Supp. Cat. 200.

[2] See B. 572 for other specimens.

[3] Cf. Iqbālnāma, 67.

[4] Suhailī, the star Canopus, and perhaps a name for a beautiful woman. J'aafar is frequently mentioned in the Akbarnāma. See III, 304, etc. Āṣaf K. was one of the continuators of the T. Alfī, Rieu, 1, 118, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 329.

[5] Variant Shafi and in B.

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not keep his tongue in order, and often spoke without regard to time or place. In the Parendah[1] expedition he created dissensions[2] between Shah Shujā' and Mahābat K., the Commander-in-Chief. After that he received an appointment in the affair of Jujhār[3] Bandīla. When the governor of the fort of Dhamūnī[4] came out in the darkness of the night, the soldiers entered it and commenced to plunder. The Khān Daurān[5] was compelled to enter the fort in order to stop them. A man called out from the south side that in one of the bastions a number of the enemy were to be seen. 'Alī Asghar said, "I'll go and seize them." Though Khān Daurān dissuaded him, saying it was night and that it was not advisable in this kind of general confusion, when friend could not be distinguished from foe, to go out, he did not listen but went off. When he got to the top of the wall of the fort, suddenly the ashes of a torch which the plunderers had lighted in order to look for goods, fell upon a store of gunpowder which was at the bottom of the tower. The whole bastion with eighty yards of wall on each side, which wall was ten yards thick, was blown into the air. 'Alī Asghar[6] and some of his companions and the whole of the plunderers who were on the wall were annihilated. The daughter of M'utamid K. was in his house, but as the marriage had not been consummated, she was by the King's orders afterwards married to Khān Daurān.

ĀṢAF K. known as ĀṢAF JĀHĪ.

He was M. Abū-l-ḥasan by name and was the son of I'timādu-d-daulah and elder brother of Nūr Jahān Begam. After the Begam was married to Jahangir he received the title of I'timād

1 "Near the Sīna river on the route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapur." Elliot VII, 22. See also *id.* 43.

2 The words are miyān Shah Shuja u Mahābat *sangandāzīhā namūd*, and Blochmann 413 translates: "he created dissensions between Shah Shuja and Mahabat Khan." But though this may be the meaning, *sangandāzī* also means to be continually drinking, and possibly what is meant is that 'Alī Asghar was continually drinking in the company of Shah Shujā and Mahābat. But we are not told anywhere that Mahābat was a drunkard.

3 Pādshāhnāma II, 94.

4 Elliot VII, 47 and 49, and Pādshāhnāma II, 109.

5 Khan Daurān No. 2 of Beale.

6 Pādshāhnāma II, 109, *et seq.*

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K., and became the Khānsāmān (steward). In the 7th year of Jahangir, 1020, 1611, his daughter Arjmand Bānū Begam, who is known as Mamtāz Maḥal and was the daughter's daughter of M. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Āṣaf K.,[1] was married to Prince Sultan Kharram who was called Shah Jahan. In the 9th year he received the title of Āṣaf K. and had increases, one after the other, until he obtained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. At the time when there was the dust of trouble between Jahangir and Prince Shah Jahan, intriguers and evil-thinking persons suspected Āṣaf K. of favouring the prince, and alienated the mind of the Begam from a brother who was the pillar of the empire.

Verse.

When self-interest appears, wit goes into hiding.
A hundred veils spread from the heart to the eyes.

As she considered him to be an obstacle to her designs, she had him removed from the court on the pretext that he should bring away the treasures from Agra. But as the prince (Shah Jahan) had arrived at Fatḥpūr, Āṣaf K. did not think it advisable[2] to remove the treasure from the blessed fort of Agra and turned back to go to court. He had not reached Mathura when the counsellors of the prince urged that at such a time it was not advisable to allow a leader like Āṣaf K. to depart and that the neglect of such an opportunity was contrary to prudence. The prince—whose sole desire was to win his father's favour—behaved with the utmost moderation. Afterwards, when the prince turned back from confronting his father and turned his rein to Malwa, Āṣaf K., in the 18th year, was appointed Governor of Bengal. But when it became known that the prince had gone to Bengal, the Begam became apprehensive about the departure of her

[1] Nūr Jahān's marriage took place in the sixth year, not in the seventh, and on New Year's Day of 1020, corresponding to 10 or 11 March O.S. of 1611. See the Iqbālnāma 56 and Blochmann 509. Arjmand Bānū, the wife of Shah Jahan, was her niece, her father being Nūr Jahān's elder brother. Arjmand Banu's mother was the daughter of Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Qazwīnī, the Āṣaf K. II of Badayūnī and Blōchmann 433. He was s. Agha or Āqā Mullā Dawātdār.

[2] Elliot VI, 384—85.

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brother [1] and had him turned back. When in the 21st year, 1035, 1626, Mahābat K. prevailed on the bank of the Jhilam, owing to Āṣaf's negligence and perfunctoriness, and got possession of Jahangir, Āṣaf K.—who was the cause of all this disturbance—saw after this ill-omened movement had taken place that his efforts had failed, and that it was hopeless to attain release from so powerful an enemy. He was compelled to go to the fort of Atak, which was in his fief, and to take shelter there. Mahābat K. sent a body of troops under the command of his son M. Bahrawar [2] to prosecute the siege with activity. Afterwards he went himself and brought him out by promises and agreements and guarded him near himself along with his son Abū Ṭālib and son-in-law Khalil Ullah. After he (Mahābat) became a fugitive from court he delayed to release Āṣaf, but after the king became urgent he remembered his oaths and promises and sent him to court. At this time Āṣaf was made governor of the Panjab and also had the high office of Vakil conferred upon him. After that he obtained the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the year 1037, 1627, and 22nd year of Jahangir's reign, the king left the station of Rajaur on his way back from Kashmīr. On the road he asked for his accustomed cup, but when he put it to his lips, he could not swallow.[3] Till he reached the next station he was in this state. Next day, 27 Ṣafr,[4] he took the last journey (*ṣafr*). There was a great commotion in the camp. Āṣaf K. released Dāwar Bakhsh, Khusrau's son, from prison and made him an imaginary king. He did not believe in this, but they comforted him by strong oaths and he set out for the next station. The Begam who wished Shahriyār to attain the sovereignty, wanted to imprison Āṣaf K. and Ā'ẓim K., the Mīr Bakhshī, both of whom were pillars of the empire and obstacles to her plans. But though she sent people to summon her brother he made excuses and did not

1 Text wrongly has *barādarzāda*. Blochmann's own MS. has only *barādar*, and this agrees with the source, viz. Iqbālnāma 213. The meaning is, that Nūr Jahān was apprehensive lest her brother should collude with Shah Jahan, who was his son-in-law. His appointment to Bengal is noted at p. 205 of Iqbālnāma, and it seems that he actually left to take it up.

2 At vol. iii, p. 109, he is called M. Bihrūz.

3 Iqbālnāma 293.

4 Should be 28=28 October 1637.

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go to her. The Begam also followed with the body. Āṣaf K. sent off from the station of Chingiz Hatī a Hindu named Banarasī, who was the accountant of the elephant-stables and was famous for his activity and swiftness, to wait upon Shah Jahan. And as there was not time for writing he gave him a verbal message and his own signet-ring as a guarantee.[1] That night was spent in Naushahra, and next day they came down from the hills and encamped at Bhimbar. They made arrangements for conveying and shrouding the body and sent it on in order that it might be committed to earth in a garden on the other (i.e. other than Lahore) side of the river of Lahore (the Rāvī) which the Begam had made. As every one, high and low, was convinced that all these proceedings were but a smoothing of the way for the sovereignty of Shah Jahan, and that Dāwar Bakhsh was nothing but a sheep[2] for the feast, they universally followed the orders of Āṣaf Khān He, who was not sure about the Begam, did not drop from his hand the thread of caution and prevented people from visiting her. Indeed, they say[3] that he brought her away from the royal quarters and assigned her a place in his own. When they were within three *kos* of Lahore, Shahriyār, who had lost his hair from the fox's disease (fox-mange, *dāu-ṣ-ṣālab*, "alopecia") and was blighted by syphilis, and had previously[4] hurried off to Lahore, gave himself the name of Sultan, and in the course of seven days, by expending seventy lacs of rupees, gathered together an army and sent it across the river under the command of M. Baisanghar, the son of Sultan Daniel. He himself remained in Lahore with 2 or 3000 horse and awaited the doings of destiny.

Verse.

"Expectant of what the heavens would reveal"
At the first[5] encounter his army dispersed, and went off.

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[1] Elliot VI. 437 and Iqbālnāma, 298. Banarasī accomplished the journey to Junair in the Deccan in twenty days.

[2] *gosfand qarbānī*. See Vullers s.v. and Khāfī K. I. 389.

[3] Khāfī K. I. 390 and Iqbālnāma 395 and Pādshāhnāma I. 71. Elliot VII. 6.

[4] He went off to Lahore, in hopes of being cured, before Jahangir's death, Khāfī K. I. 390.

[5] With Āṣaf and Dāwar Bakhsh's troops. Iqbālnāma 296.

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Shahriyār, when he heard of this dismal news, did not understand what was for his own welfare and entered the fort. With his own feet he threw himself into the net. The officers entered the citadel and put Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne. Fīrūz K., the eunuch, brought out Shahriyār, who had crept into a corner in the female apartments of Jahangir, and made him over to Ilahvardī Khān. He took off the string of his (Shahriyār's) waist and bound his hands with it and produced him before Dāwar Bakhsh, and after he had performed the kornish (obeisance) he was imprisoned and two days afterwards he was blinded.[1]

When these events became known to Shah Jahan from the letters of bankers[2] (of Gujarat) he sent[3] off Khidmatpurust Khān Reẓā Bahādur from Ahmadabad to 'Āṣaf K. and wrote with his own hands that it would be well at this time, when the heavens were troubled and the earth was seditious, if Dāwar Bakhsh and other princes were made wanderers in the plains of non-existence. Āṣaf K. on Sunday 22 Rabī-al-akhir, 21 December 1627 of that year, bound Dāwar Bakhsh and had the proclamation made in the name of Shah Jahan. On 26 Jamada-al-awwal, 23 January, 1628, he brought him out[4] from the prison of life

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1 *Makhūl*, lit. was anointed with antimony. Elliot VI. 437 translates "blinded."

2 Iqbālnāma 301. *Sāhūkārān*, Soucars. See Wilson's Glossary.

3 Iqbālnāma 303.

Iqbālnāma 303 has 22 Jamāda-al-awal, 19 January 1628, as the day of the proclamation.

4 The Iqbālnāma and Khāfī K. describe Dāwar Bakhsh as having been put to death, and it is difficult to see how he could escape from Lahore, unless, indeed, Āṣaf K. connived at this. But, as Elphinstone points out, Olearius in his travels speaks of having seen at Qazwīn a Prince Polagī. Polagī may be the same as Bolāqī which, according to Blochmann, was another name of Dāwar Bakhsh. But I rather think that there has been some mistakes and that the Polagi whom Olearius saw was some other prince and perhaps a son of Shahriyār. Olearius's account is at pp. 253, 256, and 257. His narrative is not quite satisfactory, for it disagrees with the native historians, but is to the effect that Jahangir left two sons. The elder, he says, succeeded the father but soon after died, and then Shah Jahan usurped the throne. The expression "elder" would make the reference be to Khusrau, but then it would be incorrect to say that he survived his father, for he died some five years before him. Possibly Shahriyār is meant. He did succeed his father, or at least claimed to do so, and then was put to death. He may have left a son. Olearius speaks of Polagi's being very young when his father died, but this does not fit Dāwar

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together with his brothers Garshāsp, and Sultan Shahriyār, and Ṭahmūraṣ and Hūshang, the two sons of Sultan Daniel. When Shah Jahan arrived at Agra and became sovereign of India, Āṣaf K., together with the princes Dārā Shikoh, Muhammad Shujā, and Aurangzeb—who were his grandchildren (daughter's children)—and the officers, came from Lahore and on 2 Rajab, 27 February, 1628, did homage. Āṣaf received the title of Yemenu-d-daulah (right hand of the State) and was designated in correspondence by the name of uncle (*'ammū*, paternal uncle). He was made Vakil and had charge of the *Azuk*[1] seal and had the rank of 8000 with 8000 horse of the two-horse and three-horse rank, a rank which no officer had hitherto received. After this, when Yemenu-d-daulah had paraded before Shah Jahan 5000 well-equipped cavalry, he received the rank of 9000 with 9000[2] horse and a jagir yielding 50 lacs of rupis. In the beginning of the fifth year he was sent off with a powerful army to chastise Muhammad 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur. When he was encamped at Bijapur he stretched forth his arm to bind and to beat, and Muṣṭafa K. Muḥammad A. Aḥmin, the son-in-law of Mullā Muhammad Lārī Khairit K., the uncle of Randaulah Khān, the Abyssinian, came out from the fort and made peace by tendering forty lacs of rupis and then returned to the fort. Khawāṣ Khān, the centre of affairs in Bijapur, on perceiving the desolation of the country and the want of supplies in the imperial army, exerted himself to remedy this. They say that the scarcity was such that a pair of

Bakhsh, who had a daughter married to Daniel's son Hūshang who was put to death in 1628. It was in 1637 that Olearius saw Polagi. He never calls him Dāwar Bakhsh, and Polagi after all is not very like the name Bulāqī nor is it likely that Olearius, who was a Persian scholar, would write Polagi instead of Bulāqī. Either Polagi was another prince of the blood than Dawar Bakhsh or he was an impostor. The last suggestion is by no means an improbable one. The author of the Iqbālnāma could hardly be mistaken about Dāwar Bakhsh's fate for he was probably in Lahore at the time. At least he was with Āṣaf on the march there. See Iqbālnāma 296, seven lines from foot.

Tavernier also speaks of having met Sultan Bulāqī in Persia and of having eaten and drunk with him. He adds that the prince had long wandered in India as a *faquir* and eventually had escaped to Persia. II, 215 of ed. 1676.

[1] A small round seal. B. 52.

[2] 2 horse and 3 horse, Padshahnama II, 258.

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slippers fetched forty rupis and the shoeing of a horse ten rupis. Yemenu-d-daulah was obliged to leave Bijapur and to proceed to Rai Bāgh and Mirach,[1] which were cultivated countries, and to plunder everything. When the rains arrived, he returned.

They say that at this time Āṣaf K. had a private meeting and Ā'zim K. said, "The king now does not need you or me." Āṣaf said, "The work of the State would not go on without you and me." This speech reached the king, and he disliked it. He remarked: "His good deeds are remembered by us, but in future we must not trouble him with the affairs of the kingdom." After those discourses, though the position was "Hold (the cup) awry, but don't spill,"[2] there was not a hairbreadth's difference in the respect with which he was treated. On the contrary, after the death of Mahābat K., he was in the 8th year made Khān Khānān and commander-in-chief. In the 15th year, 1051, he died in Lahore of chronic dropsy. They say he had a great liking for good eating. His daily food came to a Shahjahānī *man* (maund). When his illness had lasted long a cup of vetch-water was enough for him. "Oh the grief for Āsaf Khān!" *Zihe āfsōs Āṣaf Khān* gives the date 1051, 1641. He was buried in the neighbuorhood[3] of the tomb of Jahangir. In accordance with orders a building and garden were prepared. On the day that Shah Jahan visited him during his illness he, besides his residence in Lahore, which was valued at twenty lacs of rupis, and other houes and gardens in Delhi, Agra and Kashmir, wrote down 2 krors 50,000 rupis in jewels and coin and in gold and silver, etc., and showed them to Shah Jahan in order that they might be confiscated. The king granted twenty lacs to his three sons and five daughters and gave the Lahore residence to Dārā Shikoh. The rest was resumed

Āṣaf Khān possessed something of every science. He was especially proficient in excogitated matters, and so in the titles which were applied to him in the royal books it was written

1 Pādshāhnāma I. 416, where it is written Maraj.

2 A proverb meaning to do what is impossible. It is quoted by Badayūnī.

3 "The tomb of Āsaf K. stands in line with the emperor's, but separated from it by an immense serai." Keene's Agra, 37, note. He died on 17 Sh'abān 1051 = 12 November, 1641. Pādshāhnāma II. 257.

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"Light of the genius of the Illuminati (the Platonists), learned in the science of the Peripatetics." He was also an elegant writer and had a correct idiom. He was a good accountant and versed in business. He personally examined the accounts of the officers of the exchequer and of the other officers. He had no need of any guide in this. The expenses and disbursements of his establishment were beyond comprehension, especially those which he incurred for the frequent visits to him of the king, the princes and the begams. Besides the *peshkashes* and the presents, which came to a large sum, what splendour there was in eating and drinking! And what ornamentation and decoration there were inside and outside! His servants too were of the best, and he looked after them. Like his father he was very gentle and affable. The sons and other relatives of this great officer who attained to high office in the State have been described in these pages, each in his own place, but Mamtāz Mahal, his daughter, was married to Shah Jahan in her twentieth year, and became pregnant fourteen times. Among them, four sons and three daughters survived their grandfather. In the 4th [1] year of the reign, 1040, 1631, in the city of Burhampur, that chaste lady, whose age exceeded 39 years, immediately after giving birth to a daughter named Goharārā [2] Begam, experienced a change in her condition and signed that the king should be sent for. He came in an agitated state and had a final interview in which he gathered the treasure of the period of separation. On the 17th Zīq'ada, 7 July 1631, the Begam was buried temporarily in the garden Zainābād on the other side of the Taptī. "May the place of Mamtāz Maḥal be paradise." *Jai*[3] *Mamtāz Maḥal jinnat bād* gives the date 1040, 1631.

They say that there was an exceeding love between the two noble spouses, so that Shah Jahan, after her death, for a long time abandoned coloured raiment and the hearing of music and the

[1] See Pādshāhnāma I. 384, and Khāfī K. I. 459.

[2] Called by some Daharārā, but Goharārā is the name in Pādshāhgāma, p. 293. She is the Genorara Begam of Manucci, I, 227.

[3] Pādshāhnāma I. 389. The chronogram was made by Bebadal Khān. The tomb in which the body was temporarily placed was in the middle of a tānk, *id.*, 386.

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use of perfumes, and put a stop to feasts, etc. For two years he shunned every kind of delicacy. Half of the property left by her, and which amounted to more than a kror of rupees, was given to the Begām Ṣāḥiba (the eldest daughter known as Jahānārā), and the other half was divided among the other children. Six months after the death, Prince[1] Muḥammad Shujā, Wazīr K., and Satī Khānim the Ṣadru-n-nisā (mistress of the women), conveyed the body to Agra and buried it in a place[2] south of, and close to, the river, which had belonged to Rajah Mān Singh and was now the inheritance of Rajah Jai Singh. In the course of twelve years, a tomb, such as has no parallel in India, was erected at a cost of fifty lacs of rupees. Thirty villages belonging to the Sarkār of Agra and pargana of Nagarcand,[3] yielding annually one lac of rupees, and the collections from the shops and serais attached to the tomb, and which amounted to two lacs of rupees, were bestowed in mortmain (*waqf*).

AṢĀLAT K. MĪR 'ĀBDU-L-HĀDĪ.

Mīr Mīrān[4] Yezdī who, along with his father Mīr Khalil Ullah, left Persia on account of oppression in the second year of Jahangir and came to India, the abode of security. Shah Abbās Ṣafavī became alienated from the Mīr (Khalīl Ullah) and was very wrathful with him, so that the morning of the Mīr's prosperity ended in a gloomy night. As he was helpless he fled to a foreign land. When he took himself off, only half-alive, from the place of danger, he could not take his grandchildren 'Abdu-l-Hādī and Khalīl Ullah with him, on account of their tender age and the want of time. They were, therefore, left in Persia. When the Khān 'Ālam went on an embassy to Persia, Jahangir, out of his great kindness and affection for the Mīr Mīrān, mentioned the children in his

1 *id.*, 493.

2 "It was laid in a spot in the garden, still pointed out, close by the mosque, until the mausoleum was ready for her reception." Keene's Agra, p. 23.

3 Perhaps this should be Nogarchin, the well-known pleasure resort of Akbar. But it is Nagarcand in the Pādshāhnama II, 330. There is a full account of the building at this place, and the names of the thirty villages are given, with the contribution fixed upon each of them.

4 Pādshāhnama II, 528, 529.

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letter and spoke to the Khān 'Ālam about bringing them. The Shah sent the two suffering ones to India, and after they had kissed the threshold their griefs were washed away.

In the third year of Shah Jahan, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Hādī was the subject of favour and received the title of Aṣālat Khān. By his good qualities, his loyalty and his zeal he became trusted, and in the 5th year was sent off along with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise 'Ādil Shah, and to devastate the country of Bijapur. When they came to Bhālkī and besieged it, the garrison, after firing with guns and muskets during the day, evacuated the place during the darkness of night by going out at a place where there were no batteries. Aṣālat K., who was prominent in this campaign, mounted on the top of the fort on a wooden platform under which pyrotechnic weapons had been left. Suddenly, fire caught them, and Aṣālat K. was blown up into the air along with the platform, and carried into a magazine. A part of his arm as well as of his face were burnt, but by God's protection he was not killed.[1] In the 6th year he received the rank of 1,500 with 500[2] horse and was made bakhshī of the army which was setting out with Shah Shujā for the conquest of Parenda. In that affair he so distinguished himself by his activity that Mahābat K., the commander-in-chief, in spite of all the crookedness of his nature, had his attention drawn to him and made over to him the signing of receipts and orders, and made him his deputy. When he came to court from that campaign in the 8th year he was appointed governor of Delhi in succession to Bāqir Khān Najm-ṣānī with an increase[3] of 1,500 and 1,700 horse, an increase necessary for the management of the province, and made a *manṣabdār* of 3,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a flag, an elephant and a special robe of honour. When Jagtā[4]

1 Pādshāhnama I, 412.

2 Pādshāhnama I, Part 2, p. 67, says 800. It also says he was made bakhshī of the aḥadīs.

3 Pādshāhnama I, Part II, p. 87. The fact that he now had 2,500 horse shows that 800, and not 500, was the right amount above.

4 This seems an abridgment of the name Jagat Singh. See Pādshāhnama II, 261. The Mau here mentioned is a hill state, and Nūrpūr was one of its towns. The expedition belongs to the 15th year.

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the zamindar of Mau became ungrateful and raised a presumptuous head, three armies, composed of 30,000 horse, were sent against him, and one of these was commanded by Aṣālat K. The Khān set about besieging Nūrpūr, and every day the besieged were more and more hard pressed. When the fort of Mau, which was Jagtā's chief reliance, was taken, the garrison of Nūrpūr fled at midnight, and that place was easily conquered. Afterwards, Aṣālat K. went with other chiefs to take Tāragarha. This too was accomplished. In the 18th year he was appointed, on the death of Ṣalābat K., to the high office of Mīr [1] Bakhshī.

When [2] the king determined on the conquest of Balkh, an order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā, who was governor of Kabul, that during the interval before the arrival of the army he should get possession of as much as possible of Badakhshān. In 1055 (the beginning of February 1645), Asālat K. and several *manṣabdārs* and *aḥadīs* were sent off to Kabul in order that they might recruit active men from among the Cagḥata and other tribes in Kabul and in the passes (of Badakhshān). The Amīru-l-Umarā was to examine them and to assign *manṣabs* to some, and to enroll the others among the *aḥadīs*. They were also to acquaint themselves with the routes to Turan and to choose the easiest and to improve it. After Aṣālat had done these things he, in the 19th year, went from Ghorband in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā and wished to make an attempt on Badakhshān. When they came to Gulbihār [3] it appeared that the road was exceedingly difficult, and that provisions were unprocurable. With the approval of the Amīru-l-Umarā, Aṣālat K. went off rapidly with 10,000 horse and eight days' provisions in order to attack Khinjan [4] and Andarāb. He crossed the Hindu [5] Koh and arrived at Andarāb and captured

1 Pādshāhnāma II, 385.

2 Pādshāhnāma II, 415, 416.

3 Text Kulhar, but it really is Gulbihār, a well-known place north of Kabul. See Pādshāhnāma II, 462, eight lines from foot.

4 Khinjan and Andarāb are in the north of Afghanistan towards Badakhshān.

5 The text has only az Hind. guzashta, "crossed from India," but of course Asālat was then in Afghanistan and a long way out of India. The true reading is Hindu Koh as appears from the Pādshāhnāma II, 462, which is the original of the passage before us. There we have az kotal Hindu Koh guzashta, "having crossed the defiles of the Hindu Koh." See also Khafī K. I, 614.

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numerous quadrupeds and other goods of the inhabitants. He then took with him the retainers[1] of 'Alī Dānishmandī and of the summer-quarters of Karmakī, together with the Khwājazādas of Ism'aīl Atāī and Maudūdī, and Qāsim Beg, Mir of the Hazarīs of Andarāb, and returned with equal rapidity.

When in this year Prince Murād Bakhsh was sent off to Balkh with a victorious army, Aṣālat was appointed to the centre (taraḥ)[2] of the right wing. He went on rapidly in advance from Kabul and worked with zeal and energy in widening the difficult parts of the road.[3] After the royal army had reached Balkh he, together with Bahādur K. Rohilla, pursued Naẓr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Tūrān, and put to flight the vagabonds of the desert. He received an increase of 1000 and was made a *panjhazārī* (5000). When the prince did not approve[4] of staying in the country, he turned back, and the government of the locality was made[5] over to Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. To the former was entrusted the duty of extirpating the rebellious, while the business of the army and of the treasury and looking after the peasantry was committed to the latter. In the end of the same 20th year 1057, 1647, Khūshī Labcāq, with 5000 *almānān*[6] (freebooters) horse, at the orders of Ābdul-l-'Azīz K., the ruler of Bokhara, crossed (the Oxus) at the ferry of Kilīf with the intention of making a raid on Daragaz (tamarisk vale) and Shādmān which were the pasturage-ground of the quadrupeds of the imperial army. Aṣālat K. considered it his business to chastise those raiders, and so he went off swiftly and came up with them when they

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[1] The word in text is *ahshām*, for which see Irvine A. of M. 160. 'Alī Dānishmandī is, I suppose, the name of a place or tribe. The text has ییلاق کرمکي *īyīlāq karmakī*. I have taken the first word to be ailāq "summer-quarters." Karmaki may be *kōmakī*, "militia." The Pādshāhnāma has الا نچق و کومکي Perhaps they are all names of places. Apparently one object of Aṣālat K.'s raid was to bring back some leaders of the tribes. See Khāfī K. I, 614.

[2] Irvine 227.

[3] Pādshāhnāma II, 509. Aṣālat exerted himself to clear away the snow, *id.* 513.

[4] Pādshāhnāma II, 558. Elliot VII, 70.

[5] Pādshāhnāma II, 560.

[6] Pādshāhnāma II, 654, 656. See Pavet de Courteille Dict. s. v. and his translation of Bābur's Mem. II, 363 n., and A. N. Trans. I, 269 note. Khāfī K. II, 658, has Almanīān; Elliot VII. 77 and 78 has Almans.

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were driving off some of the cattle. He attacked them like a Rustam and killed many and rescued the animals, and then pursued the remainder who had escaped the sword. When night threw her dark pall he halted in Daragaz, and for the purpose of renewing his ablutions threw off his doublet (*chilta*, lit. forty-folds). The wind caught him and he got fever, and returned to the city (Balkh). From this blow he lay powerless on his bed, and in the course of two weeks he folded up the carpet of his life. Since as yet forty stages on the road of his life had not been passed, and he had performed noble deeds, the king lamented[1] his death and said if death had given him time he would have done still greater things, and have risen to high office. Aṣālat K. was famed for his good qualities and good life, and was the unique of the age for gentleness and modesty. Harsh language never issued from his lips, and he never tried to injure anybody. Courage in him went hand in hand with counsel.[2] His sons were Sultan Ḥusain Iftikhār K., Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat K., and Bahāū-d-dīn. They have been mentioned in their own place. The last of them did not so much distinguish himself.

AṢĀLAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD.

Son of Mīrzā Badīa' of Mashhad, who was one of the great Saiyids of that holy place. His ancestors had been the guardians of the shrine of the holy eighth Imām 'Alī bin Mūsā—Peace be upon him and on his ancestors! The Mīrzā came to India in the 19th year and entered the service of Shah Jahan. He received a suitable office, and the daughter of Shah Newāz Ṣafavī was given to him in marriage. When in the 22nd year Prince Murād Bakhsh was made governor of the Deccan and went off there, Shah Newāz Ṣafavī, who had been appointed to protect the coun-

1 Khāfī K. II, 660.

2 Aṣālat Khan died in Balkh on 22 Rabī-al-awal 1057, 17th April, 1647. He had attained the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse. Pādshāhnāma, II, 720. Khāfī K. II. 566 mentions a son of Aṣālat named Muḥammad S'aīd. Khālīl Ullah, the brother of Aṣālat went into retirement after his death. Khāfī K. II. 660, but afterwards returned to service.

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try after the death of Islām K., was made vakīl and guardian of the prince. The Mīrzā on account of his marriage went with Shah Newāz, and at the prince's request, obtained the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. Shah Newāz made him general of the army of the Deccan and sent him against the ruler of Deogarha (afterwards Daulatabad). The Mīrzā at first was a great stickler for the etiquette of the Persian kings, and the imperial servants, who regarded themselves as his equals and as his fellow-servants, were much offended. Afterwards he adopted Indian manners, and laboured to amend this dislike. As he had good sense, he soon conquered the country and brought things into order. Afterwards Shah Newāz arrived and arranged Deogarha in accordance with the Mīrzā's recommendations. When he returned to Burhānpūr, he had a great gathering on account of the birth of a son, and brought Prince Murād Bakhsh and all the officers to his quarters and lavished gold. When in the 23rd year the *ṣubaḥdārī* of Malwa was given to Shah Newāz K., the Mīrzā was appointed to that province and received the *faujdārī* and fiefdom of Mandasor. In the 25th year he was made faujdār of Māndū. When in the 30th year Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to devastate the territory of 'Ādil Shah, the Mīrzā was appointed to go with him. The work had not been finished when the times assumed another aspect and there was change and confusion in all the imperial territories. The Mīrzā remained in the Deccan. When Aurangzeb went off from Burhānpūr to Agra he conferred on the Mīrzā the title of Aṣālat K. and the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and *a togh* (standard) and drums. After the beginning of the reign he had an increase of 500 horse and was sent to the Deccan. He conveyed Prince Muḥammad Akbar, who was then a baby at the breast, and the ladies to the capital. At this time he went into retirement, but in the 3rd year he again became an object of favour and received the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse and was made *faujdār* of Moradabad in succession to Qāsim K. In the 7th year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After that he had a severe illness and was for a long time indisposed. In the 9th year and end of 1079, 1669, he died. His brother Mīr Muḥammad arrived at court from Persia in the 14th year of 'Ālamgīr and received the rank of 1000

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with 4000 horse and the title of 'Aqādat Kẖan. Kābulī Begam, the daughter of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 1st, was given to him in marriage, and he soon afterwards died.

ASHRAF KẖĀN MĪR MUNSHĪ.

His name is Muḥammad Asghar, and he belonged to the Ḥusainī Saiyids of Mashhad. The author of the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī reckons him among the 'Arabshahi Saiyids, and probably there is not much difference between these two statements. Abul Faẓl's statement, however, that he was of Sabzawār is undoubtedly a writer's error. He was skilful in letter-writing and in the niceties of words, and did not deviate a hair's breadth from correctness. As a calligrapher he was one who could write in seven styles. He was specially skilful in the Ta'alīq and Naskh ta'aliq styles, in which he was unique of the age. He reduced the science of *j'afar* (magic) into practice. He was in the service of Humāyūn and obtained the style of Mīr Munshī. After the conquest of India he was made Mīr 'Arẓ and Mīr Māl. (Master of petitions, etc., B. 257, and Master of the Privy Purse, B. VI. note). In the battle which Tardī Beg Khān had with Hemū Baqqāl (grocer), he as well as others took to flight. He was imprisoned by Bairām K. along with Sultan 'Alī Afẓal Khān, and afterwards went off towards Mecca. In the 5th year, 968 (1560) he presented himself before Akbar when he was proceeding from Macīwāra to the Siwaliks to make an end of the affairs of Bairām K. After that he was always treated with kindness and promoted. In the 6th year he received the title of Ashraf K. on Akbar's return from Malwa. He was sent off to Bengal along with Mun'īm K. the Khān-Khānān. He died in Gaur in 983[1] (1575-76) at the time of the pestilence there. He attained to an office of 2000. He had a poetical turn and occasionally wrote verse. The following are his:—

Verse.

O God, burn me not with the fire of wrath,
Light the lamp of peace in my soul's house,

1 Text wrongly has 973, having copied the Mirāt 'Ālam. See Blochmann, 389 n.

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Graciously knit with the thread of pardon
This robe of service [1] which has been torn by trespasses.

He made the following chronogram on the reservoir which Maulānā [2] Mīr constructed in Agra :—

Verse.

Mullā Mīr made on God's highway
A well to succour the poor and needy,
Should a thirsty lip ask the year of building
Say, "Take some water from the boon reservoir."

His son Mīr Moẓaffar also obtained fitting rank during Akbar's reign and in the 48th year was appointed to the government of Oudh. Ḥusainī and Barhānī the grand-children of Ashraf K. held small appointments in the time of Shah Jahan.

ASHRAF K. KHWĀJA BARKHŪRDĀR.

Son-in-law of Mahābat K. and one of the Khwājazādas of the Naqshbandī order. They say that when Mahābat K. married his daughter to the Khwāja, without informing Jahangir, the latter became angry and summoned the Khwāja to his presence, and had him whipped with a thorny [3] scourge. When

1 This verse is quoted by Badayūni, III. 182, and he has *zindagī* "life" instead of *bandagī* as in the text here. *Bandagī*, however, seems more poetical.

2 Apparently the Mullā Mīr of Blochmann, 542, No. 73. He was a physician. He may also be the Mullā Mīr Ṭabīb of the Ṭabaqāt, or he may be the Mullā Mīr Kalān of the same book. The chronogram is very ingenious. By saying "Take some water" *ābī*, it means that 13, the *abjad* value of *ābī*, should be taken from the words *baqā-i-khair* "The boon reservoir," the *abjad* value of which words is 987. If we deduct 13 from 987 we get 974, or 1567, which is the date of the making of the well. This biography seems to be one of those which was added to by 'Abdu-l-Hayy for the poetry does not appear in the first edition. Ashraf's takhallaṣ was Ḥaif "Alas." He is mentioned as a calligrapher in the Āīn, Blochmann, 101.

3 Khāfī K. I. 360. Elphinstone says he was beaten with thorns, but perhaps *khārdār* is merely a rhetorical epithet. It even seems doubtful from Khāfī K. if there was any whipping, and perhaps what was done was that Barkhūrdār had a belt of thorns put round him and was sent with naked feet to prison. Apparently, however this is only Khāfī K.'s rhetoric. Both the Tūzuk 401 and the Iqbāl-nāma 253 say the young man was

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Mahābat K. joined Shah Jahan the Khwājah came with him, and entered his service. In the first year of Shah Jahan he obtained a commission of 1000 with 500 horse. In the 8th year he got a commission of 1500 with 800 horse; in the 23rd year by the increase of 700 horse his staffs (*tābīnān*) was made equal to his personal (zāt) allowance. In the 28th year of Shah Jahan he was appointed to the government of fort Ūsā (Owsa) in the Deccan and obtained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb he received the title of Āshraf K. In the second year he was removed from the government of the fort above mentioned and came to court. The year of his death is not known.

ĀSHRAF K. MĪR MUHAMMAD ĀSHRAF.

Eldest son of Islām K. Mashhadī. He possessed all spiritual qualities, and was noted for his comprising all the excellences of humanity. When his father was Nāẓim of the Deccan he was appointed by him to take charge of Burhānpūr. When his father died he got an increase of 500 with 200 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse. In the 26th year he was made superintendent of the branding. When in the 27th year Prince Dārā Shikoh went with a large army on the Qandahar expedition, Ashraf had an increase of 500 and was made diwān of the force with the title of I'timād K. After that he was made superintendent of the royal library. In the end of the 31st year, when the reign of Shah Jahan was nearly at an end, he was made diwān and bakhshī of the army of Sulaimān Shikoh when that Mīrzā was appointed, under the guardianship of Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh, to act against Shujā'. After the battle of Samugarh and the defeat of Dārā Shikoh, when the standards of 'Ālamgīr were raised for world-conquest, Ashraf separated from Sulaimān Shikoh's companionship and went from Islāmābād-Mathura to do homage, and obtained an increase of rank. At the same time when the royal army crossed the Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, Ashraf was

flogged, though neither speaks of thorns. He was the son of Khwāja 'Umr Naqshbandī, and the whipping was in the 21st year of the reign of Jahangir.

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made governor of Kashmīr in the place of Lashkar K. In the 10th year he received a robe of honour and was made *diwān* of the estate of Begam Ṣāḥiba (Jahānārā, eldest daughter of Shah Jahan) in the room of Reẓavī K. of Bokhara. In the 13th year he obtained the rank of 3000 and was made Khānsāmān. He served in this employment for a long time and in the 21st year was Wāq'akẖwān (historiographer). When in the 24th year Himmat K. Mīr Bakhshī died, Ashraf became 1st Bakhshī and did good service. On 9 Ẕīlq'ada of the 30th year, 1097, 17 September 1686, the lamp of the life of that noble nature was extinguished. He was adorned with peacefulness, piety and purity. Inasmuch as he had a taste for Sufism, he made a selection from the Maṣnavī of the Maulānā (Jalālu-d-dīn) and had much pleasure in studying the poem. He also wrote [1] perfectly Naskẖ, Shikasta, T'alīq and Nast'ālīq. High [2] and low made his *shikast*-writing their exemplar of good penmanship. He had no son.

'ASKAR KẖĀN NAJM ṢĀNĪ.

His name was 'Abdullah Beg. In Shah Jahan's reign in the 12th year he received a suitable rank and was made governor of the fort of Kālinjar. Afterwards he joined Prince Dārā Shikoh and was made his Mīr Bakhshī. In the 30th year he had the title of 'Askar K., and when, after the defeat of Maharajah Jeswant Singh, Aurangzeb marched towards Agra, he, on the part of Dārā Shikoh had in company with Khalīl Ullah the charge of guarding the Dholpūr ferry, and on the day of battle he was in the vanguard. At the second [3] engagement (the one at Ajmere) he was in the battery near Garha [4] Pathlī. When Dārā Shikoh went off in confusion, and without announcement, to Gujarat, 'Abdullah heard of this at the end of the night and obtained quarter from Ṣafshikn K. and joined him. He was admitted into service and

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1 There is in the British Museum an album presented by him. See Rieu's Catalogue II. 778. There is also a reference to Ashraf in Khāfī K. II. 381.

2 Perhaps "Young and old."

3 Khāfī K. II. 73, 74.

4 'Ālamgīrnāma 313, where the battery, or entrenchment (*sība*), is called Garha Bethalī. See also for name of entrenchment, *id.* 326.

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received a robe of honour. Afterwards he was enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Khān-Khānān Mu'azzam K. and went to Bengal.[1] In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he went with Buzurg Umed K. to take Chittagong. Nothing more is known of him.

ĀTISH K. ḤABSHĪ.

One of the officers of the rulers of the Deccan. In the time of Jahangir he came to court and was promoted to a suitable *manṣab*. After that, when Shah Jahan succeeded, he in the first year received the rank of 2000 horse, and in the third year, when the imperial army came to the Deccan, he received a reward of 25,000 rupees, and was chosen to accompany Shaista K. in his expedition to punish Khān Jahān Lodī and the Niẓām Shah. After that he was entered among the Deccan auxiliary forces and in the siege of Daulatabad in company with the Khān-Khānān Mahābat K., and afterwards with Khān Zamān performed zealous service. Afterwards he came to the Presence and in the 13th year received a robe of honour and a horse and 10,000[2] rupees, and was made faujdār of Bhagalpur in Bihar. In the 15th year when Shaista Khān, the governor of that province, proceeded against the zamindar of Palamau, he had charge of the right wing. In the 17th year he came to court and presented an elephant as *peshkash*. It appears that he was again appointed to the Deccan, and that he came back in the 24th year and presented another elephant. In the 25th year, 1061, 1651, he died.

ĀTISH KHĀN JĀN BEG.

Son of Bakhtān[3] Beg Rūzbihānī, who in the first year of Aurangzeb's reign was killed in the battle with Muḥammad Shujā'. Jān Beg became known to the king in his father's lifetime, and in the 21st year obtained the title of Ātish Khān. In the 25th year he

1 'Askar was at one time faujdār of Benares, 'Ālamgīrnāma 625. He was also in the Assam expedition, Khāfī K. II. 171, and went to Koch Behar, 'Ālamgīrnāma 948.

2 Pādshāhnāma II. 180 has 2000.

3 Khāfī K. II. 57 where it is suggested that the name should be Bākhtiyār, and 'Ālamgīrnāma 262, last line. He was in charge of the artillery. Rūzbihāni was the title of two Muḥammadan saints.

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became Mīr Tūzuk in the place of Salāḥ K. One of his brothers was Manṣūr K., and for some time was Mīr Ātish (chief of the artillery) of the Deccan, and afterwards became governor of (the fort of) Aurangabad. The second was Yūsuf K., who in the time of Aurangzeb was *faujdār* of Qamarnagar, i.e. Karnūl. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was made Nāẓim of Haidarabad. It was he who put to death the sedition-monger Pāprā. Their descendants are still in the Deccan.

The brief account of Pāprā is as follows: he was one of the low tradesmen [1] of Telingāna. In the time of Aurangzeb, when Rustum Dil K., son of Mukhtar, was the ṣubāḥdār of Haidarabad, Pāprā killed his own sister, who was rich, and thereby collected footmen (piadas), and having made himself a refuge on a mountain, he stretched out the hand of robbery and oppression over the travellers and the peasantry. The *faujdārs* and landholders tried to seize him, and he hearing this went to Wankat (Venkat Rao), the zamindar of pargana Būlās,[2] in the sarkār of Īlkandal, and became his servant. After some time he began there to practise robbery, and the zamindar having proof of this put him in prison. As the zamindar's son fell [3] ill, he was released along with the other prisoners, and having gone to the village of Shāhpūr in the pargana of Tārīkanda (Narganda), sarkār of Bhunger (Bhonaghir), which was a rugged place, he associated himself with a turbulent person named Sarwā. There he built a fort and openly practised attacking and plundering. Rustum Dil K. commissioned Qāsim K. jama'dār, who was faujdār of pargana Kulpāk, which was in the neighbourhood of Shāhpūr, and strictly charged him to seize Pāprā. In the battle Qāsim K. was killed,

1 Khāfī K. says he belonged to the caste of the toddy-sellers, II. 631. See Elliot VII. 410 where he is called Pāp Rāī.

2 Būlās is Kūlās or Kaulās in Khāfī K. II. 631. It is marked on the maps as Kowlass and Kaulas, and is in the Haidarabad State, N.N.W. Haidarabad and N. Bidar. Īlkandal is the Eilgundal of the map and lies east of Kaulās. Kaulās is interesting as being the place where 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy the son of Shah Newāz, and part author of the Maaṣir, died. See Rieu, Cat. I. 342.

3 The boy's mother released all the prisoners in hopes that thereby her son would get better. Khāfī K. II. 631.

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and Sarwā having engaged in a foolish dispute with Pur Dil K., the jama'dār of his own piadas, about military matters, they fought a duel in which Sarwā was killed.[1] Pāprā was now supreme and set about building the fort of Tārīkanda. He raided as far as Wārangol and Bhunger, and set open the gates of calamity for the inhabitants of that country.

Bahādur Shah after his victory over Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh made Yūsuf K. Rūzbihānī ṣubāḥdār of Haidarabad and issued strict orders for the seizure of Pāprā. The said Khān appointed Dilāwar K. jama'dār with a suitable force, and the latter attacked Pāprā at a time when he was pressing the siege of Kulpāk. After a fight he defeated him and established a military station (thāna) in Kulpāk. Meanwhile Pāprā's father-in-law's son had for a long time been imprisoned in Shāhpūr along with others, and was subjected to severe treatment. Except his wife, who every day brought him his food, no one was allowed to visit him. By means of his wife, he procured several files, and with them he cut his leg-irons and also those of some other prisoners, and on a day when Pāprā had gone out of Shāhpūr to fish, he came out of prison along with others, and killed the piadas who were guarding him, and also those at the gate, and took possession of the fort. On hearing of this Pāprā became agitated and came near the fort, and a gun was fired from the top of the fort. As his brothers[2] had informed the zamindars of Kulpāk that this (the firing of the cannon) would occur, so as soon as the report was heard, Dilāwar K. set off with a force. When he came near Shāhpūr there was a great disturbance and fighting. At last Pāprā was defeated and fled to Tārīkanda.[3] When Yūsuf K. heard this he first appointed[4]

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[1] Khāfī K. II. 633 says they were both killed. Perhaps the meaning is not that they quarrelled about military matters, but that like soldiers they challenged one another. Ferishta refers to the frequency of duels in the Deccan. The text has *jang īlang*, Khāfī K. has *jang īkangī*, and this is right, *yakang* being a Deccani word—one body. Instead of Pur Dil Khān, which seems an unlikely title here, I.O. MS. 628 has *Ṭabal* "drummer." It also has *ba jang yakang* "in a duel."

[2] *Barādarānash*, but from Khāfī K. it appears that the brother-in-law told his wife to inform the zamindars. Probably we should read *barādar ba zan*.

[3] Here spelt with a long ā.

[4] Khāfī K. II. 641.

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M. Alī his manager, and then went himself with a suitable force, and besieged Tārīkanda for nine months. Then he set up a flag[1] of truce (*jhanda-i-qaul*) to the effect that whoever came out of the fort would get a present. Pāprā changed[2] his appearance and came out of the fort, but fell into the hands of the same brother-in-law and was arrested. When they brought him before Yūsuf K. he divided him, limb by limb, and sent his head to court.

Verse.[3]

How well did the old farmer say to his son,
"Light of my eyes, you'll reap naught but what you've sown."

'AẒDU-D-DAULA ĪWAẒ K. BAHĀDUR QASWARA JANG (LION OF BATTLE).

His name was Khwāja Kamāl and he was daughter's son of the sister of Mīr Bahāu-d-dīn of Samarkand. His father, Mīr 'Īwaẓ by name, was one of the Ḥaidarī Saiyids, and 'Azdu-d-daulah was married to Khadíja Begam, the daughter of Qulīj[4] K. Saiyid Niyāz K., his mother's brother, held in the 47th year of Aurangzeb the rank of 1500 with 500 horse and the deputy-governorship of Bijapur. After that monarch's death, when Sultan Kām Bakhsh went against Bijapur, he, on the ground of making some inquiries, delayed a while (saying that he would) join Kām Bakhsh later. But without giving him notice he suddenly went off and joined A'ẓim Shah. Saiyid Niyāz K. the second, who was his son and was married to the daughter of I'timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-dīn, was ripped open in the time of Nādir Shah on account of his exhibiting some insolence. 'Aẓdu-d-daula came

1 Cf. Khāfī K. II. 642.

2 *id.*

3 This biography is marked Q, it being an addition by the author's son 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. It is abridged from Khāfī K. II. 630 *et seq.*, and even the concluding verse is taken from there.

The story of Pāprā is also told in the Ḥadīqau-l-'Ālam of Abū-l-Qāsim II. 15 (lithograph). The verse is from Ḥafiz.

4 This is 'Ābid Khwāja, the grandfather of the famous Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. See Maasir II. 872 and Khāfī K. II. 951, where it is said that 'Aẓdu-d-daulah was married to Fatḥ Jang's, i.e. Niẓāmu-l-mulk's, aunt.

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from Tūrān to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and by the influence of Khān Fīrūz Jang was given the title of 'Īwaẓ K. and accompanied Fīrūz Jang, and in the province of Aḥmadabad looked after his household. After Fīrūz Jang's death he came to court, and at first through the instrumentality of Mīr Jamla ('Abdullah, Maaṣir II. 761) he was attached to the province of Berar in the time of Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards as deputy of the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. (one of the Bārha Saiyids) he was made governor of the said province. He applied himself to the management of the province and displayed courage. In the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shah, when Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went to the south from Malwa, he gathered the real meaning of the letters, and collected a proper force, and joined Āṣaf Jāh in Burhanpur. In the battle with Dilāwar 'Ali K., who made a violent attack on him and killed many of his men, though his elephant [1] turned back a little, he did not lose courage and was not lacking in jeopardizing his life. In the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī K. he was on the right-wing, and after the victory—which took place near Aurangabad—he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and the title of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah Bahādur Qaswara Jang (Lion of Battle), and was made substantive governor of Berar. Gradually he attained to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in the 2nd year when Āṣaf Jāh addressed himself to the task of settling the Bijapur province, 'Aẓdu-d-daulah was left behind in Aurangabad as deputy. Afterwards, when Āṣaf Jāh according to the summons of Muḥammad Shāh proceeded to the capital, he left the offices of the diwānī and the bakhshīship with 'Aẓdu-d-daulah and made him deputy with full powers. After going to court when he (Āṣaf Jāh) was ordered to chastise Ḥaidar Qulī K. Nāṣir Jang, who was making a disturbance in the province of Aḥmadabad (Gujarat), 'Aẓdū-d-daulah was sent for by him and came with a force and for some time accompanied him, but at the stage of Jhābwa, a dependency of Malwa, he left him and obtained leave to go to his own estates. In the battle with Mubāriz K. 'Imādu-l-mulk, he did good service,

[1] Khāfī K. II. 879.

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and afterwards, in the year 1143, 1730-31, he died of disease, and was buried at the shrine of S. Burhānu-d-dīn Gharīb (may God have mercy upon him!). He had a share of learning, and strove to put it into practice. He behaved with respect to learned men, and with courtesy to faquirs and pious persons. He used great exertions to put down the oppressors and to support the weak. He was swift in observing the rules of justice and in inflicting punishment. He built the mosque of Shāh Ganj in Aurangabad, of which the chronogram is Khujasta[1] Banyād. Though the tank in front of it was made by Ḥusain 'Alī K., yet he widened it. The Ḥawelī and Bārahdárī which he made in that city are famous. He kept a good and abundant table. Of his sons, the eldest was Saiyid Jamāl K., who in his father's lifetime attained to maturity and distinguished himself by courage in battles. After the battle with Mubāriz K. he attained the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and was made his father's deputy in the government of Berar. When Āṣaf Jāh went to court and left Niẓāmu-d-daulah in the Deccan, and the Mahratta disturbance increased more and more, he was appointed to the government of Berar and received the title of Qaswara Jang. After the return of Āṣaf Jāh he went and sate with Nāṣir Jang in the Rauẓa of Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn Gharīb, and he took part along with Nāṣir Jang in the battle with his father. Āṣaf Jāh pardoned his offences and sent for him and confirmed him in his jagir. He died in 1159, 1746. He left many sons. The second son (of Aẓdu-d-daulah) was Khwāja Mūmin K. who in Āṣaf Jāh's time was made Naib-governor of Haidarabad and Maṭṣadī there. He did good service in chastising 'Alī K. Qarāwal who was servant of Roghū Bhonsla. For a time he was governor of Burhanpur, and in the time of Ṣalābat Jang he obtained the title of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah and was appointed to be governor of Nandair. At last he was contented with the jagir of pargana Pātwar[2] Shaikh Bābū in Berar. He died some years ago. He left a large family. The third son was Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Hādī K. who for a long time was governor of the

1 "The auspicious foundation." The chronogram yields 1135, 1722-23.

2 Pātar Shaikh Bābū in Sarkār Narnālah, J. II. 234, the Pātūr of I.G. XX, 76. It is in the Berars.

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fort of Māhwar.[1] In the beginning of Ṣalābat Jang's rule he was removed and afterwards restored and given the title of Ẓahīru-d-daulah Qaswara Jang. He died some years ago. He too left sons. He was a princely-minded man and of an awakened heart, and had much affection for the writer. The fourth was Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Rashīd K. Bahādur Himmat Jang. The fifth was Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-Shahīd K. Bahādur Haibat Jang. Both are servants of Niẓāmu-d-daulah[2] Āṣaf Jāh.

A'ẒIM K. KOKA.

Known as Fedāī K. Koka, his name was Moẓaffar Ḥusain and he was the elder brother of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh. In the time of Shah Jahan he distinguished himself during his long service of H.M. by his rectitude and trustworthiness. At first he was *darogha* of the court of justice, and afterwards he was sent as ambassador to Bijapur to convey some presents to 'Ādil Shah. In the 22nd year he had an appointment in the Tūzuk department. In the 23rd year he was made bakhshī of the Aḥadīs, and in the 24th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and was made bakhshī of the *manṣabdārs* of Kabul, and *darogha* of the artillery there. In the 26th year he came to court and was made Mīr Tūzuk. After that he was made superintendent of the special elephants, and eventually of all the elephants. In the 29th year he was made superintendent of the mace-bearers, and on the removal of Tarbīyat K. the post of Mīr Tūzuk was added to his duties. He had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the beginning of the 30th year he had the title of Fedāī Khān conferred upon him. After that when Aurangzeb became the ruler, he was, on account of his fosterage relation, the recipient of royal favours, and when the king, in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, halted at the garden of Agharābād[3] near Delhi, he was given a drum and sent[4] off

1 The Mahur of Haig's Hist. Landmarks, p. 134.

2 The son of the original Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh.

3 N. of Delhi and the same as Shālīmār, Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1904, 307. Text has A'ẓābād, and so has the Alamgīrnāma 145.

4 'Alamgīrnāma 148.

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with the Amīru-l-umarā Shaista K. to dispose of the affair of Sulaimān Shikoh who had hastened from Lucknow and was seeking to join his father. The Khān (Fedai) went ahead of the Amīru-l-umarā to Būriya[1] (?) and learnt that Sulaimān Shikoh wished to go with the assistance of Prithī Singh, the ruler of Srīnagar, by the crossing at Hardwār to Lahore. Fedāī travelled eighty *kos* in twenty-four hours and arrived at Hardwār. On account of his arrival, Sulaimān Shikoh was unable to cross and had to go to the hill-country, to Srīnagar.[2] Fedāī returned to court and obtained leave to go with Khalīl Ullah K. who had been appointed to pursue Dara Shikoh. At the time when Aurangzeb came to Qasūr with the intention of proceeding to Multan, he was summoned to the presence, and on the death of Irādat K., the ṣubaḥdar of Oudh, he was made *faujdār* thereof and of Gorakhpur. After the battle with Shujā and his flight, he was appointed to assist 'Muazzam K. Mīr Jumla and attached to Sultan Muḥammad and directed to pursue the fugitive Shujā'. When Sultan Muḥammad in the very crisis of the struggle with his uncle became vexed by the supremacy of M'uazzam K. and joined Shujā', and afterwards repented and became an object of ridicule by returning to the imperial army, M'uazzam K., in accordance with orders, sent[3] Fedāī with a body of troops to take charge of the prince and to conduct him to court. In the fourth year he became Mīr Ātish (superintendent of artillery) in succession to Ṣafshikan K., and received a robe of honour.

In the beginning of the sixth year the delightful country of Kashmīr was visited by Aurangzeb. There was the Sambal[4] tribe, which was a branch of the Afghan Niyāzī tribe, and it dwelt on the other side of the Indus. In former times some of them dwelt in the village of Dhankot,[5] which is known as M'uazzam-nagar[6] and is situated on this side of the river, and as they were

[1] The 'Ālamgīrnāma speaks of Būriya and Sahāranpur. The Mirātu-l-'Ālam has Biharpūr Būriya.

[2] 'Ālamgīrnāma 166. It is in the Siwāliks.

[3] Maasir A. 30.

[4] Perhaps the Samal of Bellew. See 'Ālamgīrnāma 827 and Elliot IV. 428--32 and 496, where they are called Sambhals.

[5] Jarrett II. 401.

[6] Apparently Aurangzeb gave this

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sources of wickedness and sedition, the *faujdārs* and governors had caused them to move from this side to the other. At this time this tribe, on account of their ignorance, trod the path of disaffection and crossed the Indus and took possession of the royal thāna. Fedāī, who was on the bank of the Chīnāb with the artillery, was directed to uproot them, and he cleansed the country of the thorn of their existence. He made a settlement of the land, and after making over the administration to Khanjar K., who had been appointed to the *faujdārī* thereof, he returned. In the same year the king, when he was returning from Lahore to the capital, halted at the hunting-place of Kānwādahan[1] and sent Fedāī to chastise the seditious people of Patna-Jālandhar who had raised up the head of disaffection. In the seventh year he was made a *manṣabdār* of 4000 with 2500 horse. In the tenth year he was made *faujdār* of Gorakhpūr with an increase of 1500 horse, becoming a *manṣabdār* of 4000 with 4000 horse. Afterwards the ṣubaḥ of Oudh was added. In the thirteenth year he came to court and was made ṣubaḥdar of Lahore. When a strange (*gharīb*) defeat happened at the station of Gharībkhāna[2] to Muḥammad Amīn K. the subaḥdār of Kabul, Fedāī hastened from Lahore to Peshawar and arranged for the subjugation of the tract. Afterwards he took part in the Jamū campaign. When in the 17th year the king encamped at Ḥasan Abdāl, Fedāī was appointed to the government of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and went off there with a suitable force and equipment. With Aghar[3] (Aghuz) K. in the van he endeavoured to chastise the evil-minded Afghans and fought his way by Bāzārak and Sehcoba from Peshawar to Jalālābād, and from thence to Kabul. At the time of returning, the Afghans gathered together more numerous than ants or locusts and blocked the road. There

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name to the village. 'Ālamgīrnāma 828. Dhankot or Dhinkot, the Dinkot of Erskine, Babar's Mem., p. 140, note 4, appears to have been on the east side of the Indus, as here stated, though the 'Ālamgīrnāma has *anrūī* instead of *in rūī* as in the Maaṣir.

[1] كيانودهن variant Kānū wa Āhn, but in Ain, Persian text I, it is Kānūwāhan. Jarrett II. 319 has Kaoṇ Wāhan. It was in the Bārī Dūāb.

[2] "Between Peshawar and Kabul." Khāfī K. II. 232. Amīn K. was son of Mīr Jamla. It is mentioned in A.N. III. 519 as a thāna.

[3] Khāfī K. II. 240.

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was a severe engagement. The vanguard became[1] disorganized and the bulk of the artillery and the baggage was plundered. It was near being a great defeat. Fedāī kept the centre firm and he recalled Aghar K. from the thāna of Gandamak, and re-arranged the vanguard. Again there was a severe engagement at the difficult pass of Jalak.[2] Besides arrows and bullets they rolled down from the tops of the hills stones big enough to carry away elephants, so that the position of the imperial army became critical. Only by God's aid was there such brave fighting that at last the Afghans turned and dispersed. Fedāī reached Jalālābād and set about building forts and establishing thānas. He made admirable exertions for the destruction of that turbulent tribe and for destroying their villages. He was lauded for his endeavours and received the title of A'ẓim K. Koka. In the 20th year he came to court and was appointed to the high office of the government of Bengal in succession to the Amīru-l-umarā (Shaista K.). In the 21st year, when the government of that province was assigned to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah, he was nominated to the government of Bihar in succession to the Prince's agents. The Khān was arranging to go there when on 9 Rabī'ul-akhir 1089, 21st May 1678, he went to the final stage[3] (died) (at Dacca). His house is in Lahore, and one of the finest mansions there. It was long the residence of the ṣubaḥdārs of that province. His eldest son Ṣāliḥ K., who obtained the title of Fedāī Khān, has been separately noticed. His second son Ṣafdar K.[4] was the son-in-law (and nephew) of Khān Jahān Bahādur. In the 33rd year of Aurangzeb when he was faujdār of Gwaliyar he died of a gunshot wound while attacking a fort.

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[1] Khāfī K. II. 241. Aghar K. was not then with the vanguard, but came hurriedly from Gandamak on being sent for.

[2] *id.* Chalak. Perhaps it is the famous Jagdalak Pass.

[3] See for the English estimate of Fedāī K., Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, 302, where it is said that Aurangzeb ordered him to leave Dacca and reside at Kidderpore (Khiẓrpūr), but that he died on 25th May 1678 before he had left Dacca. The date of his death given in the Maaṣir A. 168 is 12 Rabīu-l akhir and not 9 as in the Maaṣir U.; 12 corresponds with 24th May 1678 and so nearly agrees with the date given in the English records. Fedāī is also mentioned by Manucci, II. 197.

[4] Maaṣir A. 335.

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A'ẒIM KHĀN MĪR MUḤAMMAD BĀQIR, OTHERWISE IRĀDAT KHĀN.

He belongs to the noble Saiyids of Sāvā which is one of the old towns of 'Irāq. The drying up of its lake[1] (buḥaira) at the birth of the seal of the prophets—the peace of God upon him—is well known. When the Mīr first came to India he was appointed on the part of Āṣaf K. Mīrzā J'aafar to be faujdār of Siālkot, Gujarat and the Panjab, and afterwards became his son-in-law, and so became known to Jahangir. After that he got promotion through Yemenu-d-daulah Aṣaf K. and became khānsāmān (steward). As in this service he showed loyalty and much economy he received much favour and in the 15th year was made governor of Kashmīr. From there he went to court and became Mīr Bakhshī. After the death of Jahangir he was associated with Yemenu-d-daulah in the affair of Shahriyār, and did good service. He waited upon Shah Jahan at Agra before Yemenu-d-daulah came there from Lahore. He had an increase[2] of 500 and 1000 horse and he obtained the rank of 5000 both *zāt* and cavalry, and a drum and flag, and was confirmed in the appointment of Mīr Bakhshī. After that, at the request of Yemenu-d-daulah, he on 5th[3] Rajab, 2nd March 1628, at the beginning of the reign was made Vizier. In the second year he was appointed to the Deccan.

When in the beginning of the third year, Burhanpur was visited by Shah Jahan, Irādat K. had the honour of paying his respects and was exalted by having the title of A'ẓim K. conferred on him. He was sent[4] off at the head of three bodies of troops, composing 50,000 horse, to defeat Khān Jahān Lodī

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[1] The Burhān Qāṭi' says that Sāvā had a small lake or stream (*daryāca*) which every year drowned a man, and that it dried up on the night of Muḥammad's birth. See also Yāqūt in Barbier de Meynard. Sāvā lies between Rai and Hamadān, being 30 *farsakhs* from each. It is S.S.W. Tehran. It is from this town that Yūsuf 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur took his name, which the Portuguese changed into Cabaio. There is an account of Sāvā in the Nuzhat-al-qalūb which C. Scheffer has extracted in the Supplement to his translation of the Sīūsat-nāma. See p. 185. It seems that the lake did not dry up, but flowed away underground.

[2] Pādshāhnāma I. 159.

[3] Do. 186, where the date given is 8 Rajab.

[4] Khāfī K. I. 424.

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and to conquer the territories of the Niẓām Shah. He had spent the rains in Dewalgāon and then encamped in Rāmpūr[1] on the banks of the Godavery, and when it appeared that Khān Jahān had not come out of Bīr, he left his camp in Majlīgāon,[2] made a night-march and suddenly came upon Khān Jahān. When the latter saw that the road of flight was closed, and that he could not escape, he of necessity had to fight. But as many men of the imperial army had turned to plundering his baggage, the troops were out of order. By this opportunity Khān Jahān came out on to the hill and fought stubbornly. At last he took to flight. Though it was difficult for him to escape from the clutch of so powerful an army when also Bahādur K. Rohilla and some Rajputs did their duty in exposing their lives, yet as the imperial army had marched more than thirty *kos* it had been exhausted and could not follow. After that Khān Jahan crept into Daulatabad, and A'ẓim K. set himself to punish Niẓām Shah. When he arrived within three *kos* of Dhārwar[3] he wished to attack the town and to leave the taking of the fort which was famous in the Deccan for its difficulty and for its abundance of munitions, and was on the top of a ridge and had on two sides streams which were not easily crossed, to another opportunity. The garrison employed themselves in discharging muskets and arrows, and the townspeople, who had brought their goods to the moat, took to arms in order to protect them. In consequence a number of men got up to the moat and carried off much plunder. A'ẓim K. with consummate courage came on foot to the moat at night and ascertained that in one place (in the wall)[4] there was a window (or door) which had been filled with stones and mortar. If that were opened out by pick-axes and mattocks and filled with gunpowder it would be possible to get into the fort. He also found that there were no *sangandāz*,[5] and that the methods of defending a fort were not observed. He set his heart upon taking

[1] Rāmbhūri in Pādshāhnāma I. 321.

[2] Khāfī K. 430. It is Maclīgāon in Pādshāhnāma I. 321.

[3] Pādshāhnāma I. 331, 339 Grant-Duff III. 118 and I. G.

[4] Pādshāhnāma I. 341.

[5] Embrasures or loop holes through which stones were discharged. See Irvine, Army of the Moguls, 266.

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the fort. When the garrison saw the skill and valour of the besiegers they withdrew from fighting and on 23 Jumāda-al-akẖirī of the 4th year, 1040, 17th January 1631, Khān A'ẓim and the other officers entered by the little door. Sīdī Sālm, the governor, and the family of I'tibār Rāo, and the household of Shams,[1] the uncle of Malik Badan, and the maternal grandmother of Niẓām Shah, with all the establishments, were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The fort received the name of Fatḥābād and the charge of it was made over to Mīr 'Abdullah Reẓavī. A'ẓim K. was raised to the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. As the affairs of the Niẓām Shah ceased to be prosperous, and Muqarrib Khān, his general, submitted to A'ẓim K. and entered the imperial service in that year, the Khān A'ẓim came to the river Mānjarā in accordance with a message from Randaulah Khān of Bijapur to the effect that "if by your instrumentality a pardon is obtained for the faults of 'Ādil Shah I shall guarantee that he will never be disobedient again." By chance, one day, a party of the enemy made an attack and wounded and captured Bahādur K. Rohilla and Yūsuf K. of Tāshkend. Many others of the royal troops were killed or captured. A'ẓim K. proceeded to Citkūba,[2] Bhālkī and Bīdar, thinking that he might amend matters. On account of want of food and barley he had to return and cross the Godavery. When it appeared that the Niẓām Shah had come to the Bālaghāt with the intention of reconciling himself with the Bijapurīs, and had gone towards the fort of Parenda, A'ẓim K. hastened off in that direction, and invested the fort. As no grass was to be found within twenty *kos* of the place, he turned back after failure and came to Dhārwar. In the same year he came to the Presence in obedience to orders. Shah Jahan said[3] that in this campaign he had done two excellent things, viz. the driving away Khān Jahān and the taking of the fort of Dhārwar, and that he had also committed two faults, for after Muqarrib K. had submitted he should not have gone to Bīdar, and when Parenda could not be taken, why did he delay

1 Shaman in Pādshāhnāma, I. 343.
2 Pādshāhnāma I. 356. Jitkopa.
3 Pādshāhnāma I. 394. At p. 395 we have Nandar instead of Bīdar.

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there? The Khān acknowledged his mistakes, and as the affairs of the Deccan had not been properly managed by him he was in the 5th year sent to the government of Bengal on the death of Qāsim Khān Javīnī. There he[1] collected a good set of men, and there were many Persians among them. In the 8th year he was made governor of Allahabad, and in the 9th year he was appointed to Gujarat. As the wife[2] of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', who was the daughter of M. Rustum Ṣafavī, had died, A'ẓim K.'s daughter was married to the prince in the 12th year, 1049, 1639-40. Sultan Zainu-l-'ābidīn was the fruit of this marriage.

A'zim K. long governed the extensive territory of Gujarat, and in the 14th year marched against the zamindar of Jām who did not, like the other landholders, submit to authority. He arrived at Nawānagar, the zemindar's seat. The Jām came to his senses and presented 100 Cutch horses and three lacs of maḥmūdīs and destroyed his mint where maḥmūdīs used to be coined, and waited upon him. He returned from there to Ahmadabad. After that he was made fief-holder of Islāmābād-Mathura and built a serai and quarter (*pūra*) there. After that he was made governor of Bihar, and in the 21st year he was summoned to take charge of Kashmīr. He represented that he could not stand the cold of that region, and he was appointed to Jaunpūr in succession to M. Ḥasan Ṣafavī. In the 22nd year, 1059, 1649, he died after attaining the age of 76. The chronogram of his death is Ā'ẓim Auliyā "greatest of officers," 1059, 1649. He was buried in a garden which he had made before the end of his government on the bank of the Jaunpūr river (the Gumti). The date of making it is *Bihisht naham bar lab āb jūī* "I made[3] a paradise on the bank of a river," 1058, 1648.

His sons attained high office, and they have been separately noticed. They say that Ā'ẓim K. had excellent qualities, but that

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[1] According to the Riyāẓu-s-salātīn and Stewart he managed very badly in Bengal. The appointment is mentioned in Pādshāhnāma I. 444.

[2] She died in the 7th year of the reign, Pādshāhnāma II. 137. The sentence about the collecting a good set of men is abrupt and obscure, but it seems to be in all the MSS.

[3] Or is *naham* here ninth. There are eight paradises, and perhaps the meaning is that this was the ninth.

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he was harsh in financial matters. During the sovereignty of the Timurid princes he did good service and from first to last lived with dignity and honour. Certainly he could not be without purity of disposition seeing that up to the present day—a period of nearly one hundred years—his descendants have always been distinguished. This work has a record of each of them.

'AZĪZ KOKA M. KHĀN A'ẒAM.

Younger son of Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atga. Of the same age as Akbar, and also his playmate. He was always his intimate and always an object of his grace and favour. His mother Jījī Anaga also held a close relationship with Akbar, who used[1] to show more affection to her than to his own mother. Hence it was that the king always passed over the insolences of the Khān A'ẓam. He used to[2] say "between me and Aziz there is the link of a river of milk which cannot pass away." When the Panjab was taken from the Atga clan because they had been long established there, the Mīrzā was excepted and maintained in Dīpālpūr and other estates which he had long held. When in the 16th[3] year, in the end of 978, 1571, after Akbar had visited the shrine of Farīd Shakrganj—may his grave be holy!—which is in the Panjab Pattan, commonly known as Ajūdhan—and had made Dīpālpūr his camp—he, at the request of M. Koka, visited his residence. The Mīrzā prepared a great feast and tendered abundant presents of Arab and Persian horses with golden and silver saddles, as well as strong elephants with harness,[4] and chains, golden vessels, seats, precious jewels, choice stuffs of every[5]

1 For a similar remark about Ḥājī Begam, see A.N. III. 77, line 12. The Maaṣir copies the Iqbālnāma, p. 230.

2 For 'Azīz Koka see B. 325, Badayūnī III. 280, Khāfi K. I. 201, Darbārī Akbari 759, and Jahangir's Memoirs. Blochmann has "between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." But this is not intelligible and the Persian in the Maaṣir is *natuwān guzasht* and not *natuwānam*. I think, therefore, the meaning must be that the connection cannot die out. The Iqbālnāma, however, 231, has *namītawānam*.

3 The T. A. has the 15th year, Ell. V. 336, but A.F. has 16th, II. 363. The description of the entertainment is fullest in the T.A., and the Maaṣir has copied it.

4 The T.A. has "gold and silver chains."

5 The T.A. has stuffs of Europe, Rūm and China.

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country, and was encompassed with unexampled favours. He also presented valuable gifts to the princes and the ladies. The other officers, and the learned men, and indeed the whole of the camp, participated in his bounty. Shaikh Muḥammad[1] Ghaznavī found the date of this banquet.

Mihmānān-i-'Azīz 'nd[2] *Shāh u Shahzāda* (978).

"The Shah and Shahzāda are 'Azīz's guests."

The author of the Ṭabaqāt says there seldom has been such a splendid feast. In the 17th year when Aḥmadabad-Gujarat came into Akbar's possession, the government thereof up to the Mahindrī was given to the Mīrzā, and Akbar himself went off to take the fort of Surat. The rebels, that is to say, Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh M., in conjunction with Sher K. Fulādī, finding the field left open to them, surrounded Pattan. M. Koka with Quṭbu-d-dīn K. and other officers—who had lately come from Malwa—hastened there and drew up in battle-array. Though at first there was an appearance of defeat, yet at last the breeze of victory blew from the quarter of Divine power. They say that when the right wing, the vanguard and the vanguard reserve (*altamsh*) could not resist and lost courage, the Mīrzā came forward with the centre and wished to make an attack in person. The veterans turned his rein *saying* that for the leader to make an attack was to cause dispersion among the troops, especially at such a time. The Mīrzā stood firm, and at last the enemy, many of whom had gone off in pursuit and had turned to plunder, became disorganized and broke. The Mīrzā returned victorious to Ahmadabad.

When the king returned from the Gujarat expedition and came to Fatḥpūr on 2 Ṣafr 981, 3 June 1573, Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk—who had taken refuge in Īdar—came to the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad and made a disturbance. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. returned from the Deccan and devastated the country about Cambay. After that they joined forces and wished to take possession of Ahmadabad. Though the Khān A'ẓam had a large

[1] A.F. calls the author of the chronogram Moẓaffar Ḥusain and says he was a servant of the Mīrzā, II. 364.

[2] Unless the alif of *and* be elided the chronogram is 979. See also A.N. II. 363. The date corresponds to 1571.

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force, yet he did not see in it loyalty and singleness of mind. He therefore did not hasten to engage, but remained on the alert in the city, and busied himself in strengthening the fortifications. The enemy came in great force and besieged it, and began the battle of the batteries. The Mīrzā sent off expresses to the king, and begged for his coming.

Verse.

Sedition has raised its head and fortune is adverse.

Verse.

Save for the swift deeds of the Shah
Nothing can remove this dust out of the road.

Akbar sent some officers ahead, and proceeded rapidly himself on 4 Rabī-'al-awal of that year, 4 July 1573, with a few of his immediate attendants mounted on camels.

Verse.

The heroes were on camels, their quivers in their waist.
The camels (*shutur*) flew like ostriches (*shutur murgh*).

In Jālaur the officers of the advance joined, and in the town of Balsāna, five *kos* from Pattan, Mīr Muḥammad K. joined with the troops of that place. Akbar divided the forces (among the leaders), which were in all 3000 horse, and himself remained in reserve with 100 horse. He advanced without delay and arrived within three *kos* of Ahmadabad, and sounded his drums and trumpets. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. came to the bank of the river to get information, and asked Subḥān Qulī Turk who was in advance what army was it. He said it was the royal standards. The Mīrzā said, "It is fourteen days to-day that trustworthy scouts left him (Akbar) in the capital: if the king has come in person, where are the war-elephants?" Subḥān Quli said, "They have spoken the truth. It is nine days since the king marched. It is clear that the elephants could not come so quickly."

Muḥammad Ḥusain M. became alarmed and left Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk with 5000 horse to guard the gates so that the besieged might be debarred from exit, and himself engaged with 15,000

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horse in drawing up the battle-array. At this time the imperial army crossed the river and encountered him. The imperial vanguard was nearly being defeated on account of the large numbers of the foe when Akbar himself fell on with one hundred horse and routed the enemy. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and then Ikẖtiyāru-l-mulk became the harvest of the sword. This has been described in the account of the Mīrzās.

Such rapid marches as this have been told of former princes in books, as, for example, the rush of Sultan Jalalu-d-dīn Mankbarnī from India to Kirmān, and from there to Garjistan (Georgia), the conquest of Qarshī by Amīr Taimur Gūrgān, the taking of Herat by Sultan Ḥusain M., the taking of Samarkand by Bābur Pādshāh. But it is not hidden from investigators that all these princes attacked under necessity or because they saw that there was negligence or scant opposition. Theirs was not the case of a king who could command two lacs of cavalry, and who voluntarily, in spite of his knowing the numbers of enemies and the leadership of a brave bahādur like Muḥammad Ḥusain M., —who had already wrought deeds in battle exceeding the power of contemporaries,—and this after a march of more than 400 current *kos* from Agra to Gujarat. No such other story has been told since the creation.[1]

In fine, after this victory, the Mīrzā got fresh life and came out of the city. He caught the dust of the royal army as if it was a salve for his waiting eyes. Next year, when Akbar went to Ajmere, the Mīrzā came into the presence with delight. Akbar advanced some steps to meet him and embraced him.

When the sons of Ikẖtiyāru-l-mulk Gujaratī had raised the head of sedition, he took leave from Agra. In the 20th year when Akbar had firmly determined upon introducing the branding of soldiers' horses, many officers refused to act. The Mīrzā was summoned to court in order that he might make the branding

[1] This is an eloquent passage, but it seems to me to contain an anacoluthon, and I do not understand the statement about M. Ḥusain's surpassing the deeds of contemporaries, and think it must be intended to refer to Akbar. Akbar's rapid march was long remembered as a great feat. Captain Hawkins heard of it when he was at Agra and mentions it in his narrative.

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popular. But he objected more than anybody else. The king, who loved the Mīrzā more than his own children, was displeased at this and for a while degraded him from the position of an Amīr, and confined him to the garden which he had made in Agra and was called the Jahānārā Garden. In the 23rd year the Mīrzā was again an object of favour and was restored to his former rank. But at the same period, the Mīrzā became a recluse on account of some unfounded suspicion that the king was unfavourably disposed towards him. When in the 25th year, 988, 1580, there occurred the rebellion in the eastern provinces and the killing of Moẓaffar K. the governor of Bengal, the Mīrzā, who had been made a Panjhazārī, received the title of Khān A'ẓam and was sent off with a large force. On account of the disturbances in Bihar, the Mīrzā did not go to Bengal, but took proper measures for administering the country and for extirpating the rebels, and took up his quarters in Ḥājīpūr. When in the end of the 26th year Akbar returned from the expedition to Kabul and came to Fatḥpūr, Mīrza Koka waited upon him and was exalted by various favours. When in the 27th year Jabārī, Khabīṭa and Tarkhān Diwāna came from Bengal to Bihar and took Ḥājīpūr from the Mīrzā's men and stirred up strife, the Mīrzā took leave in order to punish the Bihar rebels and then to address himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though[1] before the arrival of the Mīrzā these rebels had got their deserts from the victorious army, and the rains began and the Mīrza did not advance, yet when the rains had ended, he, in the beginning of the 28th year, marched to Bengal along with the fief-holders of Allahabad, Oudh and Bihar and easily took[2] Garhī, which is the gate of the country. M'aṣūm Kabulī—who was the head of the disaffected ingrates—came and encamped on the bank of the Kātī[3] Gang. Though every day engagements took place, yet

1 The sentence is rather obscurely worded, but the meaning is that Tarkhān Diwāna and others had been punished before the Mīrzā arrived. It was his absence that had encouraged their attack on Ḥājīpūr. See Elliot V. 427 and A.N. III. 384, 387.

2 Garhī was taken before Mīrzā Koka arrived. See A.N. III. 399.

3 Text Ghātī Gang. See A.N. III. 399 and variant: also Elliot VI. 66.

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the imperialists were alarmed at the rebels and did not venture to have a pitched battle. Meanwhile a disagreement (hitherto they were united in rebellion) arose between M'aṣūm and the Qāqshāls, and the Khān A'ẓam arranged a reconciliation with the latter and took from them promises of good service. It was agreed that they should keep aloof from fighting (the imperialists), and should go to their homes, and from there join the imperial army. M'aṣūm K. grew bewildered and fled. The Khān A'ẓam sent[1] a force against Qatlū Lohānī, who in the confusion had prevailed over Orissa and part of Bengal. He himself wrote to Akbar representing the unhealthiness of the climate, and an order was given that the country should again be left to Shahbāz K. Kambū who was approaching about this time, and that the Khān A'ẓam should return to his fief in Bihar. In the same year, when Akbar came to Allahabad, the Mīrzā arrived from Ḥājīpūr and did homage and obtained Garha and Raisīn. In the 31st year, 994, 1586, he was appointed to conquer the Deccan. When the army had been collected he set out, but the two-facedness and the ten-tonguedness of his companions created confusion, and Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., who was the auxiliary, behaved treacherously on account of an ancient grudge. The Mīrzā fell into an evil way of thinking (became suspicious) and on account of ill-timed delays, and motives for dispersion, few soldiers were obtained The enemy, who had been alarmed, were emboldened and set off to fight. The Mīrzā did not find himself strong enough to encounter them and retired and hastened to Berar. On the day of the New Year he found Elichpūr undefended and sacked it and then marched to Gujarat with much plunder. The enemy were astonished at his retreat and hastily pursued him. The Mīrzā from alarm proceeded rapidly and did not turn his rein till he got to Naẓrbār. Though the enemy did not catch him, yet territory which had been taken was lost. The Mīrzā went on rapidly from Naẓrbār towards Gujarat in order to collect troops. The Khān-Khānān who was in command there showed great zeal and in a short time brought together a choice army.

[1] Akbarnāma III. 401.

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But owing to men's foolish ideas the enterprise miscarried. In the 32nd year the Mīrzā's daughter was married to Prince Sultan Murād, and there was a splendid feast. In the end of the 34th year the government of Gujarat was given to him as successor of the Khān-Khānān. The Mīrzā preferred Malwa and delayed to go to Gujarat. At last in the 35th year he went to Aḥmadabad. When Sultan Moẓaffar with the help of the Jām, the zamindar of Kach, and the ruler of Jūnāgarh, stirred up strife, the Mīrzā in the 36th year came to that country, and inflicted a heavy defeat on the enemy. In the 37th year the Jām and the other zamindars submitted, and Somnāth, etc.—sixteen ports in all—came into possession, and the siege of Jūnāgarh—which is the capital of the territory of Sorath—was undertaken. Miyān K. and Tāj K. the sons of Daulat K., the successor of Amīn K. Ghorī, surrendered, and made over the fort. The Mīrzā gave each of them a cultivated jagir as an allowance, and devoted his energies to the seizing of Sultan Moẓaffar—who was the thorn-brake of the rebellion. He sent an army to Dwārka, whither Moẓaffar had crept by the protection of the landowner thereof. That landowner tried a fight and was worsted. Moẓaffar fled to Kach (Cutch). The Mīrzā went there in person and proposed to give his (the ruler of Kach's) home to the Jām. He submitted, and made over Moẓaffar. They were bringing him to the Mīrzā when he withdrew to a retired spot on pretext of easing himself, and cut his throat with a razor which he had with him, and so died.

When Akbar sent for the Mīrzā in the 39th[1] year, 1001, 1592-93, he became suspicious of some evil intention and went off to the Ḥijāz. They say that as he could in no way accept the prostration to the king (*sijda*), the shaving off the beard and the other innovations which had become established at court, but in opposition to them kept on a long beard, he perceived that going to the Presence would be disagreeable and so wrote excuses. At last the king wrote in reply, "You are making all these delays in coming; evidently the wool of your beard weighs heavily on you." They say that the Mīrzā also wrote sharp and sarcastic

[1] Should be the 38th year. The Mīrzā sailed for Mecca in March, 1594, in the beginning of the 39th year. A.N. III. 638.

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things about the matter of religion such[1] as that "Your Majesty has put Faiẓī and Abu-l-Faẓl in the place of ʿOṣmān and ʿAlī. Well, whom have you appointed in the room of the two Shaikhs?"

In fine the Mirza set[2] out on the pretext that he was going to attack the port of Diu, and then he made peace with the Franks, and, at the port of Balāwal—which is near Somnāth—embarked on the ship "*Ilāhī*" with his six sons Kharram, Anwar, ʿAbdullah, ʿAbdul-Laṭīf, Murtaẓa and ʿAbdul-l-ghafūr, and his six daughters and their mothers and one hundred servants. Akbar was much grieved, but favoured the Mīrzā's two elder sons, Shamsī and Shādmān, by giving them rank and good jagirs. Shaikh[3] ʿAbdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī found the chronogram.

Verse.

The Khān Āẓam took the position of the righteous
Though in the king's idea he went astray.
When I asked my heart the date of the year,
It said Mirzā Koka went on pilgrimage (1002).

They say that he spent much money in the holy places, and showed much respect to the Sharīfs and leaders, and made over to the Sharīf fifty years' cost of keeping up the blessed tomb of

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[1] See Khāfī K., who says it is better not to give all the Khān A'zim's remarks *in extenso*, and then proceeds to give the worst of them. Mīrzā Koka's original letter is given in the Darbār Akbarī, p. 759. The author does not say where it is to be found, and his transcript is not always intelligible.

[2] A.N. III. 638 and Badayūnī, Lowe 400-04. The ship "Ilāhī" is apparently the "Divine" ship which went yearly to Mecca. Akbar's letter to ʿAzīz Koka when he went to Mecca is in A.F.'s letters, Book I.

[3] The chronogram is given in Badayūnī II. 387, but he does not say that he composed it, and the fact that he says (incorrectly) it makes the date one too many seems to show that he did not write it. Badayūnī admired the Mīrzā's going, but was disgusted by his return (see his vol. III, p. 282) and subsequent conformity to Akbar's innovations. ʿAzīz landed at Balāwal on his return in November 1594 and presented himself before Abkar 24 days afterwards. A.N. III. 655, so that he was only away about eight months. The statement in text that he returned in the beginning of 1003 is apparently not quite correct. It was in the third month of that year. The Iqbālnama 231 says that ʿAzīz had to spend so much money at Mecca that at last he fell into contempt. Badayūnī also says, Lowe 412, that Aʿẓim Koka suffered much harm (*āzār bisyār*, "much annoyance") at the hands of the Sharīfs.

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the Prophet—Peace be upon him and his family. He also bought cells (*ḥajarhā*) and dedicated them to the holy buildings. And when he got fresh news of the kindnesses of Akbar he traversed the ocean and landed at the same port (Balāwal), and reentered into service in the beginning of 1003. He was restored to his rank and his fief in Bihar, and in the 40th year was highly exalted by receiving the great post of Vakīl and the charge of the royal seal which Maulānā[1] 'Alī Aḥmad had engraved with the names of the sacred ancestors up to Timur. In the 41st year the province of Multan was made his jagir. In the 45th year, when he was in attendance on Akbar at the siege of the fortress of Asir, his mother Bīca Jīū (Jī Jī) died. Akbar took her bier on his shoulder and in his grief shaved his head and his moustache. Though an endeavour was made to prevent others besides her sons from shaving they could not be forbidden. A whole tribe of people did the same thing. At the end of this year Bahādur K., the ruler of Khandes, submitted through the intervention of the Mīrzā and surrendered the fort. As the Mīrzā's daughter was married to Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Prince Selīm, and who was sister's son of Rajah Mān Singh, these two pillars of the empire used great endeavours to promote the cause of Sultan Khusrau. Especially the Mīrzā—who loved him—used to say, "I am willing that they (the fates) should convey the good news of his sovereignty to my right ear and should seize my soul at the left ear." During Akbar's deathbed illness springs were set in motion for the heir-apparency, but they were not successful. A breath of Akbar's life still remained when Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī and others joined Prince Selīm, who at an indication from the king and from apprehensions of the plots of his ill-wishers, shut himself up in his house outside the fort. Rajah Mān Singh came out of the fort with Khusrau with the understanding that he should take him with him to the province of Bengal. The Khān A'ẓam got alarmed and sent his family to the Rajah's house with the instruction that he was coming too, but that it was necessary to carry funds, and that he had no porters. The Rajah too made

[1] B. 52.

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the same excuse. The Mirzā was helpless and remained alone in the fort and looked after the interment and the funeral ceremonies. After that, Khusrau rebelled against his father in the first year of Jahangir, and the Mīrzā fell into disgrace as being his instigator.

They say that the Khān A'ẓam used to go to court dressed in his shroud and that he expected that they would kill him, but still he could not control his tongue. One night he had hot words with the Amīru-l-Umarā. The king broke off the meeting and took counsel in private. The Amīru-l-Umarā[1] said that they should not delay the putting him to death. Mahābat K. said, "I don't understand discussions. I'm a soldier. I have a strong sword, and I'll strike his waist. If it does not divide him into two pieces, you can cut off my hand." When the Khān Jahān Lodī's turn to speak came he said, "I am confounded by his good fortune, for wherever H. M.'s (Akbar's) name has gone, his too has been bruited abroad. I do not perceive any manifest indication of wrong-doing on his part which would make him worthy of death. If you kill him, all the world will regard him as a victim." The king's anger was somewhat appeased by this remark, and at this moment Selīma Begam, the king's stepmother, called out from behind the *purda*, "Your Majesty, all the Begams are assembled in the Zenana for the purpose of interceding for M. Koka. It will be better if you come there. Otherwise they will come to you." Jahangir was constrained to go to the female apartments, and at their expostulation to pardon his offences. He also gave him his accustomed opium—which he had not taken—from his own special pellets, and dismissed him. But one day at about the same time Khwāja[2] Abū-l-Ḥasan of Turbat produced a letter which M. Koka had written to Rajah 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Khandes, about Akbar in language which was not fit to be used

[1] Sharīf K. B. 517.

[2] See Khāfī K. I. 256 says the letter was produced by the librarian, i.e. Khwāja Abū-l-hasan Turbatī known as Ruknu-s-sultanat: see Maasīr I. 737. He is different from Āṣaf K. the brother of Nūr Jahān who was also called Khwājah Abul Ḥasan. The incident of the letter is described by Kāmgar Ḥusainī, B.M. MS. Or. 171, p. 37 b. See also Tūzuk Jahāngīri, p. 38, where it is said that Khwāja Abū-l-hasan found it in Burhanpur among Rajah 'Alī Khān's effects.

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about any individual. This had fallen into the hands of the Khwāja after the taking of Āsīr, and he had kept it to himself for some years. At last, he could keep it back no longer and produced it before Jahangir. Jahangir put it into the hands of the Khān 'Ā'ẓam, and he without hesitation began to read it aloud. Those present on every side abused and cursed him, and the king said, "Even now the intimacy which 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar) had with you restrains me, otherwise I'd lighten your shoulders of the burden of your head." He deprived him of his rank and jagir and kept him under surveillance. In the 3rd year, the government of Gujarat was entered in his name, and his eldest son Jahāngīr Qulī K. was appointed to guard the country as his deputy.

When the affairs of the Deccan were not being brought to a conclusion owing to the discord among the officers, the Khān A'ẓam was sent there in the 5th year with 10,000 horse. Afterwards he petitioned from Burhanpur to have the affair of the Rānā committed to him. He used to say that if in this war he were killed, he would become a martyr.[1] In accordance with his request he received the necessary equipment for the expedition. When he began the work, he represented that the difficult knot would not be untied without the coming of the royal standards. Accordingly, in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, Jahangir came to Ajmere, and at M. Koka's request Prince Shah Jahan was appointed, though the centre of the work rested on the Mīrzā. But on account of his partiality for Khusrau, he behaved improperly[2] to Prince Shah Jahan, and so Mahābat K. was sent to bring him from Udaipur to court. In the 9th year he was made[3] over to Āṣaf K. in order that he might be confined in the fort of Gwaliyar. They have reported a saying of the Mīrza to the

[1] Tūzuk J. 126, where the whole saying is given.

[2] The text has omitted the preposition *ba* before *pādishāhzāda* and so made it appear as if it was Shah Jahan who behaved improperly. See Tūzuk J. 126 for Jahangir's lengthy expostulation with the K. A'ẓim, and also Elliot VI. 338.

[3] Tūzuk 127-28, and Elliot VI. 338. The Āṣaf here mentioned is B's No. VI and Shah Jahan's father-in-law. Khāfī K. I. 280. He used to be called I'tiqād Khan and got the title of Āṣaf K. in the beginning of Jahangīr's 9th year, Tūzuk 127.

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effect "I never thought of using incantations." Āṣaf K. represented (to Jahangir) that "a certain person is practising incantations in order to destroy me." As solitude and the abandonment of animal food and sexual intercourse are conditions of success, and they are all present in a prison, an order was given that at meal-times exquisite dishes of fowl and partridge should be served up to the Mīrzā.

Verse.[1]

When God wills, an enemy may be productive of good.

After a year when he was released from prison they in the first place took a writing from him to the effect that he would not speak in the Presence unless he was asked a question, for he had no control over his tongue. One night Jahangir said to Jahāngīr Qulī K., "Will you become security for your father?" Jahāngīr Qulī replied, "I am his surety for everything of him, but I cannot be surety for his tongue." When it was desired to notify to him his being confirmed in his appointment of Panjhazārī, Jahangir said to Shah Jahan, "When 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar) wished to give the Khān A'ẓam an increase of 2000, Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī and Rajah[2] Rām Dās were sent to his house to congratulate him. He was in the bath, and they waited at the gate for a watch of the day (*pās*, perhaps here an hour). Afterwards, when he came to the audience-hall, he sent for them and heard their felicitations. He sat down and put[3] his hand upon his head. He then said that he must arrange another meeting for their business, and dismissed them without any politeness or

[1] The meaning is that Āṣaf's fears led to the Mīrza's getting better treatment. For an instance of the belief in a prisoner's power of practising incantations see Iqbālnāma 267-68, where there is an account of an unfortunate Ḥāfiẓ Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta who was killed because he was supposed to be muttering incantations. See also the account of this Mullā's death in Maaṣir III. 372. Apparently 'Aẓīz Koka's remark about his never having thought of using incantations was understood to mean that he had the power to use them, and that he had neglected to exercise the power.

[2] Rajah Karan B. 483.

[3] *daste bar sir guzāsht.* Perhaps as a salutation, or perhaps as an indication that the audience was at an end. Possibly it merely means that he fell into a reverie. In Maaṣir III. 855, l. 6 from foot, the phrase *dast ba sir guzāsht* is used to express a salutation.

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ceremony. I remember this story, and it would be a shame if you, "Bābā," should have to pay your respects as his deputy and should have to stand and salute him for the purpose of confirming the Mīrzā Koka in his appointment."

In the 18th year M. Koka was sent off as guardian and companion to Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Khusrau, who had been appointed governor of Gujarat. He died[1] a natural death in Aḥmadabad in the 19th year, 1033, 1624. He was unique for sharpness of intellect and fluency of speech. He was also exceptional for historical knowledge. He sometimes wrote poetry. This verse is his.

Verse.[2]

As I've not got happiness from name and fame,
After this I'll throw a stone at fame's mirror.

He wrote Nast'alīq exceedingly well. He was a pupil of M. Bāqir,[3] the son of Mullā Mīr 'Alī, and in the opinion of judicious critics he was in no way inferior for elegance of writing to the famous masters. In drawing up statements[4] of claim (*mudd'aa navīsī*) he was deeply skilled. Though he was not an Arabic scholar, yet he used to say that in Arabic he was an Arab's slave-girl.[5] They say that in conversation he was unrivalled, and had a command of striking expressions. One of them was, "A man said something, and I thought it was true. He was vehement about it, and I began to doubt. When he swore to it, I knew it was a lie." One of his jesting remarks was, "A man who is well-off needs four wives—an 'Irāqī (West Persian) for companionship, a Khurasāni for housekeeping, an Indian for sexual intercourse, and a Transoxiana one for whipping so that the others may take

[1] Tūzuk J. 395. If he was born in the same year as Akbar he must have been about 82 when he died.

[2] Badayūnī III. 281. *sang bar shīsha zadan* is a phrase for renouncing wine.

[3] The Maulānā Bāqir of B. 103.

[4] I am not sure of the meaning. The expression occurs in Iqbālnāma 230.

[5] Apparently meaning that he had a colloquial knowledge of the language. *Dāh-i-Arab* is a proverbial expression for a person in wretched circumstances. See Vullers s.v. *dah*, I. 807a. The Iqbālnāma 230 has a different reading. It is in Arabic "I am a poor maid-servant (*dāh gharībam*)"

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warning."[1] But he was at the head of all his contemporaries for sensuality, treachery and harsh language, and was exceedingly passionate. Whenever one of his collectors came before him, if he immediately paid up the money for which he was regarded as accountable, he was liberated, otherwise he was beaten till the links of life were loosened. If, after this, he survived, he was not further troubled, though lacs of rupees remained in his charge. And there was no year that he did not shave the heads of his Indian writers one or two times. They say that on one occasion many of them took leave to go and bathe in the Ganges. He said to his Dewān Rai Durgā Dās, "Why don't you go?" He replied, "The Ganges-bathing of your slave is under your Highness's foot." On hearing this he stopped the practice of letting them go (to bathe). Though he was not regular in his prayers, he was a great bigot. On this account he in no way gave in to the apostacies and impieties which the reigning king had adopted, and without reserve he detested and abominated them. He was absolutely not a time-server. In the reign of Jahangir during the vogue of I'timādu-d-daula's family he never went to any of their houses, not even to Nūr Jahān Begam's door. This was the opposite of what the Khān-Khānān M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān did, for he hurried to the house of Rai Govardhan, the Dewān of I'timādu-d-daulah.

As the subject of Akbar's apostacy has been mentioned, it is necessary to say something about it, though the matter is more notorious than the apostacy of Iblis (Satan). Though authors and news-writers of the time have, from fear of loss and injury to themselves, ignored the thing, yet some have made allusions to it, and Shaikh 'Abdul-l-Qādir Badayūnī and his like have written openly about it. Accordingly Jahangir ordered that the booksellers within the empire should not sell or buy the Shaikh's history. On this account the work is rarely[2] met with. The expulsion of the 'Ulamā, the introduction of the prostration and

[1] See Iqbālnāma 230-31, and B. 327, where the translation is veiled.

[2] See Khāfī K. I. 197 and Elliot V. 497. According to Khāfī K., l.c., the history of Badayūnī was more common in the booksellers' shops than any other!

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other customs, are clear proofs of Akbar's views. What more evidence can there be than that 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar in language which would not be used to an ordinary individual—far less to a great king. In reply he wrote much that was sanctimonious and absolving and made excuses for himself by this verse.

Verse.

Of God they say he has a son,
Of the Apostle, they say he was a charlatan,[1]
Neither God nor the Apostle has escaped
Men's tongues, much less I.

This is recorded[2] in the Akbarnāma and also in Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl's letters.

But from consideration of the evidence it appears to the writer of these pages that Akbar did not lay claim to Divinity and prophecy—God forbid that he should! In fact, the king had not acquired the elements of learning, and was not in the least in touch with books. But he was very intelligent and his understanding was of a very high order. He wished that whatever was consonant with reason should prevail. Most of the 'Ulamā, with a view to worldly advantage, took the course of assentation, and of flattery. The advancement of Faiẓī and Abū-l-Faẓl was due to this. They indoctrinated the king with rationalistic and sophistical (*safasṭīyy*) principles and gave the appellation of Inquiry (*taḥqīq*) to the severing of the cable of the observance of antiquity. They styled him the "Assayer of the Age and the *Mujtahid* of the Time." As the abilities and learning of the two brothers were of such a high order that none of their contemporaries could grapple with them, they, who in origin were no better than the sons of a mendicant (*darveshzāda*) and were in indigence, all at once attained to intimacy and influence with the sovereign. Envious people—of whom the world is ever full—and especially the rival *mullāhs* who were desk-ridden (*saqīqaband*, and gave to their dislike and envy the name of "Defence of Faith"—

1 *Kahna*. B. 468 has "sorcerer." See Vullers II. 929.

2 A.N. III. 498 and Abūl Faẓl's Letters, Book I.

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set no limit to the lies which they circulated. There were no commotions which they did not excite. From fanaticism and partizanship they sacrificed their lives and their fortunes. May God have mercy upon them!

The Khān A'ẓam had many children. The eldest was Jahāngir Qulī K. of whom an account has been given. Another was Mīrzā Shādmān who in Jahangir's time received the title of Shād Khān. Another was M. Kharram who in Akbar's reign was governor of Jūnāgarh in Gujarat, which was his father's fief. In Jahangir's time he became known as Kāmal K. and was appointed to accompany Prince Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) in the expedition against the Rānā. Another was M. 'Abdullah who in Jahangir's time received the title of Sirdār K. The king had imprisoned him in the fort of Gwaliyar along with his father. After his father's release he too became an object of compassion. Another was M. Anwar[1] who married the daughter of Zain Khān Koka. Every one of them obtained the rank of 2000 or 3000.[2]

'AZĪZ ULLAH KHĀN.

S. Yūsuf K. S. Ḥusain Tukriyah, of both of whom accounts have been given. 'Azīz Ullah was appointed to Kabul, and at the end of Jahangir's reign had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. After Shah Jahan's accession, he was confirmed in this rank, and in the 7th year had the title of 'Izzat K. and the gift of a flag. In the 11th year he held the rank of 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the same year as he accompanied S'aīd K. Bahādur to the battle near Qandahar against the Persians in which the latter were defeated, he had an increase of 500 horse. From Qandahar he went with Pur Dil K. to take the fort of Bast. In the 12th year he received drums and was appointed to defend the forts of Bast and Girishk—which had been taken. In the 14th year his

1 Apparently this is the M. Nūr of Jahangir's apocryphal Memoirs, Price, 42, who was put to death on a charge of homicide.

2 There is a good account of M. Koka A'ẓam Khān in Blochmann 325. The Darbār A. has omitted him. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says very little about M. Koka in his notices of distinguished men. He states that at the time of writing he was in Mecca. He alludes briefly to his departure there. See Elliot V. 466.

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rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he had the title of 'Azīz Ullah K. In the 17th year 1054, 1644, he died. (Q)

'AZĪZ ULLAH KHĀN.

Third s. Khalīl Ullah K. Yezdī. After his father's death he received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year Aurangzeb made[1] him Mīr Tūzuk in succession to Muḥammad Yār K. In the 30th year when his brother Rūḥ Ullah K. was made governor of the province of Bijapur he was made governor[2] of the fort. In the 36th year after Rūḥ Ullah's death his rank became[3] 1500 with 600 horse. Afterwards, he was[4] qūrbegī, and in the 46th year he was made governor of the fort of Qandahar (in the Deccan) in succession to Sirdār K.[5] His rank became 1500 with 1000 horse. Nothing more is known[6] of him.

BĀBĀ KHĀN QĀQSHĀL.

After Majnūn[7] K. Qāqshāl he was at the head of the Qāqshāl officers in Akbar's reign. He distinguished himself in the campaign against Khān Zamān. In the 17th year, 980, 1572, on the first expedition to Gujarat, Shahbāz K., the Mīr Tūzuk, was arranging[8] the troops when the tactless Turk (Bābā K.) in his arrogance and presumption fell out with him and behaved rudely to him. The King, in order to punish him and to correct other trangressors, ordered him to be severely chastised (*sīāsat 'aẓīm*). At the same period he, on account of his good service, became an object of favour. After the conquest of Bengal, when the province of Ghorāghāt (in northern Bengal) was assigned in fief to the Qāqshāls, though, after the death of Majnūn, the headship was nominally with his son Jabārī Beg, yet the control was with Bābā K. who was the greybeard (*āqsiqāl*) of the tribe. When there were disturbances on the introduction of the branding regulation the grasping clerks opened shops of

1 Maaṣir A. 222.
2 Do. 282.
3 Do. 349.
4 Do. 461.
5 The Maaṣir A. 461 has Sazāwār K.
6 An uncle of Rūḥ Ullah, named 'Azīz Ullah, is mentioned at p. 493 of do.
7 Blochmann 369.
8 Akbarnāma II. 371.

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avarice and covetousness and, owing to the neglect and connivance of the head officer, the subordinates taxed even the minutest things (lit. priced the head of an ant). Accordingly Bābā K. plainly said to Moẓaffar K.,[1] who was the governor of Bengal, that he had given Rs. 70,000 in presents to the officers and had not yet succeeded in having one hundred horsemen passed. In fact Moẓaffar paid no attention to rectify this. When, on account of similar grievances M'aṣūm K. Kābulī and others of the Behar fief-holders stirred up the dust of strife in the 24th year, Bābā K., who was seeking for his opportunity, with some jagirdars of Bengal entered upon rebellion. In the year 989,[2] 1581, they in concert with Khāldīn K. shaved their heads, put on their caps[3] and went to the city of Gaur which was formerly called Lakhnautī. They several times fought with the imperial troops, and were always defeated. At last they were reduced to become suppliants and to ask for quarter. Though Moẓaffar K. heard of the disturbances in Behar he would not accept their apologies. At last M'aṣūm K. and other rebels left Behar on the approach of the imperial forces and joined the rebels of Bengal. These two bodies recommenced disturbances and in the 25th year they seized Moẓaffar K. who had shut himself up in Tānda, and put him to death. When for some time they were successful and things went (lit. the wheel went round) according to their wish, they divided the territory and distributed titles and offices among themselves. Bābā K. took to himself the title of Khān-khānān, and gave himself the government of Bengal. In the same year and in the midst of his success he was attacked by cancer (*khūrah*).[4] Every day two *sirs* of flesh was put into the

1 A.N. III. 291. It is not stated there that Bābā K. said this to Moẓaffar.

2 It should be 987, for the rebellion broke out in the 24th year, and the 25th began in the first month of 988. See Elliot V. 410 and A.N. III. 291.

3 The word for cap is *ṭāqiya*, and Elliot V. 415 renders this "high caps," but it rather appears that the *ṭāqiya* was a small cap, of the nature of a skull cap, worn under the turban or helmet. See Vullers s.v. Apparently the putting on of this cap was a sign of mourning for the death of Roshan Beg, or an indication that they were no longer in uniform, or in the king's service.

4 Blochmann 369, n. 3, calls it cancer in the face. See A.N. III. 321. Perhaps it was a form of lupus.

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ulcer to feed the maggots. He used to say, "Faithlessness to my salt has brought me to this misery." In the same state he died.

BAHĀDUR.

Son of S'aīd Badakhshī who was for a time collector of the Sarkār of Tirhut. In the 25th year of Akbar's reign when the Bihar officers raised the dust of sedition S'aīd left his son on the estates and joined the rebels. Bahādur spent the revenues of the crown-lands on the soldiers and hoisted the standard of disaffection, and struck coins and recited the Khuṭba in his own name. They say that this legend was put upon the coinage.

Verse.[1]

Bahādur ibn Sultan, bin S'aīd, ibn Shah Sultan
Pisar Sultan, pidr Sultan, Zihī Sultan bin Sultan
Bahādur son of a Sultan, s. S'aīd, S. Shah Sultan
The son of a Sultan, the father a Sultan, Bravo Sultan s. Sultan,

When S'aīd at the request of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī went[2] off in order to bring his son—that sedition-monger—to united action, Bahādur had the effrontery to put his father into confinement, and the father in a short time obeyed him. When Shāham K. Jalāīr attacked Patna and was victorious, S'aīd fell[3] in that battle and Bahādur marched out of Tirhut and laid hold of many cultivated tracts. Sarkār Ḥājīpūr was in his possession, and he stretched out his hands everywhere. At last Ṣādiq K. sent a force against him, and there was hand-to-hand fighting. He lost his life there[4] in the 25th year corresponding to 988.

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[1] This couplet is quoted in Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, but the reading is different. Bahādur is also mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt A. where he is styled Bahādur 'Alī. See Elliot V. 426. It is not clear why this biography, which was added by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, finds a place in the Maasir for it does not appear that Bahādur ever held office under Akbar. His name does not occur in Blochmann.

[2] See Akbarnāma III. 306.

[3] Elliot V. 417.

[4] There appears to be some mistake here. Bahādur did not die till the 26th year 989, 1581, and he did not fall in battle but was put to death by Akbar at court. He was

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BAHĀDUR K. BĀQĪ BEG.

He was servant of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and by his good service and skill obtained a place in the prince's heart. He was more trusted than his contemporaries and rivals. He obtained the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and was made governor of Allahabad on behalf of the prince. When he was engaged in settling that territory, he was summoned to court in the 22nd year, and appointed to the charge of Gujarat, and obtained the rank of 2000 with 500 horse and the title of Ghairat K. In the 23rd year he was raised from the position of being the prince's servant and placed among the king's servants and received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and was given a flag. When the prince undertook the charge of the affair of Qandahar and his eldest son Sulaimān Shikoh was appointed governor of Kabul, the settlement of that province was assigned to Ghairat K. In the 28th year he by successive promotions obtained the rank of 4000 with 2500 horse and the title of Bahādur K. While governing Afghanistan he was appointed to Daur,[1] Bānū and Naghz and chastised the Afghans there who seditiously did not pay the proper revenue, and he fixed upon them as their tribute one lac of rupees. But the government of Kabul was not properly conducted by him. In the 30th year the government of Kabul was assigned to Rustum[2] K. Fīrūz Jang, and the charge of Lahore, which was in the prince's fief, was made over to Bahādur K. In the year 1068, 1658, near the end of Shah Jahan's reign, his rank was increased by 500 horse and he was appointed as deputy for the prince in the province of Bihar, and was sent off with Sulaimān Shikoh who had been appointed to oppose Shujā'.

caught not by Ṣādiq but by Mīrzā Koka's servants, or rather he surrendered to one of them, Ghāzī K., who sent him to Ḥājīpūr. See A.N. III. 374, Elliot V. 426, where his death is put into the 27th year, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 307. The text says that it was M'aṣūm K. Kābulī who sent the father S'aīd Badakhshi to admonish the son. But A.N. III. 306 only says "M'aṣūm K.," and it looks as if M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī were meant, as he had not then become a rebel. A. F. adds that the father soon followed the son's lead.

[1] See Jarrett II. 393 and 398, note 6. Text has Daurnabū u Naghr.

[2] Khāfī K. I. 755,

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Though the guardianship and the management were nominally assigned to Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh, in reality Dārā Shikoh made Bahādur guardian and made him the person in power over the army. When Sulaimān Shikoh after defeating Shujā' pursued Amīr K. to Patna, and then on hearing of the march of Aurangzeb was returning in all haste, he on passing Allahabad heard at Karra of his father's defeat and became disheartened, and the Mīrzā Rajah and Diler K., as is the way of old servants, left[1] him. Sulaimān Shikoh was helpless and wished to go to Delhi and to join his father by any possible means. Bahādur K. did not approve of this idea, and turned Sulaimān Shikoh's rein towards Allahabad. There too[2] he (Sulaimān) could not abide, and after leaving his superfluous baggage and some of the ladies in Allahabad Fort he crossed the river at Kutal[3] and wandered about on the other side in failure. At every stage his forces diminished, till at last he passed Laknaur[4] and came to Nagīnah. As at every ferry that he came to and tried to cross the Ganges at, the boats had been removed to the other side of the river, and he could find no means of getting across he went on from Nagīna[5] with the idea that opposite Hardwār he might with the help of the zamindar there and the help of the ruler of Srīnagar (in the Siwaliks) perhaps get across. He passed Moradabad and came to Cāndī[6] which is opposite to Hardwār and near the borders of Srīnagar, and sent people to the ruler of that country to obtain assistance. He waited in expectation of a reply. Meanwhile the troops of Aurangzeb came against him. He was obliged to fly and thought that the hill-country of Srīnagar would be an asylum. When he entered the hill-country and arrived within

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1 Manucci I. 284, 286.

2 'Ālamgīrnāma 171.

3 Qu? Kotlā or Kotilah in the Sarkār of Karra West, J. II. 168. It may, however, merely mean a pass or ferry.

4 Lucknow in text, and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrnāma 171, but Laknaur in Sambhal must be meant. See Elliot IV. 384, note and supp. glossary II. 138. Nagīnah is also mentioned there, 136. It is Nadīnah in text and in 'Ālamgīrnama.

5 Nadīnah in text. It was in Sarkār Sambhal and is now in Bijnaur. I. G. X. 159, and Jarrett II. 290.

6 The hill opposite Hardwār. 'Ālamgīrnāma 173.

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four stages of Srīnagar he was met by the ruler.[1] The latter said that his country was small, and could not support all Sulaimān's men, and that there was no road for elephants and horses. If he desired to take up his quarters in the country he must dismiss his soldiers and come to Srīnagar with his family and a few servants. At this time Bahādur K. who had fallen ill after leaving Allahabad had a dangerous attack of disease, and lost the use of one eye, and was in fact reckoned among the dead. But out of fidelity and honour he did not wish to remain behind. Of necessity he had to separate from Sulaimān Shikoh, and when he came out of the hill-country he died.[2]

BAHĀDUR KHĀN ROHĪLA.

Son of Daryā K. Daudzai. In his father's lifetime he became known to Prince Shah Jahan for good service; and when his father became unfaithful and left the prince, he only attached himself more firmly to Shah Jahan and departed not from his stirrup. After the accession he was promoted to the rank of 4000[3] with 2000 horse and given[4] the fief of Kālpī and sent off to punish the recalcitrants there. When in the first year of the reign Jujhār became a rebel and fortified himself in Undcha (Orcha), and armies marched against him from every side, 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang came with Bahādur K. from Kālpī, which is east of that country, to the fort of Īrīj,[5] every bastion of which rose up high as heaven, and displayed alacrity and zeal. The enemy attacked the heroes, and there was a hot fight. Bahādur and his followers went on foot, and keeping a rank-breaking[6] elephant in front of

[1] Prithī Singh. He afterwards delivered up the prince. Khāfī K. II. 123. See also *id.* pp. 41, 42. Also 'Ālamgirnama 174.

[2] *id.* 42. 'Ālamgīrnama 174.

[3] Pādshahnāma I. 117.

[4] Do. 191.

[5] Erich of the maps, Irich of the I.G. It is in the Jhansi district. The Pādshahnāma I. 247 says Bahādur came from the North, and so he would if he came from Kālpī, which is N.N.E. of Erich.

[6] *file safshikan bar rū dūshta.* The phrase is taken from the Pādshāhnama I. 247, five lines from foot. There instead of *bar ru dashta* we have *pesh dashta.* The Tazkira of Kewal Rām. I.O. M.S. 2685 also relates the incident. It seems to say that it was a wild elephant that Bahādur drove before him.

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them, they ran to the gate, swift as the wind, and by the help of that Ahriman-like animal broke down the gate and quickly entered the fort. With the lily-white sword they turned the swarthy Hindus into the colour of tulips and painted a rose-dyed victory on the face of bravery. As a reward for this exertion and victory he got the honour of a kettle-drum. After that he was appointed along with A'ẓim K., the governor of the Deccan, to extirpate Khān Jahān Lodī. When the A'ẓim K. made a rapid march and attacked Khān Jahān Lodī in Rajūrī-Bīr,[1] the latter came out with a small body of 350 horse which was with him and marched off firmly and in good order, and whenever the imperial forces came near him he turned back, and drove them off by archery. When he came to the hill of Rajūrī, Bahādur Rohilla quickly arrived there and entered into conflict with Khān Jahān's brother's son Bahādur[2] K. who held the rank of 1000 and was distinguished for courage. Bahādur Rohilla displayed great valour so that it seemed like the story of Rustam[3] and Isfandiyār. But at last owing to fewness of companions he was brought into difficulty, and dismounted (or was unhorsed) and went on like a moth, continually hurling himself against the fire of the sword.

They say that when he fell on the ground with two wounds from arrows on his face and side, his opponents wished to cut off his head, and that he cried out "I am the memorial and son of Daryā Khan and a house-born one of you." The Khān Jahān forbade his men to kill him. After that when the A'ẓim Khān in the 4th year after taking the fort of Qandhār[4] encamped on the bank of the Mānjarā with the design of attacking Bhālkī and Chatkoba, he directed that at the time of encamping and till the tents of the troops were put up on the ground assigned to them, each corps and some officers should remain on guard by turns, for the distance of a *kos* from the camp, until the men had

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1 Pādshāhnāma I. 321, where it is said to be 24 *kos* from Machlīgāon.

2 See Pādshāhnāma I. 323, and Khāfī Khān I. 432. There were two Bahādurs and they were on opposite sides. The Bahādur K. who fought with Bahādur Rohilla was Khān Jahan's brother's son.

3 This rhetoric is taken from Khāfī K. *id. id.*

4 Pādshāhnāma I. 377.

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gathered firewood and straw. On the day of Bahādur's turn, (to collect forage) as there was no sign of the enemy, he had cast away the thread of caution and was seated with a few men at a greater distance from the camp. By chance there was a village near there, the men of which gave battle in order to protect their cattle and other property from the camp-followers. Bahādur K. heard of this and hastened with other officers[1] (and men?) who were not more than 1000 in all, to render assistance. Randaulah K. 'Ādilkẖānī with all the rabble made an attack, and the officers opened the hand of courage and fought. When the contest became critical they dismounted, and their minds were bent upon sacrificing their lives. Shahbāz K., who was one of the officers of 3000, spent the coin of life, and Bahādur K. and Yūsuf Muḥammad K. of Tāshkend became senseless from wounds. The enemy carried them off and imprisoned them in Bijapur. When Yemīnu-ddaulah in the 5th year was appointed to devastate the 'Ādilshāhī territory and came to Bijapur, 'Ādil Shah released[2] both of them. Bahādur paid his respects at court and had his dignities increased and was the recipient of royal favours. He was appointed[3] again to Qanauj and its appurtenances. Bahādur proceeded to chastise the rebels of Malkūsah[4] who are conspicuous above the other recalcitrants in that country for violence and numbers. No one there, whether peasant or soldier, goes without weapons so that even the cultivator at the time of ploughing has his loaded gun fastened to the plough, and his match burning. On this account they do not fully apply themselves to agriculture. At this time they were gathered together in Bīrgāon, which was the strongest of their places, and had revolted and absolutely refused to pay their rents. Relying on God's aid, he at once fell upon those

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1 See Pādshāhnāma I. 380 and Kẖāfī Kẖān I. 458. There appears to have been some confusion in the MSS. The statement that the officers were not more than 1000 seems odd, and the words in brackets in the text are not in I.O. MS. 628. The Pādshāhnāma, p. 380, five lines from foot, says there were not more than one thousand horse with Bahādur and his companions.

2 *id.* 415.

3 *id.* II. 87.

4 Malkousah of Supp. Gloss. II. 90. See also J. II. 185.

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wicked men and a wonderful battle took place. Bahādur placed the shield of God's protection above his head and came to the gate. The rioters were not slow to meet him. At length there was a hand-to-hand fight, and after many were killed the rest of them took flight, and Bahādur after destroying the place returned to his residence. A victory was gained over the seditious such as never before had happened in that country. After this, he distinguished himself in the pursuit of Rajah Jujhār Singh Bandīla. He was in the vanguard of 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang and Khān Daurān Bahādur. When that wretch left Garha and Lānjī and came to the country of Chānda, Bahādur, who was following at his heels, sent on his uncle Neknām with a few men, as he himself had had an illness (*chūn kofta*[1] *dāsht*) in order to check his flight. Jujhār on perceiving his boldness turned round and attacked him, and Neknām fell fatally wounded[2] along with seven others. Meanwhile Bahādur K. came up along with Khān Daurān and attacked Jujhar's[3] main body, and the latter scattered like the "Daughters of the Bier" (the stars of the constellation of the Great Bear). As 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang neglected[4] to extirpate Champat[5] Bandīla, Bahādur K. was sent off in the 13th year to the fief of Islamabad[6] in order to put down that sedition-monger. But interested people did not permit this, and impressed the emperor with the idea that it was not advisable to convert Bandalkand into a Rohilkand. He was soon removed. After that he gave proof of courage in the affair of Jagta[7] and the

[1] *Koft* means a blow. It may also mean an illness of some sort as *koftan-i-dil* is given in Vullers as meaning palpitation of the heart, and a kind of disease.

[2] *Zakhmhāī munkir.* Munkir is one of the angels who examine the spirits of the departed. The phrase, which occurs also in Pādshāhnāma II. 691, line 10, means mortal wounds. The account of Neknām is in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 113. There is however a Neknām K. mentioned in Khāfī Khān I. 649, as alive in 1056, and in association with Bāhādur.

[3] The account of the campaign against Jujhār is contained in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 106 *et seq.*, and in Khāfī K. I. 509 *et seq.*

[4] Pādshāhnāma II. 193 *et seq.* and Khāfī Khān I. 578.

[5] Pādshāhnāma II. 136, 193, 221, etc. He was a connexion of Jujhār and a supporter of his son Prithīrāj.

[6] This was a Sarkār in Bandalkand, and among the estates included in it were Irīj, Bhander and Panwār. See Pādshāhnāma II. 307.

[7] The Jagat Singh of the Pādshāhnāma II. 247, etc.

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taking of Mau. His companions under the superintendence of their leader made a ladder[1] of the slain and ran up to the batteries of the foe. On that day 700[2] Afghans among his followers were killed. In the 22nd year he was appointed to guard Multan, and as during the cold weather harvest (*faṣl rabī*) he was without a jagir, an order[3] was given to the diwānī clerks that they should allow his salary (*ṭalab-i-aorā*) to be set off against the demand. In the Balkh campaign he was in the vanguard of Murād Bakhsh's army and distinguished himself by his courage. When the prince came to the foot of the Ṭūl[4] pass—which was the boundary between the empire and the territory of Badakhshān—Aṣālat K. with the imperial pioneers (*bīldār*) and some thousand labourers, whom the Amīru-l-umarā 'Alī Mardān K. had collected from the districts (*balūkāt*) of Kabul, was appointed to clear the road of snow as far as the Serai-Bāla (the upper serai) for the distance of one *kos* and the height of two royal yards, and for half a *kos* and in some places for about 2½ *kos* to the Serai Zer (the lower serai) which is towards Badakhshān, and to make the road passable for laden camels. In other places they were to beat down the snow so that horses and camels could pass. As this work was not completed by them (the pioneers), Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. set all their troopers and foot soldiers to remove the snow and open out the road. The soldiers used all their efforts and dug up the snow and scattered it on the side of the roads with their hands and aprons. By the energy of Bahādur Khān a road two yards wide was made for the distance of one *kos* where there was much snow. When the prince (Murād Bakhsh) cast the shadow of his arrival there, Nazr Muḥammad

[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 270.

[2] *id. id.*

[3] Khāfī K. I. 683. The allowances which Bahādur should have got as a jagirdar but which he did not get as he was without one, were to be set off against the demand for the spring harvest of Multan.

[4] Copied from the Pādshāhnāma II. 513. See also Khāfī K. I. 623. This refers to the expedition against Badakhshān and is anterior to the Multan incident. The march and encounter with the snow occurred in 1055, 1645, and in the 19th year, while the grant of Multan was in the 22nd year 1057. The Ṭūl Pass is referred to in Jarrett II. 399, 400.

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K., the ruler of Tūrān, pretended that he was going to Bāgh[1] Murād to arrange for a banquet and hastened off to Shaburghān.[2] At an indication from the prince, Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. followed him. About[3] 10,000 Uzbeg and Alamān horse who had gathered round Naẓr Muḥammad K. went off with their families and properties to Andakhūd on the approach of the imperial army, being afraid of being plundered and made prisoners Naẓr Muḥammad K. with a small force prepared for battle and engaged at the distance of four *kos* from Shaburghān. As soon as the encounter began and when scarcely had the sound of conflict reached his men's ears, they gave up and took to flight. Naẓr Muḥammad became helpless and turned his rein and went to Andakhūd, and from there he went to Khurasan. Though Bahādur K. had received an increase of rank, yet at this time, which was that of pursuit and when it was certain that with a little exertion[4] Naẓr Muḥammad K. would have been made prisoner, this brave officer purposely robbed himself (of his opportunity). Either the sluggishness of his companions affected him or there was some other cause which prevented him from finishing the work. And this impression became fixed in the mind of the emperor. When Prince Murād Bakhsh was disinclined to stay in that country and left it without permission from Shah Jahan and proceeded to Kabul, the government of Balkh and the guarding of the country fell upon Bahādur along with Aṣālat. After Prince Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bahādur had cast his shadow over that country, Bahādur K. was in the vanguard and performed feats of valour in battle with the Uzbegs who were more numerous than ants and locusts. At the time of retreating from the country the rearguard was under his charge and he underwent much toil in bringing off the camp. When he reached the pass of Panjshīr[5] which is two stages from the Hindu Koh and is a

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 539.

2 The Sapurgan of Marco Polo, 90 m. west Balkh.

3 *id.* 550.

4 Pādshāhnāma II. 553.

5 Text Tankshīr تنكشير. This is the well-known Pass of Panjshīr in northern Afghanistan referred to in the Ain Akbarī II. 399 and note 3. A note to text of the Maasir says that in some copies of the Akbarnāma (by which is meant the Ain) the word is

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defile which is difficult to traverse, it began to snow, and this continued the whole night and till two *par* (midday) of the next day. With a hundred difficulties the remainder of the camp and of the soldiers were taken through the Pass. At this time on account of the excessive snow a halt of twenty four hours was made. The narrow-eyed Hazāras (referring to their Mongolian origin) opened out their eyes from the lust of robbing and the baggage and attacked the people of the camp. But Bahādur K. with the help of fortune repulsed them every time. When the army got into the Hindu Koh Pass he halted for one day in order that all those who had fallen behind might join, and after that he himself crossed. Owing to the difficulties of the road, the sharpness of the air, and the abundant snow, there were lost on the march from first to last 10,000 men, or nearly half of the force and all the quadrupeds. Much property too remained under the snow. When Bahādur[1] K. came to the head of the Pass, Ẕū-al-qadr K. who had charge of the imperial treasure was obliged to halt on account of the exhaustion of the carriers. Bahādur unloaded his own camels and those of others, whatever remained, and put treasure on them. The rest he divided among the horses and camels (mules) of the soldiers. He also contended with the Hazāras and entered Kabul fourteen days after the Prince.

Though Bahādur K. had made great exertions in the campaign, yet owing to the representations of some people, Shah Jahan became impressed with the idea that he had been remiss in the matter of pursuing Naẓr Muḥammad K and in assisting S'aīd[2]

written Tang-Shīr. But in Bib. Ind. ed. of Ain I. 590, and 595, the word is written Panjhīr with the variant Panjshīr. See the account of the crossing in Khāfī K. I. 676. See also Elliot VII. 82 for a translation of the Shah Jahannāma of 'Inayat K. The pass is there called Nek Bihār (?). Apparently the author of the Maasir got his account of the crossing of the Pass from the work of Muḥammad Wāriṣ, as the son does not mention 'Inayat Ullah's work among the sources.

[1] Khāfī K. I. 677-678.

[2] See Khāfī K. I. 663 and Pādshahnāma II. 691-692. S'aīd K. was wounded and his sons were killed. The supineness of Bahādur is commented on by the author of the Pādshahnāma, do. 692.

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Muḥammad at the time of the Uzbeg victory. Therefore, in spite of all the hardships and afflictions he had undergone, he was deprived of Sarkārs Kālpī and Qanauj, which were his fief and for twelve months of the year yielded a return, they being confiscated[1] to the crown (*khālṣa*), in lieu of thirty lacs of rupees which were claimed by the government. This made him grieved at heart. In the 23rd year he was appointed to the Qandahar expedition along with Prince Aurangzeb. In the siege of that strong place he set up a battery in front of the Mālūrī (variant Mālwʿa) Gate, and on 19 Rajab 1059, 19th July 1649, he by reason of asthma emerged from the fenced city of life. The prince and Jumla-ul-mulki Sʿaīd Ullah K. gave fitting office and allowances to every one of his followers, who were 2000 horse in number, who was fit for service, and kept a number on their own establishment. Other officers took the rest. Shah Jahan raised his eldest son Dilāwar,[2] who was 15 years of age, to the rank of 1500, and gave offices to each one of his six other sons. All his property, except the elephants, was relinquished to his sons. They say that his zeal and loyalty in the king's service were so great that they quite removed from Shah Jahan's heart the cloud which had been caused by his father's crooked ways. They say that Bahādur K. always lamented that he had not had his revenge on the Bijapuris, and that as long as he lived the shame of this affair appeared on his face. ʿAzīz K. Bahādur was one of his sons who in the 49th year of Aurangzeb distinguished himself at the siege of Wākinkīra. On account of this the title of Chaghatai[3] was graciously accorded to him.

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[1] See statement repeated II. 42 in the account of Diler K. I am not sure of the meaning, and I have not access to the authority for the statement. If it refers to the 22nd year it is opposed to Khāfī K. I. 683 which states apparently that Bahādur received the charge of the province of Multan, and that his pay for the time he was without a jagir, was to be set off against the government demand. The affair of Sʿaīd K. occurred in 1056, in the 19th or 20th year of the reign, and probably Bahādur was punished by being deprived of his jagir at that time and recompensed in the 23rd year.

[2] Dalīl in Khāfī K. I. 695.

[3] According to Kewāl Rām the title was given to Bahādur himself.

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BAHĀDUR KHĀN SHAIBĀNĪ.

His name was Muḥammad S'aīd, and he was the brother of Khān Zamān 'Alī Qulī K. He was one of the Panchazārīs (5000) of Akbar. At the time of Humāyūn's expedition to India, he received the territory of Zamīn Dāwar. After some time, he out of an evil disposition got the idea of taking Qandahar, and sought to succeed by dint of stratagem. He did not succeed, and when he failed, he collected some vagabonds and prepared for battle. Shāh Muḥammad K. Qilātī, who was guarding the fort on behalf of Bairām, saw that help from India was far off, and so strengthened the fort and applied for help to the king of Persia. At his request an army of Persians came and suddenly fell upon Bahādur K. He made a stout resistance, but was not successful and had to fly. As he could not remain in the district, he, in the second year of the reign, and when Akbar was besieging Mānkot, presented himself at court in a shame-faced fashion. On the recommendation of Bairām K., his offence was pardoned, and he obtained Multan as his fief in the room of Muḥammad Qulī Birlās. In the third year Bahādur was appointed along with many other officers to conquer Mālwa. At the same time there occurred the downfall of Bairām, and the latter recalled him in order that he himself might take possession of that territory. But afterwards he abandoned this idea. Bahādur came to Delhi and on the recommendation of Māham Anaga was appointed to the high office of Vakīl. A few days had not elapsed when Etawah was made his fief, and he obtained leave of absence. In the 10th year, when Khān Zamān his eldest brother became rebellious, he was sent along with Sikandar K. Uzbeg to Sarwār, in order that he might come to Upper India by that route, and make a disturbance. On this account Akbar appointed a force under Mīr M'uizu-l-mulk of Mashhad. Though Bahādur made submissions and said that his mother had gone to court with Ibrāhīm K. Uzbeg, and had obtained forgiveness for his and his brother's offences, Mīr M'uīzu-l-mulk would not agree and came forward to give battle. Though Sikandar K. who was with Bahādur turned to flee, Bahādur fell upon Mīr M'uizu-l-mulk's centre, and Shāh

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Budāgh K., who was one of the soldier-like officers, was made prisoner, and the Mīr was defeated. As Bahādur's and the Khān Zamān's offences had been pardoned, this act of his was not inquired into. But as the pardon was conditional[1] on the Khān Zamān's not crossing the Ganges so long as Akbar should be in that quarter, and as at the time when Akbar visited Chunār, 'Alī Qulī neglected this condition, and crossed the Ganges, the king was angry and made a rapid march against him. He issued an order to Ashraf K., who was in Jaunpur, to imprison Bahādur's mother. Bahādur heard of this and made a rapid expedition to Jaunpur and took the fort. He imprisoned Ashraf and released his own mother, and plundered Jaunpur and Benares, and then went off on the return of the king. But once more on account of the pardoning of the Khān Zamān's offences, and the entreaties of M'unim K., Akbar did not direct his attention to suppress the immoderate conduct of Bahādur. At last in the 12th year 974, 1566-67, he, along with his brother, with utter want of decency or gratitude entered upon a contest with Akbar. When Bābā K. Qāqshāl fell upon the army of Khān Zamān, Bahādur K. faced him and overthrew him. Suddenly his horse was struck with an arrow and reared, and Bahādur was thrown. When his men saw this, they dispersed, and the brave men of the imperial army attacked him. Wazīr Jamīl Beg, who was then an officer of the rank of 700, wickedly and avariciously took something from him and let him go. Just then another man came up, and placed him in pillion on his horse and brought him to the king. Akbar said, "Bahādur K., what evil did we do to you, that you have made all this commotion and strife?" Bahādur replied,[2] "God is to be praised for whatever happens!" Perhaps his disloyalty had not yet been entirely extirpated, otherwise he would have expressed his repentance. At the importunity of well-wishers an order was given to Shahbāz K. to cut off his head.

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[1] A. N. II. 265.

[2] A. N. III. 294, and Badayūnī, Lowe 99. The Darbār A. 222 understands Bahādur to have meant that he praised God for giving him a sight of the emperor. Probably Bahādur merely implied that whatever was, was right.

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He had a poetical vein and wrote verses. This opening is by him.

Verse.[1]

That saucy tyrant took another stone,
As if to war with me the wounded one.

BAHĀDURU-L-MULK.

They say that his real native country was the Panjab. After serving the kings of the Deccan for a long time he came to Akbar's court, and became his servant In the 43rd year he took the fort of Pūnār[2] in the province of Berar. That fort is on a hill and has a river on three sides which is never fordable. After that he distinguished himself in various battles. In the 46th year when he was left with Ḥamīd K. to guard the country of Telingāna, Malik 'Ambar brought an army from the country of Barīd and stirred up strife. They in the pride of their valour opposed him with a small force and a battle took place on the bank of the Mānjarā. By the fatefulness of heaven they were defeated and Ḥamīd K. was made prisoner. Bahādur[3] by great efforts crossed the river and gained a place of safety. In the 8th year of Jahangir he obtained the gift of a flag. In the 9th year he was distinguished[4] by increase of rank and the gift of an elephant. He died at the appointed time. They say that this line was engraved on his signet.

Verse.[5]

Whoever is a good friend is a valuable pearl.
(Bahādur).

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[1] These lines with a difference in the first line are quoted by Badayūnī III. 240, in his account of the Khān Zamān who had the takhallaṣ of Multan. See also Darbār A. 227

[2] Panār of Ain J. II. 227 and 233. In A. N. III. 743 it is Pūnā. The Paunār (Pownār) of the I. G. XI. 119. It is in Wardha district and on river Dhām. I.G. new ed. xxiv. 368.

[3] A. N. III. 796.

[4] In the 10th year of Jahāngir, Tuzūk 139, he was raised to the rank of 3000, and 2300 horse.

[5] Apparently the point of the line is that it is a play on the name of the owner of the signet. *Bahādur* seems here to be taken as a Persian word and to mean a precious pearl, or simply anything valuable. Perhaps it should be "Whoever is the acceptable friend of anyone is a precious pearl."

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BAHĀDUR K. UZBEG.

His name was Abū-n-Naṣr, and he was one of the nobility of Tūrān. In the time of 'Abdu-l-mūmin K. he attained to high office and was made governor of Mashhad. When 'Abdu-l-mūmin was killed, Bāqī K. (the ruler of Tūrān) tried to conciliate Bahādur, but he got free by pretending that he was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and came to India. In the 48th year he entered[1] into Akbar's service, and received suitable rank and the present of a jewelled waist-dagger. After the accession of Jahangir he received[2] Rs. 40,000 for expenses and went off with 57 officers to assist Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K. who had been appointed to pursue Sultān Khusrau. In the 5th year he was made faujdār of Multan in succession to Tāj K. In the 7th year he obtained a *manṣab* of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Bahādur K., and was, on the death of M. Ghāzī, appointed[3] to the government of Qandahar. Afterwards he got successive increases and attained[4] the rank of 5000 with 3500 horse. In the 15th[5] year he pleaded defective eyesight and resigned the appointment of Qandahar. They say that when the approach of the king of Persia's army was bruited abroad, he out[6] of carelessness could not make up his mind to remain (?) and so distributed two lacs of rupees among the royal clerks as bribes, and left the place. After that he obtained a fief in the Agra province and was prosperous. When Shah Jahan's standards moved from Ajmere towards Agra he came[7] forward and did homage. Nothing more is known of him.

BAHARJĪ, LANDHOLDER OF BAGLĀNĀ.[8]

His ancestors held this territory for 1400 years. They regard themselves as descended from Rajah Jai Cand Rāthor who was

1 A. N. III. 820, and 839. He is there called Abu-i-Baqā.

2 Tūzuk J. 28. 3 Tūzuk J. 109.

4 It is mentioned under the 11th year of the Tūzuk 162, that he got an increase of 500.

5 Tūzuk 323.

6 The sentence is obscure. Apparently it means that he was afraid to stay, and so left, but sent two lacs of rupees to the clerks at headquarters to secure a favourable representation of his case.

7 Pādshāhnāma I. 82.

8 J. II. 251, Elliot VII. 65. Khāfī K. I. 561. Pādshāhnāma II. 105.

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Rajah of Qanauj. Whoever ruled this country was called Baharjī. In former times they coined money. As it was between Gujarat and the Deccan, the ruler served whichever side was strongest. After having long been tributary to Gujarat, the rulers of Khandes came to prevail owing to their proximity. In the year 980, 1572, when Gujarat came into Akbar's possession, and the royal standards were planted in the delightful spot of the blessed port of Surat, Baharjī submitted and produced[1] M. Sharafu-d dīn Ḥusain (afterwards) the king's brother-in-law, who had rebelled and had entered Baharjī's territories with the intention of going to the Deccan, and had been imprisoned there. In consequence Baharjī was treated with favour. After this the ruler of Baglāna always submitted and paid tribute, and when necessary made his appearance when summoned by the viceroys of the Deccan. As Baglāna on one side adjoined Gujarat, and on the other Khandes, and was in the middle of the imperial territories, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzeb in the time of his first viceroyalty appointed Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who received the title of Wazīr K., with Mālojī Deccanī, Ẓāhid K. Koka, and Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Wahāb of Khandes, to conquer Baglāna. After a siege, the fort of Mulher, which was the capital, was taken, and Baharjī sent his mother to make a reconciliation, and after making a treaty he in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan) surrendered the fort and waited upon the prince (Aurangzeb). Shah Jahan made him an officer of 3000 with 2500 horse and at his request assigned to him as his dwelling-place pargana Sultānpūr, which had been lying waste since the time of the famous famine[2] in the Deccan. The territory of Baglāna was included in the province of Khandes. Rāmgīr,[3] which is a district of Baglāna, was likewise taken out of the possession of Sūm[4] Deo, the son-in-law of Baharjī. As the expenditure on it exceeded the income, Baharjī received it back, and Rs. 10,000 was fixed as the annual tribute. After Baharjī's death Shah Jahan converted his son Bairam[5] Sāh to Muham-

[1] A. N. III. 29.

[2] In 1630-31, Pādshāhnāma I. 362, Elliot VII. 24.

[3] Rāmnagar in Pādshāhnāma II. 109.

[4] Pādshāhnāma II. 109.

[5] Khāfī K. I. 564.

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madanism and gave him the title of Daulatmand K., and the rank of 1500 and the pargana of Pūnār Khandes (Paunār) as *'in'ām* in lieu of Sultānpūr. He lived into the reign of Aurangzeb and in that town (Paunār) erected splendid buildings of which vestiges still remain.

Verse.

From the marks of broken gates and walls
The signs of foreign (or of Persian) princes are visible.

Baglāna is mainly a hill-country. Its length is 100 *kos* and its breadth 30.[1] On the east are Gālna and Nandarbār. West is Sorath. North, Tiplī (Rājpīplah) and the Vindya range. South, the Sambha[2] range on the top of which are Nāsik and other places. Formerly it was rated at 3000 horse and 10,000 infantry. It had two great cities Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. At present there are not many villages. It had seven forts of note, and all were hill-forts. Two were especially famous, Mulher (Muleir of the maps) known as Aurangarh with a town one *kos* off. The river Mosan[3] flows 60 *kos* west of Aurangabad. Sālher is called Sulṭān-garh and is the loftiest of forts and summits.

Verse.

For Sālher is the son of high heaven,
In height he is as tall as his sire.

Other places are Hatgarha,[4] Jūlher, Besūl, Nāniya and Sālūta. This country[5] is well watered and has abundant orchards and various kinds of crops. It has abundance of mangoes and choice rice which is the best in the Deccan. In the time of former rulers the collections were ten lacs of rupees. Six and half krors of dāms were its fixed revenue. As it had been devastated by famine

1 Pādshahnāma has 70 for the breadth, i.e. length from N. to S. But A.N. III. 30 has 30.

2 So in text, but the variant Sahyā-chal is right, the range in question being the Sahyādri hills of the I.G. XII. 137 old edition.

3 Mus or Mos in text, but variant has Mosan. I.G. VI. 192 has Mosam It is a tributary of the Girnā which flows into the Tāptī.

4 See Pādshāhnāma II. 106, which has Hātgarha, Pepūl (qu. Bhusāwal), Bāūna and Sālūda.

5 See Khāfī K. I. 561-562 who speaks from personal knowledge.

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and the repeated marchings of troops the revenue after the conquest was fixed at four lacs of rupees. At present Rs. 11,000 has been deducted from this also in the offices. The parganas were in old times reckoned at 32, and of these 27 have now been included in three or four estates. Also the villages of this country which are in the hill-tracts towards Jawār [1] (Jawhār ?) yield little and are in the possession of the Bhīls.

(I'TIQĀD K. MĪRZĀ) BAHMAN YĀR.

Son of Yamīnu-d-daulah Khān-Khānān Āṣaf K. He was of an independent disposition, of a careless nature, and a lover of comfort and pleasure. He spent his life in a delightful manner and had a sufficiency of the means of enjoyment. He did not deal with armies or marching. In perfect tranquillity and freedom from care he spent his days and nights. When he was Mīr Bakhshī he continually by feigning illness abstained from waiting on the royal stirrup, and spread the carpet of ease and comfort. Sometimes he went to the Deccan to visit his brother Shaista Khān, and sometimes, on the same pretext, he went off to Bengal. Many of his sallies and expressions are on the tip of people's tongues. From a regard to the merits of his ancestors and to his connection with the royal family both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb excused him from many of the disagreeables of service and strove to make him comfortable. In the 10th year of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 500 with 200 horse. After his father's death he got an increase and was always treated with kindness. In the 19th year his rank was 2000, with 200 horse, and in the 22nd year it was 3000 with 300 horse and he had the title of Khānzāda Khān. In the 25th year he returned from the Deccan, where he had been to visit his brother Shaista Khān, and entered into the royal service. In the end of the same year he had the rank of 4000 with 500 horse and the family title of I'tiqād K. which his father and uncle had both held. And he was made Mīr Bakhshī. As frequently, he on the plea of

[1] *Samt jawār.* Perhaps "the villages in the neighbourhood of the hill country."

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illness was unable to carry on the duties, he in the 26th year at the time when the king was returning from Kabul to the capital begged, when the army reached Lahore, to be allowed to halt for a while and to adopt remedies. This was granted and a yearly allowance of Rs. 60,000 made him satisfied. After he got well, he in the 27th year attended court and was out of kindness restored to his former rank and service. In this service he continued till the end of the 30th year without covetousness or selfish designs, in perfect independence and freedom from care, and gathered the treasure of a good name. After the battle with Dārā Shikoh at Samogarha, which is a famous hunting-place, he had the distinction of entering into the service of Aurangzeb. In the 5th year he got the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and received royal favours. In the 10th year he obtained a flag and took leave to go and see his elder brother (Shaista K.) who was then governor of Bengal. He stayed a long while in that country, and spent his time in enjoyment. In the 15th year, 1082, 1671, he died.[1] May God have mercy upon him! He was a very honest man and free from anxieties. He was pious and had a perfect love for the poor.

They say that one day he had gone off into the lanes without ceremony to see an enthusiast. As this was contrary to the diginity of an Amīr the emperor asked him by way of rebuke, "Were any of the king's servants with you?" He replied, "One was there—this ashamed one (lit. this black-faced one); all the others were servants of God." His son Muḥammad Yār K. was also the unique of the age for his good qualities. He has been noticed separately. His daughter Fāṭima Begam was the wife of Muftakhir K. the son of Fakhr K. Najm-ṣānī. In the end she found favour with Aurangzeb and became Ṣadru-n-nisā, "Mistress of the Harem."

BAHRĀM SULTAN.

Third s. Naẓr Muḥammad the ruler of Balkh. As some account of Naẓr Muḥammad has been given at the end of the

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[1] In Bengal, Maaṣir A. 114.

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biography of Khusrau Sultan (his second son), and his final fate has been mentioned in the biography[1] of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Sultan, it is necessary to give in this place some account[2] of his ancestors. He and his elder brother Imām Qulī K. were the sons of Dīn Muḥmmad K. commonly known as Yatīm Sultan and who was s. Jānī Sultan, s. Yār Muḥammad K., who was the cousin of Ḥājim K., the ruler of Ūrganj, the capital of Khwarazm. When the country of Sher[3] Khān (i.e. Astrachan) had been taken by the Russians from his ancestors,[4] Yār Muḥammad came away in a destitute condition. Perhaps he was influenced by the improper conduct of Ḥājim towards himself. Anyhow, when he came to Transoxiana, Sikandar K. (i.e. Iskandar) the father of the famous 'Abdullah K. perceived that he was a young[5] man of ability and lineage, and gave him in marriage his daughter (Zahra Khānim) who was the full sister of 'Abdullah K. The fruit of this union soon appeared in the person of Jānī K. He had five[6] sons, viz. Dīn Muḥammad, who was the eldest, Bāqī Muḥammad, Walī Muḥammad, Payinda Muḥammad Sultan and Alīm Sultan. All these five brothers submitted[7] to 'Abdullah K. and passed their days in Tūn, Qāīq[8] and other countries of Quhis-

[1] See Maasir I. 767 and II. 812.

[2] Copied from Pādshāhnāma I. 216-217.

[3] This seems to be a mistake for Hashtar Khān or Ḥajj Tarkhān, i.e. Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga. It is Hashtar Khān in the Pādshahnāma I. 217.

[4] Text *ābāish* "his ancestors," which seems to have no sense here, for Astrakhan was taken from Yār Muḥammad himself, who was then an old man. The Pādshāhnāma l.c. has *amālish* "his hopes," and the sentence seems to mean that Yār Muḥammad fell from his hopes of power and sway and had to come in a destitute condition to Transoxiana. This was in 975, 1567. Desmaison's Abū-l-Ghāzī, p. 188, n. Ḥājim Tarkhān is frequently mentioned in that work. The Astrakhan dynasty is known as the Jānids. It came to an end, according to S. Lane Poole, in 1554, p. 229. Yār Muḥammad's genealogy is given in Vambèry's Hist. of Bokhara 305, n. 2.

[5] It was Jānī Beg the son of Yār Muḥammad who received in marriage the daughter of Iskandar, and sister of the celebrated 'Abdullah K. See Howorth, Part II., 744. Vambèry's Bokhara 305, and Stanley Lane Poole's Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 274.

[6] So in Pādshāhnāma. According to Vambèry, p. 306, he had only three—Dīn Muhammad, Walī Muḥammad, and Bāqī Muhammad.

[7] *Az qibal* 'Abdullah Khan, "under his suzerainty" (?).

[8] Qāin in Pādshāhnāma. It lies between Yezd and Herat, Blochmann 591. It is the old capital of Kohistan and is the Kayin of the maps.

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tan (for Kohistān). Alīm Sultan died there. When there came a rupture between 'Abdullah K. and his son 'Abdu-l-Mūmin, the brothers had regard to their obligations to 'Abdullah and did not submit to 'Abdu-l-Mūmin. When the latter became ruler of Tūrān, he got rid of all his relations, whom he suspected of good conduct and propriety, and so raised smoke (*dūd* which also means sighing) from his own family (*dūdmān*). He also proceeded to act badly to Yār Muḥammad K. and drove him out from Balkh, and he seized Jānī K. and imprisoned him. The brothers sounded the drum of opposition in Khurāsān, and behaved presumptuously. As it chanced, in the year 1006,1598, when 'Abdu-l-Mūmin was marching with a large army from Bokhara with the intention of attacking Khurāsān he was killed one night by an arrow shot by an Uzbeg who was grieved for the sorrows of the afflicted and was lying in wait. Dīn Muḥammad regarded the coin of opportunity as a great treasure and placed the cap of joy on the apex of fortune. He came to Herat and took possession of it, and appointed Walī Muḥammad to the charge of Merv. As there was great commotion throughout Tūrān, every head (*sir*) was a *sirdār* (leader) and every door (*dar*) was a caucus (*darbār*) and the Uzbegs being without remedy agreed to his supremacy in Khurāsān. He established his power in Herat and had the *Khuṭba* recited and coin struck in the name of his grandfather Yār Muḥammad K. Yār Muḥammad [1] after being turned out of Balkh had gone to India, and waited upon Akbar and been treated with royal favours. After some time he took leave to go on pilgrimage and had come to Qandahar, when the heavens caused this trampling upon dominion. Dīn Muḥammad K. had not yet moved some

Jarrett III. 86, n. Apparently it is the Ghaein of Macgregor's Khurāsān II. 148.

1 This account of Yār Muḥammad is copied from the Pādshāhnāma. But it disagrees with Vambèry who says that Yār Muḥammad (of Astrakhan) died soon after his arrival in Transoxiana. Nor is there any mention of a Yār Muḥammad Sultan's coming to India in Akbar's time. Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad of Pādshāhnāma I. 217 is not the father of Jānī Beg and grandfather of Dīn Muhammad. But see *infra* in this notice. The "trampling upon dominion" referred to is the death of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin which took place in 1598 (1006).

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steps towards the accomplishment of his wishes when Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī who was waiting for an opportunity of extricating his hereditary territories, equipped an army for battle and came to Herat. Some well-wishing and far-sighted people said to him (Dīn Muḥammad) that it was not advisable to make a disturbance about Khurāsān which for a hundred years had been the territory of the Persians, and of which a part was in his (Dīn M.'s) possession. The proper course was to propose friendship to the king of Persia, and to arrange the affairs of Turkistan, which was his old and hereditary possession and was without a fitting head. After subduing that country he might without objection, if he were able to do so, address himself to the conquest of Khurāsān. Dīn Muḥammad K. at the instigation of warlike young men for whom the pleasures of the government of Khurāsān had not lost their taste, and also because in the time of 'Abdullah K., and of the confusions in Khurāsān, war had been successfully made against some of the officers of that country, thought that the contest would be an easy one. At the Rabāṭ Pariyān near Pul Sālār, which is four *farsakhs* (leagues) from Herat, an engagement took place. There was a great battle [1] and the Uzbegs were defeated. Nearly 5 or 6000 of the best men in the army were killed, and Dīn Muḥammad fled. When he came to Mārūcāq weakness overpowered him on account of his wounds, and his companions laid him down in a corner in order that he might get repose. There he died. Some say he took refuge with one of the servants of the soldiers in a tent. He was not recognized and was ill-treated by the men, and when they did recognize him they were frightened of reprisals and so put him to death. Payinda Muḥammad Sultan went to Qandahar, and Shāh Beg K.[2] the governor there imprisoned him and sent him to Akbar. He made him over to Ḥasan Beg [3] Shaikh Umarī who was going to Kabul, and he made him

[1] Vambèry. Hist. of Bokhara, p. 306. A.N. III. 803, where Dīn M. is apparently called Hāshim K. See also 'Ālam Arāī, lith., p. 392. The Hāshim K. of the A.N. is apparently a mistake for Yatīm Sultan or Yatīm K., which was another name for Dīn Muḥammad. [2] Blochmann 377.

[3] Do. 454. Ḥasan Beg is the man who afterwards joined Khusrau and was put to death with tortures by Jahangir.

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over to Qulīj K. the governor of the Panjab. After one year he died in Lahore. Walī Muḥammad K. came away from the battle-field with 30 to 40 servants without knowing what had become of his elder brother Dīn Muḥammad and hastened to Bokhara. There he joined Pīr Muḥammad K. who was one of the relatives of 'Abdullah K., but whom 'Abdu-l-Mūmin had not put to death as he thought [1] him an opium-eating dervish because he always spent his time in opium-shops (*koknār khānhā*) in poverty and wretchedness, but who had afterwards been seated on the *masnad* of Tūrān. When at that time Tawakkal K. Qazzāq on finding that Transoxiana was destitute of a powerful ruler led an army against it, Bāqī Muḥammad (a son of Jānī K.) distinguished himself in the battle, and received from Pīr Muḥammad the government of Samarkand. Bāqī Muḥammad after behaving obediently for some time perceived that he was fitter for rule than Pīr Muḥammad and conceived the idea of being sovereign and called himself Khān. He also marched out from Samarkand to take Miyānkāl. Pīr Muḥammad was made miserable and restless by this news and came to Samarkand with 40,000 horse. Bāqī Muḥammad craftily had resort to supplications, but though he tried to clear himself it was of no avail. When he found himself helpless he opened the gates of contest and one day he came out of the fort and fell upon Pīr Muḥammad's centre and defeated him. He was wounded and captured and was immediately put to death by Bāqī Muḥammad's order. Bāqī M. then proceeded to Bokhara and sate upon the throne of rule. By ability and courage he also brought under his sway Balkh and Badakhshān. Yār Muḥammad his grandfather, who was still in Qandahar, on hearing this news gave up the thought of going on pilgrimage and proceeded to Tūrān. Bāqī M. welcomed him with honour and seated him on the *masnad*, and had the khuṭba recited and coin struck in his name. But when after two years he perceived that his grandfather was eager to advance, his sons 'Abbās Sultan, Tarson Sultan, and Pīr Muḥammad Sultan who were not by the same mother as Jānī K., he deprived Yār Muḥammad of power, and placed his

1 'Ālam Arāī, p. 381, where he is called Pīr Muhammad Sultan.

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father Jānī K. in his room. After this when Yār Muḥammad K. and Jānī K. died, Bāqī M. recited the khuṭba and struck coins in his own name and his power rose as high as the Pleiades, and the vault of Orion. When he died in 1014, 1605-06, Walī Muḥammad succeeded to power. He made over Balkh, Andakhud and their appurtenances—which were on this side of the Oxus—and which during his brother's time had belonged to him (i.e. Bāqī M.) to his brother's sons Imām Qulī and Naẓr M. Sultan who were the sons of Dīn M. K. They for a long time were obedient to their uncle, but at last they on account of their youth and the instigation of ignorant companions became disobedient and took the road of rebellion. They made[1] their honoured uncle suspected in the matter of religion on account of the coming and going of the Persian ambassador, and induced most of the Uzbeg officers to have an aversion to him. At last Khwāja Abū Hāshim the Khwāja of Dahbīd, and Muḥammad Bāqī Qalmāq who governed Samarkand on behalf of (*az qibal*) Walī Muḥammad K., and Īlangtosh Be Atālīq who was there as his (Walī's) auxiliary, and who had been vexed by the evil conduct of Walī Muḥammad, recited the *Khuṭba* and struck coin in the name of Imām Qulī and summoned him from Balkh. He with his brother Naẓr Muhammad crossed the Jaihūn (Oxus) and wished to come to Samarkand by the route of Koh-i-Tan.[2] Walī M. on hearing the news gathered together an army from Bokhara and blocked their path. When they came near, as Imām Qulī had not power to fight, he stirred up questions and brought forward charges. Walī M. too wished that things should not come to fighting. Suddenly, by accident, one night two or three boars came out of a reed bed into Walī's camp. People made a noise and came out of their tents and proceeded to fight with them. There was a great outcry that Imām Qulī was making a night attack, and people assembled in Walī M.'s enclosure. No trace could be found of him, as he out of suspicion against his own people had withdrawn himself with some persons that he trusted. Crowds of men joined the two brothers. Some are of opinion that these noctur-

[1] See 'Ālam Arāī, lith. 589. [2] Pādshāhnāma I, p. 219, line 2.

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nal rumours did not spring from mean and riotous fellows. Rather Walī M.'s chief officers who from unfaithfulness and avarice had shut their eyes to their obligations to their master and looked at his failure as their success raised the cry of a night attack and turned the face of hope to his enemies. However this may be, Walī M. after being for some time a spectator of the catastrophe went off to Bokhara in complete mortification and despair. There too he did not see his way to settle, and went off[1] with failure to Persia.

Imām Qulī having received unexpected good fortune hastened to Bokhara and sate upon the masnad, and gave Balkh and Badakhshān to Naẓr M. K. Ai Khānim was the daughter of 'Ibād Ullah Sultan, younger brother of 'Abdullah K., and was first married to 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn. After his death she came into the possession of Īsham K. Qazzāq, after that she was married to Pīr Muḥammad K., after that to Bāqī M. K.; after that to Walī M. K. She was famed among the Uzbegs for good looks and beneficent influence (? *yamn qadam*).[2] When Walī M. was going to Persia, he, on account of want of time, had left her in Cārjū fort on the bank of the Jaihūn (Oxus). Imām Qulī now sent for her and wished to cohabit with her, but as she did not agree, he laid his hand on the skirts of the Qāzī and the Mufti and sought for subterfuges. No one would come forward to help him. But one Qāzī who was worldly gave his religion to the winds and gave a decree to the effect that as Walī M. K. had shown a heretical disposition and gone out of the Muhammadan circle his wives were husbandless.[3] That audacious (Imām Qulī) and incontinent one took in marriage the undivorced wife of his living uncle, a thing which is not allowed in any religion.

Walī M., who had come to Ispahan, was welcomed by Shah Abbas the 1st, and although he ignorantly interviewed the Shah from on horseback, the Shah behaved with gentleness and cor-

1 Vambèry I, c. 311. See also account of the uproar caused by the boars in the 'Ālam Arāī, 590.

2 Possibly it means "graceful figure."

3 *M'uallaq*, literally suspended. See Lane 2137, col. 2, "a woman whose husband has been lost to her, neither having a husband, nor divorced."

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diality and did not forsake the rites of hospitality. The chronogram was *Āmada pādshāh Tūrān*, "Arrived Tūrān's king" 1020, 1611.[1] Though the Shah increased his affectionateness and heartiness Walī M. remained depressed and did not expand. After some time when a musical entertainment came to an end, and political questions fell to be discussed, the Shah said: "This year the Turk (*Rūmī*) has come to Tabriz; I must dispose of him; next year I shall myself accompany the Khān and establish him on his ancestral throne." The Khān said:[2] "Delay and procrastination won't do. As yet the power of Imām Qulī has not been established. The help of the Qizilbāshes will be an object of horror to the Uzbegs." By chance at that time, letters came from the Uzbeg chiefs, whose unfaithfulness had made him an exile, full of repentance for the past, and of service and devotion for the future. By urgency he got leave from the Shāh and proceeded to Bokhara. After six months, which were spent in going and coming from Persia, he came to Tūrān, and with the help of some of the officers, who were penitent for what they had done and wished to repair it, he got possession of Bokhara without a battle. Imām Qulī fled from Bokhara and came to Qarshī. There he left Ai Khānim and came to Samarcand. Walī M. in the pride of success and from a distracted disposition set about taking vengeance (on his enemies), and without getting together a suitable force he trusted to the words of recalcitrants and traitors and proceeded against his brother's sons. The two parties came to blows at two *farsakhs* (leagues) from Samarcand. Many of the leaders turned away from fighting and withdrew to the rear. He could not bring himself to incur the disgrace of flight, but attacked Imām Qulī with 2 or 300 of his own men and was wounded and fell. They lifted him up and brought him before Imām Qulī, who immediately ordered him to be put to death.[3] Thus the sovereignty of Tūrān became established in Imām Qulī without a partner or rival, while the government of Balkh and

[1] Walī Muḥammad left Tūrān in 1019, but met Shah Abbas in the beginning of 1020. 'Ālam Arāī 592, where several chronograms are given.

[2] *id.* 593.

[3] Vambèry 321. Alam Arāī 599.

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Badakhshān fell to Naẓr M. After thirty-five years of sovereignty he (Imām Qulī) in the year 1051, 1641, became blind and the affairs of the country fell into confusion. Naẓr M. shut his eyes to his obligations towards his brother[1] and set before himself the seizure of Samarcand and Bokhara. Though the Uzbegs were so pleased with Imām Qulī's excellent behaviour that they unanimously said that though eyesight (*baṣārat*) was gone, foresight (*basīrat*) was apparent, and that in spite of his blindness they were pleased with his rule, yet as Imām Qulī was from the bottom of his heart willing that Naẓr M. should take[2] his place, they were obliged to bring him to Samarcand and to recite the *khuṭba* in his name. Naẓr M. sent him off by the route of Persia to the holy place though he wished to travel by India, and did not permit any of his ladies to accompany him, not even his beloved Ai Khānim. He also laid hold of all his accumulated treasures. Imām Qulī in great distress and in company with Khwāja Naṣīb, Naẓr Beg Taghai (uncle by mother's side), Raḥīm Beg and Khwājah Mīrak Diwān—about 15 persons in all, Uzbegs and slaves—set out, and after interviewing Shah 'Abbās the 2nd and receiving his hospitality, went off to the Kaaba. He then proceeded to Medīna, and there he died[3] and was buried in the Baqī' cemetery.[4]

As the establishment of Naẓr M. on the throne, the commotion of the Uzbegs. and the coming of the armies of India to that country (Transoxiana), have been fully detailed in the accounts of Khusrau Sultan the 2nd, son of Naẓr M., we now proceed with our narrative. When Prince Murād Bakhsh arrived at Balkh in the month of 1st Jumāda 1056, June 1646, Bahrām Sultan, Subḥān Qulī Sultan and some great men and nobles of Balkh entered[5] the victorious camp. The prince sent Aṣālat K. the Mīr Bakhshī to bring them in, and Amīru-l-umarā 'Alī Mardān K. received them at the door of the diwānkhāna. The prince treated them with much respect and placed them on the right

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[1] He was only his half-brother. Vambèry 318. See account of Imām Qulī and Naẓr M. in Pādshāhnāma II. 252, etc.

[2] Vambèry 319, and Pādshāhnāma II. 255-256.

[3] Vambèry 319.

[4] Lane's Dict. 2355.

[5] Pādshahnāma II. 536.

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hand of the masnad on the state carpet (*sozanī*). He showed them various kindnesses, and then dismissed them in order that they might go and exert themselves for the comforting of the Khān. They were to tell him that every kind of aid and service in chastising the malcontents and factions would now be translated from intention into deeds, and that until the settlement of the Khān, the victorious army would not set their feet on the skirt of repose. As the fortune of Nazr Muḥammad had come to an end, a groundless suspicion took possession of him, and he announced that he was going to prepare a banquet for the prince, and went off to Bāgh Murād. He took some jewels and ashrafīs along with him and fled with his two sons Subḥān Qulī and Qutluq Sultan. When this news reached the prince he directed Bahādur K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K. to pursue him, and occupied himself in making arrangements for the country and for confiscating the Khān's property. Twelve lacs of rupees worth of jewelled vessels, etc., and nearly 2500 mares,[1] were received into the royal establishments. Though the amount of his accumulations which he had himself placed in chests, and the details of which were written in his own hand and left by him there, and the keys of which were always kept by him, were not found, yet from the verbal statements of the clerks it appeared that his treasures amounted to seventy lacs of rupees in money and goods. None of his ancestors had had as much. In the disturbance of the Uzbegs and Almān, and the time of flight and confusion, a little was spent and much was plundered. The revenue of Balkh and Badakhshān and the whole of Transoxiana and Turkistan—which were in the possession of the two brothers—according to a copy of the registers, including the regular land revenue and the miscellaneous receipts, the payments in money and in kind, the increases[2] and the tithes amounted to about one *kror* and twenty

[1] Horses and mares, Pādshāhnāma II. 540.

[2] Cf. II. 814 in the account of 'Inayat, and also Pādshāhnāma II. 542. The expression in text is *jamī' khirāj irtifā 'āt* corresponding to the *irtifā'* of II. 814. The Pādshāhnāma l.c. puts the total revenue of Nazr M.'s kingdom at about one kror of *shāhis*, i.e. *khānis*, which was equal to 25 lacs

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lacs of *khānis*—which is the currency of the country, and which came to 30 lacs of rupees. Of this, 16 lacs of rupees were received by Imām Qulī K. and 14 by Naẓr M.

In the month of Jumāda-al-akẖir, in the beginning of the 20th year of the reign of Shah Jahan, the ḵẖuṭba was recited in his (Shah Jahan's) name in the city of Balkh. Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, the sons of Naẓr M., together with Rústum the son of Khusrau Sultan—all three of whom on account of want of information had not accompanied Naẓr M. and had remained behind in the citadel of Balkh with his household—were, together with the wives and daughters of the Ḵẖān, kept under surveillance and sent off to the Presence. When they came to Kabul, Saiyid Jalāl Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr received them at the avenue (khiyābān) and conducted them to the Presence. Bahrām Sultan received the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and Rs. 25,000 in cash and other favours, and was always treated with respect, and spent his time in tranquillity. When Naẓr M. was again established in his hereditary territories his connections in obedience to summons went off in the 23rd year to Balkh. Bahrām Sultan could not withdraw his heart from the pleasures and delights of India and was unwilling to go to Tūrān, and spent the rest of his days in India in the enjoyment of a suitable pension, and lived on till the reign of Aurangzeb.

BAHRAMAND ḴẖĀN.

He was Mīr Bakhshī and his name was 'Azīzu-d-dīn. His father Mīrzā Bahrām was the 4th son of the well-known Ṣādiq[1] K., who was the sister's husband (*yazna*) of Yeminu-d-daulah[2] Aṣaf K. When Ṣādiq K. died, M. Bahrām, who was of tender age, received the rank of 500 with 100 horse. After that he had

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of rupees. The *irtifā'* spoken of here and in the account of 'Inayat Ullah are the increases to the revenue effected by Naẓr Muḥammad's careful management and greedy ways. See Pādshāhnāma II. 542, where it is mentioned that Naẓr Muḥammad increased his revenues, whereas Imām Qulī allowed his to deteriorate.

[1] Ṣādiq K. Mīr Bakhshī, Maasir-ul Umara II. 729-31.

[2] Brother of Nūr Jahān and father of Mumtāz Maḥal.

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not much promotion but was sometimes *daroghah* of the gold-smith's office and sometimes steward. He had the rank of 1500 with 300 horse. When his elder brother Umdatu-l-mulk J'aafar K. was made governor of Bihar he also was appointed to that province. When in the 3rd year it was arranged that Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikoh, should be married to his daughter, he was summoned from Patna, and Shah Jahan gave jewels and ornaments to the value of one lac of rupees as a marriage-present. After that he lost his eyesight and lived for a long time in retirement in the capital. He had two sons, 'Azīzu-d-dīn and Sharafu-d-dīn. The first obtained in the 10th year of Aurangzeb the title of Bahramand K. As he possessed ability and rectitude he performed his duties well and there were few services in which he was not employed. He was promoted from being *daroghah* of the elephant stables to be bakhshī of the Aḥadīs, and then became Master of the horse (*akhtabegī*). In the 23rd year he was made Mīr Ātish (artillery-officer) in the room of Ṣalābat K., and in the same year Ajmere became the abode of the king. While the Khān was on the other side of the Ānā Sāgor and had his lodging in the garden, he happened to be sitting in the shade of a tree when there was a stroke of lightning, and the Khān jumped and fell into the tank. For some time he was insensible. In the 24th year he became Master of the Ceremonies (Mīr Tūzuk), and after that he, in succession to Luṭf Ullah became *daroghah* of the *ghuslkhāna*. After that when the imperial retinue marched to the Deccan, and encamped at Ahmadnagar, the Khān, who besides being a good office-man, was a capable leader, was appointed to attack the banditti. When in the 28th year his father died in the capital, Ashraf K. the bakhshī-ul-mulk went by orders and brought him to the Presence, where he was comforted by receiving an orphan's robe of honour. Asad K. the Jamla-ul-mulk, as he was the sister's son of the deceased, received a *nīma astīn* (tunic) which the king was wearing. In the 30th year after the battle of Bijapur, Bahramand was 2nd *bakhshī* in succession to Rūḥ Ullah K., who was raised to the post of 1st *bakhshī*. When the Jumla-ul-mulk Asad K. was sent off to take the fort of Ginjī, Bahramand was made vizier.

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In the 36th year he was, on the death of Rūḥ Ullah, made[1] Mīr Bakhshī, and had the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. Afterwards he had the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse.

During this time he went several times against the enemy and in the 45th year when Marwāngarha,[2] which is two *kos* from Khatānūn, was taken by the excellent exertions of Fatḥ Ullah K. Bahādur, and its neighbourhood became the imperial camp, a large army was sent under the command of the Khān Bakhshī-ul-mulk (i.e. Bahramand) to take the fort of Nāndgarha, which is known as Nāmgarha, as also the forts of Candan[3] and Mandan, which were known as Miftāḥ (the key) and Maftūḥ (opened). He with the help[4] of Fatḥ Ullah K. took all three forts in a few days and then returned. In the 46th year, after the taking of the fort of Khelna, he died[5] on the 5 Jumādá-al-akhir 1114, 16 October 1702. As the daughter of Jumla-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā Asad K. was married to him, Prince Kām Bakhsh, in accordance with orders, removed her from her sorrow and sent[6] her to court, where she was comforted. Bahramand had no son. One daughter was married to Muḥammad Taqī K. Banī Mukhtār, and her son is the present Bahramand K. who has been described in the biography of Dārāb[7] K. Another daughter was married to Mīr K., the eldest son of Amīr K. deceased. This marriage took place after Bahramand's death. Mīr K. had in Aurangzeb's time the rank of 1000 with 600 horse. In the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was for some time governor of Lahore as deputy of Aṣafu-d-daula. Afterwards he was the governor of the fort of Kālinjar, which is a celebrated fort in the province of Allahabad.

To sum up. Bahramand K. was an officer possessed[9] of gravity and modesty, a master of dignity and firmness, of a pure

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1 Khāfī K. II. 407.

2 Qu. Wardāngarha. M.' Alamgīrī, 442.

3 Do. The Kahāwan of Khāfī K. II. 490, and Elliot VII. 370.

4 Chandan and Wandan. Elliot VII. 370, note. They are N. Sattara of Maasir 'Alamgīrī 442.

5 Khāfī Khān II. 491. The three forts were Nāndgīr, afterwards called Nāmgīr, Candan and Wandan. Maaṣir A. 444.

6 M. 'Alamgīrī 461, where the date given is 25 Jumād-al-akhir. The death was from paralysis.

7 M. A. 461.

8 Maaṣir, II. 40.

9 M. A. 161.

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disposition and good morals, and also pleasant and affable. In his latter days he had an impediment in his speech. They say that when in the Deccan campaign he had become Mīr Bakshī and a great officer, he often said that if the king would give him leave of absence for one year to Delhi he would give a lac of rupees as *Peshkash* (present). His companions said to him, "Are not the society of the emperor and the respect of the public worth the pleasures of Delhi?" He replied, "True, these are great blessings, but the joy would be if I could go to my own city and be my own master (*shahryār*). Nothing can be pleasanter to the vain soul than that in the place where I was seen in my former condition, I might be beheld in my present circumstances."

BAIRĀM KHĀN KHAN-KHANĀN.[1]

He was separated by three intermediates from 'Alī Shukr Bahārlū who belonged to the great Turkman tribe of the Qarāqūīnlū. At the time when this tribe was in its glory and there were such chiefs as Qarā Yūsuf and his sons Qarā Sikandar and Mīrzā Jahān Shāh who were rulers of Arabian Persia and Azarbaijān, 'Alī Shukr held the territories of Hamadān, Dīnawar[2] and Kurdistan, and up to this day those countries are known as the possessions of 'Alī Shukr. His son Pīr 'Alī Beg came to Hiṣār Shādmān at the time of Ḥasan (Uzzun Ḥasan) the king of the White Sheep, who contrived to extirpate the Black Sheep, and was for a while with Sultan Mahmūd Mīrzā, and then went off to Persia. He fought a battle with the ruler of Shiraz and was defeated. At the same period he fell into the hands of the officers of Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā and was put to death. After that his son Yār Beg left Persia in the time of Shah Ism'aīl Safavī and came and settled in Badakhshān. From there he went to Amīr Khusrau Shah in Qandūz, and on the termination of the latter's authority he with his son Saif 'Alī Beg, who was Bairām K.'s

[1] B. 315. Darbār A. 157. Elliot V. 215, note 1. A.N. trans. I. 381. Bairām was the fourth descendant of 'Alī Shukr.

[2] Described in Burhān Qāṭī, Appendix, as a large city of Persian Irāq. It is in N.W. Persia and lies N.W. Hamadān. See J. III. 82, note. This part of the account seems taken from the Haft Iqlīm.

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father, became the servant of Bābur. Bairām K. was born in Badakhshān, and on his father's death went to Balkh and acquired learning. In his sixteenth year he entered the service of Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and grew daily in the shadow of his favour, till at length he became his companion and an Amīr. He hazarded his life in the disaster of Qanauj and went towards Sambhal. There he was received with kindness by Raja Mitr Sen, who was one of the important landholders of that country, in the town of Lakhnūr. When Sher Khān heard of this news, he sent for him and had a meeting with him on the road to Mālwa. Sher K. rose up and embraced him. He sought to attract him by enticing words, and remarked, "Whoever acts sincerely does not err." Bairām answered, "So it is, whoever acts sincerely shall not go astray." Near Burhanpur he after a thousand difficulties and with the help of Abū-l-qāsim governor of Gwaliyar made his escape and went off to Gujarat. On the road Sher Khan's ambassador, who was coming from Gujarat, heard of him and sent men and had him and Abu-l-qāsim—who was of distinguished personal appearance—arrested. Bairām K. out of high spirit and courage objected, saying, "I am Bairām K." Abu-l-qāsim out of generosity said: "This is my servant, and he wants to devote himself for me." They withheld their hands from him and so Bairām K. escaped and went to Sultan Mahmūd in Gujarat. Not recognizing Abu-l-qāsim, they put him to death. Sher K. used often to say that "When Bairām K. said, 'Whoever is sincere, shall not go astray,' I perceived that he would not arrange matters with us." Sultan Mahmūd Gujaratī also tried to win him, but Bairām would not consent. He took leave to go on pilgrimage and came to the blessed[1] port of Surat and from there he went to the country of Hardwār.[2] With the idea of serving Jinnat Ashiyānī he took the road to Scinde and on 7 Muharram 950, 13 April 1543, at the time when Humāyūn had returned from the country of Māldeo and was in the town of Jūn—which was on the bank of the Indus

[1] So called as the pilgrims' port.

[2] See Akbarnāma translation I. 382, note 4. All this part of the account of Bairām is taken from Abul Fazl.

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and was remarkable for the number of its gardens and streams. By chance on the day that he came to Jūn he had to appear on the battle-field before he could pay his respects to Humāyūn, for the latter's forces had a fight with the Arghūnīāns. Bairām took part in the fight and fought bravely so that the soldiers thought he was a heaven-sent ally. When it appeared that he was Bairām K. there came a cry of joy. In the expedition to Persia he was the best and most faithful of servants. The king of Persia also admired his abilities and loyalty. As that sovereign sometimes feasted with Humāyūn for the sake of enjoyment, and sometimes had a hunting party with him, he, one day, when there was a display of polo and of tilting (*qabk andāzī*), gave him (Bairām) the title of Khān. After the return from Persia he was sent with a letter of royal advice and a firmān of favour to Mīrzā Kāmrān. He considered within himself that it would not be right to present the two rescripts to Kāmrān who would doubtless be sitting, and whom it would be difficult to induce to pay the respect of rising up to receive them. He therefore took a copy of the Koran in his hand and tendered it as a present. The Mīrzā stood right up out of respect to the volume, and just then Bairām presented the two documents. When Humāyūn after taking Qandahar made it over to the Persians according to the promise he had made to the Shah and decided upon conquering Cabul, it became necessary to have a place of safety for his family and domestics. Accordingly he took Qandahar by force from the Persians, and made it over to Bairām K. and wrote to the Shāh a letter of apology saying, "Bairām K. is the trusted servant of both of us. We have made over the fort to him."

When in the year 961, 1554, some make-bates spoke to the king untrue things about Bairām K., he came to Qandahar and ascertained that the reports were false. He treated him graciously, and Bairām became in the expedition to India the best of all the leaders and was a forefighter in battle, and was victorious. Especially, in the battle of Macīwāra, when with a few men he attacked a numerous army of Afghans and defeated it. He obtained the parganas of Sirhind, etc. in fief, and received the lofty titles of Yār Wafādār (the faithful friend), Barādur Nekū-siyar

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(well-conditioned brother) and Farzand S'aādatmand (auspicious son). In the year 963, 1556, he was made the guardian of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and was appointed to suppress Sikandar K. Sūr, and to manage the affairs of the Panjab. In the same year on 2 Rabīu'-l-akhir, Friday, 14 February 1556, when Akbar sate upon the throne in the town of Kalānūr, Bairām was made Vakīlu-s-sultanat. He had the control of affairs, and had the title of Khān-Khānān and was styled in correspondence Khān Bābā. In the year 965, December 1557, Selīma Sultan Begam, whom Humāyūn had promised to Bairām, was given to him in marriage. She was the daughter of Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, and the niece (half-sister's daughter) of Humāyūn. M. Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Alāū-d-dīn Muḥammad who was the son of Khwāja Ḥusain known as the Khwājazāda of Caghānīān, and who was great-grandson of Khwāja Ḥasan Aṭṭār, who was the immediate son of Khwāja Alāū-d-dīn who was the successor (khalīfa) of Khwāja Naqshband. The daughter of Shāh Begam, the daughter of 'Alī Shukr, the great-great-grandfather (text, third grandfather) of Bairām, who was in the household of (i.e. was married to) Sultan Mahmūd the son of Sultan Abū Ṣ'aīd, had been married to the Khwājazāda. It was on account of this connection that Bābur gave his daughter Gulbarg[1] to M. Nūru-d-dīn, and for the same reason was this marriage made. The Begam (Selīma) had a poetical vein and wrote under the name of Makhfī (concealed). This verse of hers is famous.

Verse.

In my passion I called thy lock the "thread of life";
I was wild and so uttered such an expression.

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1 Jahangir, Tūzuk 113, calls her Gulrukh. See Akbarnāma translation II. 97, 98, and note. Selīma is said by Jahangir to have been sixty years of age when she died in 1021, or 1611. If so, she must have been a child of six when she was married to Bairam in 1557. It appears, however, from a note by Mīrzā Muḥammad in a MS. of Kāmgar Ḥusain Ghairat K.'s history, and which is one of Col. Hamilton's MSS. in the B. Museum, that Selīma was really 76 when she died, she having been born in Shawwāl 945, so that she was some three years older than Akbar. The chronogram of her birth is khūshḥāl, which yields 945, 1538-9. See A.S.B.J. for 1905 and Tūzuk J. trans., p. 232, and note 6, p. 509.

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After Bairām's death Akbar himself married her. She died in the seventh year of Jahangir.

Good God! In spite of this proximity, solidarity, influence, and all that wisdom, experience, abundant loyalty, and devotion, some marks of the caprice of fate appeared upon the tablet of manifestation, so that the disposition of Akbar became alienated from that great man. In fact strifemongers who were full of envy, out of spite and self-interest, exaggerated matters (lit. made one a hundred) and perverted the feelings of the young monarch. Also flatterers and overturners of houses altered the nature of the aged Amīr, so that he did not pay Akbar the deference that was due to him. For instance, one day Bairām was taking an airing on the river Jumna, and one of the royal elephants rushed into the water and made for Bairām's boat. Though the driver by great efforts got him under control, the Khān Khānān suspected something, and was much disturbed. The king, out of consideration for him, sent the driver to him, and Bairām without paying regard to court-rules, put the driver to death. The king was much displeased; and determined to free himself from his minister. Accordingly, he in 967, 1560, left Agra on pretence of hunting and went off to Delhi. When he arrived there he summoned the officers, and, on the recommendation of Māham Anaga, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. was appointed to the charge of affairs. The Khān Khānān wished to present himself, but Akbar sent him a message that he could not see him at this time, and that it would be better for him not to come. Some are of opinion that the king did go off in order to hunt, and that when he came to Sikandarābād in the Delhi district, Māham Anaga instigated him to gallop off to Delhi to wait upon his mother Miriam-Makānī. There was no cloud then on his heart with regard to Bairām K. though sinful and envious people were trying to produce such a feeling, and said things to him with this object, and Adham K. and his mother were especially active in this respect. But as the idea of Bairām K.'s unsullied loyalty was firmly rooted in the royal mind such representations had no effect. But as has been said—

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Verse.[1]

Whenever rivals are regarded with favour
I assure them that words have their effect.

The strifemongers, who had their opportunity, at this time implanted ideas of alienation. In short Bairām himself from a right conception of the situation sent the insignia of office along with the principal officers to court and asked permission to go on pilgrimage. Afterwards at the whisperings of some evil-disposed persons he proceeded to Mewāt. When it was reported that the royal army had gone in pursuit of him, all the king's servants left Bairām; and he sent the *tumān-togh*, the standard, the drum and other insignia of office to court by his sister's son Ḥusain Qulī Beg. He wrote to the officers who had been told to pursue him that he had withdrawn his hands from everything, and asked why they tormented him. He had for a long time desired to visit the holy shrines; now the thread of the accomplishment of his desire had fallen into his hands. The officers were obliged to return. As Rai Māldeo the Rajah of Jodhpūr was on the road to Gujarat (i.e. his lands lay on the way) and was on bad terms with Bairām, the latter went from Nāgor to Bīkānīr. Rai Kalyān Mal the landholder of that place came before him with loyalty and gave him hospitality. At this time a report arose that Mullā Pīr Muḥammad had come from Gujarat and had been ordered to follow Bairām. Strifemongers stirred up Bairām, and by exciting him to resistance made him turn back to the Panjab. Owing to the deceitfulness of foolish talkers he removed the veil from his actions, and set his face towards the Panjab. He busied himself in collecting men, and wrote to the various officers, "I intended to go to the Ḥijāz, but when it became known that Māham Anaga

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1 These lines are quoted by Ferishta, but in the first line he has *nihayat* instead of *'inayat*. See Newal Kishore's lith., p. 248. It is, however, *'inayat* in a MS. of Ferishta and it seems to have the negative *nist* in the first line. The "them" in second line is perhaps honorific for the king or minister concerned. The verse is also quoted again in II. 568, where *insān* is incorrectly substituted for *īshān*. See note to translation of life of Shihābu-d-dīn.

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and others had perverted the royal mind and were plotting my ruin, it occurred to me that I should first punish those evil-doers and then proceed on the blessed pilgrimage, and also that I should lay hold of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī, who has now obtained a flag and has been appointed to expel me."

In short, all these things having irritated him he became overpowered by wrath, and could not restrain himself. Strife-mongers too got their opportunity and aggravated his disposition still more. When the rebelliousness of the Khān-Khānān became manifest, Akbar sent on the Atga Khān in advance and also set out himself from Delhi. At that time the Khān-Khānān was scheming to take Jālaṇdhar. When he heard that the Atga Khān was coming, he advanced to meet him. After a severe engagement he was defeated and took refuge in Talwāra—a strong place in the Sivalik hills—with Ganesh the Rajah thereof. When the report of the arrival of Akbar's army reached the hill-country, his men came out of the fort and fought. They say that in that encounter Sultan Ḥusain Jalair of the king's army was killed, and that his head was cut off and brought to the Khān-Khānān. He burst into tears and said, "My life is not worth my being the cause of the killing of such men." In great grief he sent his slave Jamāl Khān to H.M. and begged forgiveness of his offences. Akbar sent Mun'im K. with other officers into the hills in order that they might assure him of safety and bring him into the Presence. In Muḥarram of 968, October 1560, the 5th year of the reign, Bairām came into the camp, and all the officers received him with honour. When he came before Akbar he had a handkerchief (rūpāk) round his neck and he flung himself at the king's feet, and wept greatly. Akbar with consummate graciousness embraced him and removed the handkerchief from his neck. He enquired after his health and bade him be seated according to the established custom (i.e. on his right hand). He also presented him with a glorious robe which he himself was wearing and gave him leave to visit the holy shrines.

When he came to the city of Pattan in Gujarat, which was formerly known as Nahrwāla, he remained there for some days in order to rest his cortège. At that time Musā Khān Fūlādī was

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governor of that city, and a number of Afghans had collected about him. Among them, one Mubārak K. Lohānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Macīwāra, cherished the idea of revenge. Also the Kashmīrī wife of Selīm Shāh was in the caravan with her daughter by him. She intended to go to the Ḥijāz, and it was arranged[1] that the daughter should be married to Bairām's son. The Afghans were also displeased at this. On Friday 14 Jamāda-l-awwal, 31 January 1561, Bairām went boating on the lake which is the recreation-ground of the city, and is known as the Sahas Lang, because there are a thousand idol-temples on its banks. When he was disembarking from the boat that savage represented that he had come to pay his respects, and during the interview he struck him with his dagger and killed him. The Khān-Khānān uttered the *kalma* Allah Akbar and departed from this world and obtained the martyrdom which he had long prayed for, and had begged from the men of God. They say that for years he had never omitted to shave and bathe on Wednesdays[2] in accordance with the intention of martyrdom, and that on one such occasion a simple-minded Saiyid, who had heard of this, said to him as he left the assembly, "We shall repeat the fātiḥa with the intent that the Nawāb obtain martyrdom." Bairām smiled and said, "Mīr, what kind of sympathy is this? I desire martyrdom, but not so soon as this."

Upon the occurrence of this catastrophe every one of his servants ran off, and Bairām lay there in blood and dust. A number of Faqīrs took up his bleeding body and committed it to the earth in the tomb of Shaikh Ḥisām—who was one of the great Shaikhs there. Afterwards the body was, by the care of Ḥusain Qulī K., buried in holy Mashhad. Qāsim Arslān of Mashhad made the chronogram of the event. They say that he, a long time before the occurrence, had been warned of it in a dream and had made the verses.

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1 This is stated by Abul Faẓl but seems unlikely. The girl must have been several years older than Bairām's son, for her father died in 1554, whereas 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was not born till the end of 1556.

2 It was on a Wednesday that Muḥammad bathed for the last time.

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Verse.

When Bairām donned the *iḥrām* to visit the K'aaba
His purpose was effected by his martyrdom on the way.
In truth a spirit uttered the chronogram
"Muḥammad Bairām was made martyr." (968)
(*Shāhīd shud Muḥammad Bairām.*)

His body was removed to Delhi, and in accordance with his will it was taken to Mashhad in 985, 1577. Bairām was greatly skilled in poetry. He composed[1] brilliant odes and made fitting insertions in the poems of the masters. He collected these and gave them the name of *dakẖlīya*. They say that when Bairām was in Qandahar Humāyūn wrote this quatrain:—

Verse.[2]

O thou friend of my saddened heart,
How thy sweet nature is well-balanced!
I'm never at any time without thought of thee,
But what sadness hast thou in thought of me?

Bairām replied:—

Verse.

O thou who art incomparable shade (protector),
Greater than any praise I can offer thee,
When thou knowest how it passes without thee
Why ask, "How feelest thou, when parted from me?"

They[3] say that one night Humāyūn was conversing with the Khān, and that the latter became inattentive. The king said, "We are addressing you." The Khān woke up and said, "My king, I was attending, but I have heard that in waiting upon

[1] I am not sure of the meaning. The verb dārad is wanting in the text after *ghara*, but occurs in a variant and seems required. Also it is found in Ferishta from whom the passage is borrowed. Bairām's odes were composed in honour of 'Alī.

[2] Humāyūn is said by Ferishta to have sent this quatrain to Bairām at Qandahar after the taking of Kābul, and Bairām is said to have written the quatrain which follows in reply. See Darbār A. 163-64. As the first word of the fourth line of Humāyūn's quatrain Ferishta has *aya* "come" instead of *ama* "but."

[3] Badayūnī III. 192.

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princes one should have heed to his eyes, and when serving dervishes should have heed to his heart, and in presence of the erudite should guard his tongue, and so I was thinking that as all three personalities were collected in your Majesty, which of them I should observe." The king was pleased with this extempore pleasantry and praised him.

The author of the Ṭabāqāt Akbarī writes that twenty-five of Bairām's servants attained the rank of 5000 and received flags and drums. The truth is that Bairām was adorned with ability, excellence, probity, vigour, genius, and generosity, and was strong of heart and profound. He was devoted to the house of Timur. At such a crisis when Humāyūn was removed before his empire was stablished and the prince was young and inexperienced, and all the territory except the Panjab had been lost, and when the Afghans were numerous and were raising the standard of empire, and in every hole and corner, waiters upon events were beating the drum of opposition, and the Chaghatai officers who were not well affected towards staying in India were advising a departure to Kabul, and Mīrzā Sulaimān had seized his opportunity and recited the Khuṭba in his own name in Kabul; Bairām, by the sole influence of his courage, firmness, and excellent arrangements, made the stream which had left its course return to its channel, and re-established the sovereignty. Akbar also by many favours and attentions entrusted the management of affairs to him in order that he should carry out what he thought proper, and should not pay heed to any one else, and be without fear of censure. He also quoted this verse.

Verse.

Grant a loving friend, and let both worlds be foes.

When the power of the Khān Khānān became greater day by day, the thorn of envy broke off in the hearts of others. Envious persons mixed up calumnies with truth, made one into a hundred, and so alienated the king's disposition. The Khān-Khānān also, in his might and grandeur, gave no consideration to others and did not take them into account. He was suspicious of them and

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thought that they would soon take up a new position towards him (?). Even after his downfall he had no real intention of rebelling. As soon as he received the king's message, which was conveyed by Mīr 'Abdu-l-Lāṭīf Qazvīnī, he sent the insignia of office to H.M. and showed a desire to go to the Ḥijāz. Strife-mongers on both sides did not allow him to do this. Opponents wrote to the landholders on the route that they should not allow him to pass through in safety, and his associates urged him and said, "Men who are of no rank have leagued together to overthrow you and so are having recourse to intrigues, and are seeking to cast you, in spite of all your rights, into contempt and misery. 'Tis better to die with honour than to live with disgrace." In this way they succeeded in ruining him, according to the saying (*nukta*). "Presumption and the love of glory bring a man to evil days, and cast him into dangers and sorrows." Hence it is that the love of the world is the head of errors.

Verse.[1]

Ambition is the ruin of the brain.
'Tis the property of a hood to extinguish a candle.

BAIRĀM BEG TURKAMĀN.

He was Mīr Bakhshī in the time when Shah Jahan was a prince, and was then one of his principal officers. He held high office and had the title of Khān Daurān. When the prince on account of the treachery of Rustam K. Shighālī turned back before Sultan Parvīz and crossed the Narbada, he took the boats to his own side and made the ferries strong with cannon and muskets, and left Bairām Beg in charge on the bank of the river, and hastened off to Burhanpur. When Mahābat K. arrived with Sultan Parvīz at the river-bank he proceeded to engage Bairām Beg. There was a battle of guns and muskets on both sides, and when Mahābat K. saw that crossing was difficult, he had recourse to craft. He wrote to the Khān-Khanān M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm

[1] *Sir u barg* is a phrase meaning the brain, and also pride. Exaltation is like putting a hood (kulah), i.e. an extinguisher, on a candle.

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through Rāo Ratan, and set in motion the chain of peace. The Khān-Khānān too expostulated with Shah Jahan, and requested that peace might be established on his guarantee. If the servants (of Jahangir) were not conciliated by him, his ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm) sons might be put to death (by Shah Jahan). He added strong oaths to these representations. When the sound of peace was spread abroad, the guarding of the ferries was neglected and Mahābat K. crossed the river at night before the arrival of the Khān-Khānān. The Khān-Khānān too forgot all his promises and joined the imperial army. Bairām Beg was obliged to go to Burhanpur. After that in the expedition to Bengal when Shah Jahan was at Bardwan, Ṣāliḥ Beg, the brother's son of Āṣaf K. Ja'afar who was faujdār there, in spite of the weakness of the fort, shut himself up in it. 'Abdullah K. proceeded to besiege him and reduced him to extremities so that he came out and was imprisoned by Shah Jahan's orders. The Sarkār of Bardwan was given in fief to Bairām Beg and he was sent off to administer it. When the prince, after subduing Bengal, went to Behar and took possession thereof, Bairām Beg came from Bardwan and took charge of Behar. After that, the prince encountered the imperial army at Benares, and Wazīr K. was appointed to the charge of Behar, and Bairām Beg was summoned to the Presence. One day when Sultan Parvīz had sent his bakshī Muḥammad Zamān across the river, Bairām Beg Khān Daurān was ordered to seize an opportunity for attacking him. He from pride and arrogance did not regard Muḥammad Zamān sufficiently and attacked him with a few men at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges and was wounded. He sacrificed[1] his life. His son Ḥasan Beg escaped from the field of battle wounded and also died after a few days.

BĀLJŪ QULĪJ SHAMSHER KHĀN.

Brother's son and son-in-law of Qulīj K. Jānī[2] Qurbānī. In the 8th year of Jahangir's reign he obtained the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 9th year he attained the rank of 2000

1 Pādshāhnāma I. 124.

2 Said to be the name of a tribe. See B. 35 and Badayūnī III. 188.

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with 200 horse, and was appointed to Bengal. Afterwards he was for a long time stationed at Kābul, and in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign had the rank of 2000 with 1500 horse. When after the death of Jahangir, Naẓr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh came with an army to Kābul, and the dust of commotion rose high, he (Naẓr) sent a threatening message to the king's men who were in the city, but they out of loyalty refused to listen, and Bāljū[1] Qulīj who was among them, impressed his fidelity more than ever on the mind of the king. In the 2nd year he at the instance of the governor Lashkar K. marched with a force against Ẓoḥāk and Bāmīān. The Uzbegs out of terror abandoned the forts and fled. In the 3rd year he in company with S'aīd K. distinguished himself in chastising Kamālu-d-dīn Rohilla, the son of Raknu-d-dīn, who in the time of Jahangir had been raised to a *manṣab* of 4000 and afterwards had out of a seditious mind been lifting the head of presumption in that country.[2] He received a *manṣab* of 2500 with 1800 horse and the title of Shamsher K. In the 4th year the *thānas* of both parts[3] of Bangāsh were entrusted to him, and he had a *manṣab* of 3000 with 2500 horse. In the 5th year corresponding to 1041, 1631-32, he died. His son Ḥasan K. received a *manṣab* of 800 with 300 horse and 'Alī Qulī his brother had a *manṣab* of 900 with 450 horse and died in the 17th year of the reign of Shah Jahan.

BĀQI K. CELAH QALMĀQ.

One of the trusted slaves of the king. By a happy horoscope and good service he had a place in the heart of Shah Jahan. In the 6th year he obtained the rank of 700 with 500 horse, and in the 9th year he had the rank of 1000 with 1000 horse. In the 10th year he got an increase of 1000 *zāt* and 1000 horse and his rank became 2000 with 2000 horse, and he was given a flag, a horse,

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[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 20. It is Bālcū there. Bāljū does not seem to be mentioned in the Tūzuk I. He is called Bālkhū in Pādshāhnāma I. 183.

[2] id. 311. The country was Peshawar.

[3] That is Upper and Lower Bangāsh. The term Upper and Lower Bangāsh occurs several times in the Maaṣir, e.g. II. 239.

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and an elephant and made *faujdār* of Catra[1] which is a pargana belonging to Orcha in Bandelkand. When this territory was taken from Jujhār Singh and became imperial property, that pargana which contained 900 villages and yielded eight lacs of revenue, and was adorned by ample territory and abundant rivers, was made Khālṣa and received the name of Islāmābād.[2] At this time Bāqī K. was made the faujdār thereof, and distinguished[3] himself by putting down the malcontents of the country. When Campat Bandīla the servant of Rajah Jujhār Singh made, after the death of the latter, his son Prithīraj the instrument of sedition, and plundered the villages of Orcha and Jhānsī, 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang was made the jagirdar of Islāmābād, and appointed to extirpate Campat. When he came there he wished that Bāqī K., who had already exerted himself in chastising the wretch, should personally march against the recalcitrants. The Khān from love of work promised that if 'Abdullah lent him his troops he would finish the affair. Fīrūz Jang out of indolence did not go himself but turned back, and Bāqī K. in the 13th year made a rapid march and took the rebels unawares. Campat with great difficulty saved himself, and Prithīrāj was captured. In the 17th year Bāqī K. was made darogha of the *ghuslkhāna* and afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Agra. In the end of the 27th year he died on his fief of Bārī[4] which belongs to the province of Agra, and his jagir became crown-land. His sons Sirdār K. and Bāqī K. were distinguished in the reign of Aurangzeb, and have been separately noticed. They say that Bāqī Beg in the beginning of his career was *kotwāl* of Lahore which was then in the fief of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. On behalf of the latter, Bābā 'Inayat Ullah Yezdī, who was a trusted servant of Āṣaf K., was the governor, and as he did not esteem Bāqī K. he engraved on his ring the words "The work is 'Inayat's[5] and Bāqī is a pretence."

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1 Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 277. Catra or Jhatra was formerly in Sarkār Irij. Jarrett II. 188. Orcha is written in text as Andcha.

2 Khāfī K. I. 454.

3 Pādshāhnāma II, 136, and 193.

4 Jarrett II. 182.

5 *Kār b'inayat ast u bāqī bahāna.* The words pun upon the meanings of *'inayat* and *bāqī*, the first meaning favour, and the second, remainder.

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BĀQĪ KHĀN ḤAYĀT BEG.

Younger brother of Sirdār K. Kotwāl. In the 23rd year of Aurangzeb he received the title of Ḥayāt K. In the 28th year he received the charge of the palace-guards (*amāñat-i-haft caukī*)[1] in succession to Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm. Afterwards he was made *darogha* of the *ghuslkhāna* of Muḥammad M'uaẓẓam commonly known as Shah 'Ālam. When during the siege of Bijapur the disposition of the king suspected the prince of disloyalty and was unkind to him, and ordered his advisers, such as Mūmin K. Najm Ṣānī, the darogha of the artillery; Multafat K., the 2nd bakhshī, and Bindrāban Diwān, to be expelled, the prince did not take warning but during the siege of Haidarabad carried on a correspondence with Abū-l-ḥasan, with whom he had previously had relations. All his endeavours in this respect were that the knot (of the siege) might be untied by his hand, and that his father might connect the taking of the fort with his name. Ill-wishers and envious persons represented these excellent endeavours in a bad light and alienated the king's affections from him. One day the king in his private chamber examined[1] Ḥayāt K.[2] about this affair, and though he strongly asserted the prince's innocence, he did not produce any effect. The king ordered that an intimation should be conveyed to the prince to the effect that Shaikh Niẓām Haidarabadī would on this night make an attack on the camp, and that the prince should put his servants in the front parts of the camp, in order that they might resist the attack, and that when his men had gone off in that direction, Ihtimām K. Kotwāl would guard his tents. Next day, which was the 18th Jumāda-al-akhir of the 29th year of the reign, the prince came to the Darbār in accordance with orders, accompanied by Muḥammad M'uizzu-d-dīn and Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (his sons.) At this time the king was seated in the hall of state. After he (the prince) had sat for some time the king said, "Certain matters have been mentioned to Asad K. and Bahramand K.—go into the Oratory and have a conference with them." The prince was helpless and

[1] Blochmann 257.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 331.

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had to go. Asad K. asked for his arms and said, "You must spend some days in quietness." He was then conducted to a tent which had been set up close by. They say that at the time of taking his arms M'uizzu-d-dīn meditated doing something else (i.e. he thought of resisting) but that his father looked sternly at him, and that thereupon he subsided The imperial clerks took possession in the twinkling of an eye of the insignia of office. The king left the hall of audience and came to the female apartments. He cried "Alas! Alas!" and laying his hands on his knees said, "I've reduced to dust the labour of forty years." After this catastrophe as Sirdār K., the elder brother of Ḥayāt K., was a favourite, the Khān also was not censured, and became a zealous servant. Afterwards he received his father's hereditary title of Bāqī K. and in the 48th year obtained the rank of 2000 and in succession to Kāmgār K. was made governor of the fort of Agra, which is for strength distinguished from all other forts. On this account it is reckoned above all the other forts in India, and the royal jewels and treasures are preserved in it. After the death of Aurangzeb, Bāqī K. determined with himself that he would give the keys of the fort, and the treasures, to whomsoever among the heirs of the kingdom should arrive first. These treasures consisted of *ashrafis* and rupees and surplus[1] presentation-pieces, besides uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels, and amounted, according to a statement (*qaul*), to nine krors of rupees, and according to rumour (*revayīt*) to thirteen krors. Though the idea was that Muḥammad A'ẓam Shah would be the first to arrive, yet as the writers of the book of destiny had inscribed it with the name of Bahādur Shah, it came about that the latter came first, and the former last. Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (Bahādur Shah's son) who had been dismissed from the Government of Bengal was travelling with the intention of coming to the Presence (of Aurangzeb); on hearing the news (of his death) he came to Agra by relays of horses. Bāqī

1 *u 'urfī u gharībnewāz.* The passage seems to be copied from Khāfī K. II. 568, four lines from foot, but the word *urfī* which I have conjecturally rendered as "surplus," does not occur. Professor Dowson renders the words *rupiya gharībnewāz* as presentation-money, Elliot VII. 389, and this seems to be right. Khāfī K. goes on to say that the *gharībnewāz ashrafis* and

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K. refused to give up the fort and alleged[1] the compact he had made with himself. The prince erected batteries, and some cannon-balls reached the Begam's mosque (Jahānāra's). At last the prince saw that the attempt was vain and withdrew his hand from battle, and entering the gate of conciliation sent Bāqī K.'s petition and compact to his father. Meanwhile Bahādur Shah's standards had traversed a great distance and reached the capital (Delhi). On hearing the news he increased his speed and reached Agra, and Bāqī K. delivered up the keys of the fort and the treasure, and congratulated Bahādur Shah on his accession. He was rewarded by princely favours. Bahādur Shah rapidly took four krors of rupees from the treasury and made presents to the princes and nobles according to their rank. He also paid the old servants their wages and gave two months' pay to the new servants, and gave something to the female department, and something to the poor and needy, and spent two krors. He left Bāqī K. as before in charge of the fort. He died in the beginning of Bahādur Shah's reign. He had many sons and and sons-in-law.

BĀQĪ MUḤAMMAD KẖĀN.

Foster-brother of Akbar and elder brother of Adham K. His mother was Māham Anaga, who was closely connected with the king (Akbar). At the time when the reins of power were in her hands she celebrated Bāqī Kẖān's marriage, and the king

rupees, for he mentions both, weighed up to five hundred *tolas*. So I suppose that the pieces meant are those which were struck at coronations, etc., and distributed. The word *'urfī*, which the Maasir has added, means, I suppose, accumulations of these coins, or surplus remaining over after distribution. An enormous gold piece, above 70 ounces in weight, of Shah Jahan's time is described in Richardson's Dict., ed. 1806, under the word Sikka, by Sir Charles Wilkins. The same or a similar coin is figured in the J.A.S.B. for January 1883, p. 2. It was a 200 mohur piece. In the Maasir text there is a conjunction between *urfī* and gharībnewāz, but the Blochmann MS. has not this and it seems better away. A variant to the text omits it. *Gharībnewāz* is perhaps used as a synonym for the Arabic word *niṣār*. Mr. Gibbs points out that Tavernier mentions the distribution of large gold coins.

The word *kẖazāin* in text means both treasures and treasuries. According to Abul Faẓl, Blochmann, p. 14, Akbar had twelve separate treasuries.

[1] The prince was not the heir, as his father was alive.

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out of his affection for her, came to the entertainment. Bāqī K. obtained the rank of 3000, and from Badayūnī's history it appears[1] that he died in the 30th year of the reign in Garha Katanga, which was his fief.

BĀQIR K. NAJM ṢĀNĪ.

This family goes back to Yār Aḥmad of Ispahan. He (Yār Aḥmad) first gained a name for rectitude and ability when he was in companionship with Mīr Najm Gīlānī, the Vakīlu-s-sultanat of Shah Ism'aīl Ṣafavī. When Amīr Najm died, the Shah made over the bridle of affairs to Yār Aḥmad and gave him the title of Najm Ṣānī (second star), and raised his rank above that of all the other officers.

Verse.

Najm Ṣānī who had no second in the two worlds.

They say that his magnificence and grandeur were such that nearly two hundred sheep were daily used for his table (*shīlān*) and that a thousand dishes of excellent food were his daily portion. On marches forty strings of camels carried his kitchen. In the Transoxiana campaign, though he was marching rapidly, thirteen silver caldrons (*deg*) were used in cooking. When his magnificence and greatness had got to such a pitch, and he had become arrogant and proud, he was appointed to conquer Tūrān. The Shah sent him to assist Bābur who had left that country on account of the predominance of the Uzbegs, and had applied for aid to the Shah. Najm Ṣānī crossed the Oxus and set himself to commit massacre and rapine. The Uzbeg princes barricaded themselves in Ghajdawān and prepared for battle. The Qizilbāsh officers, who were insincere and treacherous, prosecuted the siege negligently. Consequently Amīr Najm planted his foot firmly, and made great efforts and was made prisoner. In the year 918 (1512), Ubaidullah K. Uzbeg put him to death.

They say that the father of Bāqir K. was for a time diwan of

1 Badayūnī, Lowe 351. It really was the 29th year: see A.N. 436. The date of his death was early in September, 1584. See also Blochmann 381.

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Khurasan. By heaven's decree he underwent deprivation and Bāqir K. came to India in great distress. As he was a youth of merit he became enrolled among Akbar's servants and obtained the rank of 300. Some say that in the time of Jahangir he came from Persia and that he was made a day-servant[1] and received the rank of 200 with 5 horse. By chance Khān Jahān Lodī came to court, and asked the king who the young man was. Jahangir told the whole story of Najm Ṣānī. Khān Jahān represented that it was a pity that with such a record his rank should be so small, and accordingly he was promoted to 900 with 30 horse. As his horoscope was fortunate they married him to the daughter of Khadīja[2] Begam the sister of Nūr Jahān. Immediately the gates of power were thrown open for him. He obtained a *manṣab* of 2000 and the government of Multan with the *faujdārī* of the 'Ālam Khān[3] river. By his ability[4] and industry he produced great tranquillity and took presents (*peshkashhā*) from the Bilūcīs, the Dudayān,[5] and the Nāhar,[6] who form another world between Multan and Qandahar, and became possessed of much money and goods. Bāqirābād-Multan was named after him. Jahangir out of great affection called him *farzand* "child." In the time when Shah Jahan was a prince, he became governor of Oudh. He came with a well-equipped army to the Presence, and received praise and compliments. In the end of Jahangir's reign he was made governor of Orissa, and there too he distinguished himself. In the 4th[7] year of Shah Jahan he led an army to

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[1] *rūz malāzamat.* The Rouzinpar (rūzēnadār) of Bernier.

[2] She was wife of Ḥākim Beg, Maasir I. 574.

[3] Text اب علم خان āb-i-'Alam Khān. Apparently this is the Shah Alam river mentioned in J. G. XIV, 247. It is the southern branch of the Kabul river.

[4] Text اواز کار دانی *ao az kardānī* but the I.O. MS. No. 628 and also Blochmann's MS. have *awāz-i-kardānī*, "The report of his skill," and this seems more probable.

[5] Text دودایان Dudayān. Perhaps the Dādī tribe is meant. I.O. MS. 628 has apparently Daud Khān. Dāūdzai is named as a tribe in J. II. 402.

[6] Variant Tahar and so in I.O. MS. Perhaps it should be Nāghar, J. II. 402. More probably it is the Nazharī or Tazharī tribe of Baluchistan mentioned in J. II. 337, and note.

[7] It was the third year. Pādshahnāma I. 332, etc. See also *id.* 373, Elliot VII. 17.

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Khairapāra, two *kos* from Chhatardawār,[1] which is a defile between Orissa and Telang and is so narrow that if a small body of musketeers or archers took possession of the pass it would be impossible to get through. On the other side of Khairapāra at the distance of four *kos* is the fort of Manṣūrgarha which Manṣūr, a slave of Quṭbu-l-mulk, had built and called by his own name. Bāqir neglected nothing in the way of ravaging the country. When he came to the fort he fought bravely and defeated and drove off the enemy. When the garrison beheld his courage and vigour they got frightened and begged for quarter and delivered up the fort. He remained for a time in the province of Orissa. His father whose condition had been changed by his great age and who lived with his son died there. In the 5th year on account of his behaving badly and unjustly to the inhabitants of Orissa, he was removed[2], and when he came to court in the 6th year he was made governor[3] of Gujarat. After that he was made governor of Allahabad, and there he died[4] in the 10th year and beginning of 1047 (1637).

He was unequalled for courage and he was the first of his age for military skill. He was deeply skilled in archery. Jahangir has written in his diary[5] that "One night Bāqir K. in my presence placed a slender white glass in the light of a torch and made something of wax of the size (*qadr*) of a fly's wing and stuck it on the (top of the?) glass. Above it he put a grain of rice and above that a pepper-corn (*fulful*). With the first arrow he shot away the pepper, with the second the rice, and with the third the wax, without ever brushing the glass."

They say that Bāqir K. delighted much in hearing the sound of a trumpet, because Rustum used to listen to it; and he had a well-equipped orchestra (*naubatkhāna*). One day Ḥakīm Ruknāi[6]

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1 Apparently it is the defile mentioned in the Tūzuk I, p. 302, by which Shah Jahan entered Orissa.

2 *ibid.*, 430.

3 *ibid.*, 451.

4 *ibid.*, Part II, pp. 274 and 295.

5 This apocryphal story is told in Price's version of the Memoirs, p. 93. Apparently the author of the Maasir, or his son, considered the work authentic. Cf. Elliot VI. 279. The pepper-corn was probably "long pepper," i.e. a *chillī*. The fly's wing might be a butterfly's wing. The story is not in the authentic Memoirs.

6 Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 349.

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Kāshī came to see him. The trumpet was sounded in his presence and the Ḥakīm said, "Nawab Salāmat, Hail to the Nawab: Rustum sometimes listened to the trumpet." Bāqir K. was much skilled in prose and poetry and in calligraphy. He composed a *diwān*. The following is an extract. (Seven lines follow.)

M. Ṣābar, his eldest son, died in the beginning of his youth. The account of his second son Fākhir K.[1] has been separately given.

BASĀLAT K. M. SULTAN NAẔR.

He belonged to the Caghatai tribe of Arlāt. His father M. Muḥammad Yār was a native of Balkh and came to India in the time of Shah Jahan, and was enrolled among the *manṣabdārs*. M. Sultan Naẓr was born in India and after coming to years of discretion obtained an office and attached himself to Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh. At last he was the prince's agent and remained at court. After the death of Aurangzeb, Muḥammad A'ẓim-Shah gave him the rank of 3000 and the title of Ṣalābat K. and made him *darogha* of the diwān-i-khāṣ. He was wounded in the battle with Bahādur Shah and fell upon the field. Afterwards he joined Bahādur Shah and received the title of Basālat K. and was made Bakhshī of the Risāla (troop of cavalry) which was known by the name of Suitan 'Alī Tabār.[2] At the time of returning from the Deccan he was retired on its being found that the pay (of the soldiers) was left in arrear and that the men of the *risāla* were in evil case. In the time of Jahāndār Shah he was, by the exertions of Ẓū-l-Fiqār K., confirmed in his *manṣab* and former jagir. In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain 'Alī K. remembered old associations and made him bakhshī of the force which had been appointed to chastise the Rajputs, and took him with him. Afterwards, in the march to the Deccan, he also accompanied Ḥusain 'Alī K. In the year 1167, 1754, he was killed in the battle with Dāūd Panī near Burhanpur, and was buried in

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Ethe, I.G. Cat. 858. Rieu II. 603a and 688a. His poetical name was Masiḥ. I do not see the point of his remark.

[1] Maaṣir III. 26.

[2] Household troops. Cf. Irvine, 40 and 44.

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his estate in the Sanwāra quarter of that city. He was famed for his friendliness, and he was also very well spoken. His eldest son had the name of M. Ḥaidar. By the help of Ḥusain 'Alī he got his father's office of *bakhshī*. After the deaths of the Saiyids he went into retirement. His second son, who was called by his father's title, was a companion of Āṣaf Jāh. The writer has seen him. He had two sons who are still living and who hold small offices and jagirs. (Q)

BARKHŪRDĀR.[1] (M. Khān 'Ālam).

Son of M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Duldai whose ancestors long served the Timuride family. His forefathers had from the time of Timur been Amirs, generation after generation. His ('Abdu-r-Raḥmān's) great grandfather Mīr Shāh Malik was one of the great officers of Timur, and was always renowned for his right-mindedness and loyalty. M. Barkhūrdār held up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign a manṣab of 250. In the 44th year when Dalpat Ujjaini[2]—who was one of the contumacious in the province of Bihar—was released[3] from prison and obtained leave to return to his home, the Mīrzā, out of revenge for his father's having been killed in battle with that landowner, fell upon Dalpat in the fields with some followers, but Dalpat escaped. Akbar ordered that the Mīrzā should be bound and sent to Dalpat, but this was remitted at the intercession of some courtiers, and he was imprisoned. It chanced that he was much engaged in the service of Sultan Selīm, and after the accession as he was much skilled in the duties of chief huntsman he was made Chief Falconer (*qūshbegī*). In the 4th year he became known as Khān 'Ālam, and when in the 6th year 1020, 1611, Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī, the king of Persia, sent Yādgār 'Alī Sultan Ṭālish to offer condolences for the death of Akbar, and to congratulate Jahangir on his accession, Khān 'Ālam was in the 8th year sent back with Yād gār 'Alī as envoy. As the Shah had gone to Azarbaijan to attack the Turks, Khān 'Ālam was desired to stay for some time in Herat and Qūm.

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1 B. 512 and 465.

2 Dalpat belonged to the Dumraon family.

3 A.N. III. 758.

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They say he had many men with him, viz. 200 falconers and huntsmen and 1000 of the trusted servants of the king. On account of his long stay he sent most of them back from Herat. In the year 1037, 1627—28, when the Shah returned to Qazwīn the capital, Khān 'Ālam who had with him 700 or 800 servants, arrived at the city with ten powerful elephants with gold and silver trappings, a number of beasts of prey, and war-horses, birds, including birds that talked, Gujarat cattle, ornamented chariots[1] and palanquins. All the principal officers came out to welcome him, and brought him to the S'aādatabad garden. Next day the Shah had polo and tilting (*qabaq andāzī*) in the S'aādatabad plain. Khān 'Ālam paid his respects, and the Shah showed him much honour and observed that "as between us and the noble king Jahangir there is the relationship of brotherhood, and as he has called you brother, the brother of a brother is also a brother." Thereupon he embraced him in brotherly fashion. Khān 'Ālam wished to present one of the presents each day. The Shah wished to go to Mazandarān for *zangūl*[2] hunting, which is specially practised in that country and for which the time was now passing. Accordingly he produced the special rarities on one day, and the other things were made over to the Biyūtāt (the housekeeping-department), in order that the Shah might inspect them gradually. The Shah was so captivated by his company that if it was all written down it would be taken to be exaggeration. In the excess of his graciousness he used to call him Jān 'Ālam (life of the world) and could not spend a moment without him. If by day or night it chanced that he did not come, the Shah would without ceremony go to his quarters and show him still greater favour. One day[3] when he had taken leave of the Shah and made his quarters

[1] *gardūnhā*. Is this a mistake for the *Karkadan* (rhinoceros) of the 'Ālam Arāī? The same book speaks of deer as among the animals.

[2] *Shikār zangūl*. Zangūl means a bell or a rattle, and the reference may be to the kind of hunting called Ghantaharah, B. 292. The 'Ālam Arāī, Tehran ed., p. 663., 32nd year of reign, says it is a kind of boar-hunting, *shikār gurāz*. Can *zangūl* be connected with Latin singularis—French sanglier?

[3] Khāfī K.I. 300. Perhaps this refers to the day when Khān 'Ālam took his final leave of the Shah and went outside of Ispahan. The apologies the Shah made were in case he had un-

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outside of the city the Shah came to him on foot and made apologies.

Certainly Khān 'Ālam performed his mission well and spent much money and acquired a great name. Sikandar[1] Beg Munshī, the author of the 'Ālam Arāī history, writes that he saw the pomp with which Khān 'Ālam entered Qazwīn, and that he heard from credible people that from the beginning of the Ṣafavī dynasty no ambassador had come from India or Turkey with such splendour. Nor was it known if any had come so grandly in the time of the Khosroes or of the Kayanian dynasty. Khān 'Ālam returned from Persia in the beginning of the year 1029, 1620, which was the end of the 14th year of Jahangir and at a time when the king was going for the first time to Kashmīr (as king). Khān 'Ālam appeared then before the king in the town of Kalānūr[2] and paid his respects. The king from excessive graciousness kept him for two days and nights in his own bedchamber and gave him his own blankets. As a reward for his having accomplished the embassy he raised him to the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse. It is strange that Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd of Lahore has written in the Pādishāhnāma Shahjahanī that Khān 'Ālam was wanting in cajolery and tact, and so did not conduct the embassy well. One does not understand why he has so written, and what his authority was.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, Khān 'Ālam was raised to the rank of 6000 with 5000 horse and received a flag and a drum, and was made governor of Bihar in succession to M. Rustum Ṣafavī. As on account of excessive addiction to *koknār* (opium) he could not transact business, he was removed in the same year. In the 5th year, end of 1041, 1632, when Shah Jahan returned to Agra from Burhanpur, Khān 'Ālam paid his respects. On account of his great age and his addiction to opium the King excused him from service, and allowed him a lac of rupees a year. He spent

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intentionally failed in any of the duties of hospitality. Compare Tūzuk J. 284, etc.

1 Tuzuk J. 285.

2 'Ālam Ārai, account of 32nd year, p. 662. As B. remarks 513, the author of the Pādshahnāma says Khān 'Ālam was a failure as an ambassador. Khāfī K. I. 299, 300, says he did excellently.

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his days with tranquillity and comfort in Agra, and died a natural death. He had no children. His brother M. 'Abu-s-Subḥān was faujdār of Allahabad and did his duties well. Afterwards he was appointed to Kabul and was killed[1] in a fight with the Afrīdīs. His son Sherzād K. Bahādur was full of courage. He fell in the battle of Sahīndah fighting against Khān Jahān Lodī on the king's side. The author of the *'Ālam Arāi* writes[2] that Khān 'Ālam received from Jahangir the title of "brother," but this is not mentioned in the Indian histories, nor is it commonly reported. But as the Shah mentioned this at the interview, as has been related above, it appears to be genuine for without inquiry the Shah would not have said such a thing. But God knows!

(Rajah) BĀSŪ.

He was the zamindar of Mau[3] and Pāthān (Pathankot), which is a tract in the Bārī Dūāb in the Panjab and near the northern hills. When the inevitable event (the death) of Humāyūn disturbed the world, and the somnolent seditions awoke in every quarter, Sultan Sikandar Sūr, who had crept into the defiles of the Panjab hills, and was watching for his opportunity, raised the head of rebellion. Bakht Mal, who was then the chief of the tract, raised the head of influence, and was prominent in exciting sedition. He joined Sultan Sikandar and strove to support him. Afterwards, in the 2nd year of Akbar, when Sikandar was besieged in the fort of Mānkot, and the distressed condition of the garrison became more apparent every day, inasmuch as it is the way with most of the zamindars of India, to abandon the path of straightforwardness, and to watch every side and join whoever is the stronger and is being victorious, Bakht Mal acted in accordance with zamindari wiles and joined the royal army. After the fort had been taken and Sultan Sikandar had withdrawn, and the city of Lahore had become the halting place of the imperial standards, although severity towards those who have come in be not ap-

[1] B. 514. Tūzuk J. 158. This was in Jahangir's time, 1025=1616, and when Khan 'Ālam had been appointed ambassador to Persia.

[2] 'Ālam Āiaī 662, top line.

[3] Jarrett II. 319.

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proved of, even though they have yielded out of necessity, yet Bairām K. took into consideration his seditious spirit, and judging it right to destroy him, put him to death, and appointed his brother Takht Mal in his room. When the proprietorship of the tract came to Rajah Bāsu, he always trod the path of obedience, and performed good service. When Akbar, after the death of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and the taking possession of Afghanistan, perceived that the settlement of the Panjab was the important matter and fixed upon that province as his residence, Rajah Bāsū from shortsightedness and foolish thoughts proceeded to be seditious. Accordingly, in the 31st year Ḥasan Beg Shaikh 'Umarī was sent against him. His orders were to punish him if he did not listen to advice. When the royal army came to Pāthān (Pathankot in Gurdāspur) the Rajah was roused from slumber by a letter from Rajah Todar Mal and came to court with Ḥasan Beg and submitted. Afterwards, in the 41st year he brought over many of the landholders to his side, and again became disobedient. Akbar gave Pāthān and its neighbourhood in fief to M. Rustum Qandaharī and sent him off to chastise Bāsū. Āṣaf K. was also sent with him to give assistance. But the two leaders did not act together and so the work was not accomplished. M. Rustum was recalled and Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh, was appointed. The royal servants made promises of working in harmony and addressed themselves to the task. They invested the fort of Mau, which was famous for its strength, and was Bāsu's residence. Fighting went on for two months, and at last the fort was surrendered. In the 48th year when news of his recalcitrancy was brought, another army was ordered against him. Jamīl Beg,[1] the son of Tāj K., was killed by his (Bāsu's) men. After that the Rajah attached himself to Prince Sultan Selīm, in order that by his representations he might obtain pardon for his offences. Again he became turbulent, and in the 49th year, when the prince for the second time submitted to his father, he came with him in the hopes of his intercession. But, on account of dread, he remained[2] on the other side of the river. Before the

1 B. 457.

2 Akbarnāma III. 833. Mādhū Singh was Rajah Mān Singh's brother's son according to the statement there,

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the prince had spoken for him, Akbar sent Mādhū Singh Kachwāha to seize him. He got news of this and fled. When Jahangir came to the throne he received the rank of 3500. In the 6th year he was sent off to the Deccan, and in the 8th year he died,[1] 1022, 1612. His sons were Rajah Sūraj Mal and Rajah Jagat Singh. Both of them have been separately noticed.

BĀZ BAHĀDUR.

His name was Bayazīd and he was son of Shujā'at K. who was generally known in India as Sajāwal K. When Sher Shah took Mālwa from Malū K. who has known as Qādir Shah, he made Shujā'at, who was one of his officers and of his clan, the governor of that country. In the time of Selīm Shah he went to the Presence, and after some time he became displeased and went back to Mālwa. Selīm Shah led an army against him, and he took refuge with the Rajah of Dūngarpūr. At last Selīm Shah summoned him to his presence by making promises and oaths, and kept him under surveillance, and distributed Mālwa among his officers. After that, in the time of 'Adlī he again got possession of Mālwa and wished to recite the khuṭba and to coin money in his own name. In the year 912, 1555, he died a natural death, and Bāz Bahādur succeeded him. In 963, he defeated most of his opponents and hoisting the umbrella over his head recited the khuṭba in his own name He brought the whole of Mālwa in subjection to himself and led an army against the extensive country of Garha. He was defeated by Rānī Durgāvatī, who was the ruler of that country, and did not attempt to retrieve himself, but occupied himself in pleasure and dissipation. He let the foundation of his power go to the winds and waves, that is, he became so addicted to wine and music that he made no difference between night and day, and gave heed to nought except these two things.

Physicians have prescribed wine according to fixed quantities and seasons with reference to the bodily frame and certain consti-

but it appears from Blochmann 437 that Mādhū was Rajah Bhagwān Dās's son and consequently Mān Singh's brother. Jahangir also speaks of Madhū as being his wife's brother.

1 Tūzuk 123. He died at Shahabad in Rajputana.

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tutions, and prudent and wise persons have sanctioned music at the time of care and melancholy—such as are produced by engrossment in worldly matters, with the object of recruiting the faculties, but have not approved of making these two things the great objects of life and of ever sacrificing to them precious hours for which there is no exchange. Bāz Bahādur who was himself the teacher of the age in music and melody, employed all his energies in collecting dancing girls (*pātarān*). They were all famous over the world for music. The head of the troop was named Rūpmatī. They say that she was a "Padminī,"[1] which is the first class of the four kinds of women, according to the division made by Hindu sages, that is, the class which is compounded of excellent qualities. Bāz Bāhadur was wonderfully attached to her, and continually wrote Hindi love-songs about her, and emptied his heart for her. Stories about their love and beauty are still upon people's tongues.

In the sixth year, 968, 1560-61, Adham K. and other officers were sent to conquer Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur had made a fortification two *kos* distant from Sārangpūr, which was his capital, and he showed fight. His men were vexed and did not show alacrity. At last there was a stubborn battle, and he was defeated. As he had left some trustworthy men with his women and dancing girls in order that if news of his defeat should arrive they should put them to death as is the custom of India, when his defeat was known, some were put to the sword, and a large number were wounded, and still had some flickerings of life, while others were yet untouched. The imperial army came to the city and there was not time to kill the rest. Adham K. got possession of everything and made search for Rūpmatī, who had been severely wounded. But when this news ("*naghma*" melody) came to her ears her fidelity grew ardent and she quaffed the cup of poison and *manfully* died for love of Bāz Bahādur.

When the government of Mālwa was taken from Bāz Bahā-

1 "*Padminī* is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned; her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste, and obedient to her husband." Jarrett III, 243.

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dur and given to Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī, Bāz Bahādur, who was wandering in the jungles between Khandes and Mālwa, collected an army and came forward to fight. He was again defeated by Pīr Muḥammad and took refuge with Mīrān Mubārak the ruler of Khandes, who gave him his army. On this occasion he again opposed Pīr Muhammad, who after taking Bijagarh hastened off with a few men to plunder Burhanpur and was returning laden with booty. As fate would have it, Pīr Muḥammad was defeated, and in his flight and confusion he was crossing the Narbada. He got separated from his horse and was drowned, and the fief-holders of Mālwa lost heart and went off to Agra. Bāz Bahādur again became securely possesed of Mālwa. On hearing of this occurrence, 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, who was one of the great officers, was sent off along with a number of other officers, in the 7th year, to conquer the country. Bāz Bahādur gave way before the arrival of the imperial army and fled. At the sound of the pursuit of the victorious army he threw himself into the mountain-defiles, and spent his days in wretchedness. For some time he went to Baharjī the landholder of Baglāna, and from there he went to Gujarat to Cingez K. and Sheṛ K. Gujaratī. After that he went to Niẓāmul-mulk in the Deccan, and being unsuccessful everywhere, he took refuge with Rānā Udai Singh. In the 15th year Akbar sent Ḥasan K. Khazāncī to make him hopeful of favour and to bring him into service. At first he received the rank of 1000, and finally got the rank of 2000 *zat u sawār* (personal, and cavalry). Bāz Bāhadur and Rūpmatī both sleep[1] on a ridge in the middle of the wide lake of Ujjain.

BEBADAL KHĀN SAIDAI GĪLĀNĪ.

He was a good poet. He came to India in the time of Jahangir and became one of the king's servants, and was included in the list of poets. In the time of Shah Jahan he on account of his sagacity and skill received the title of Bebadal (Incomparable) Khān, and was for a long time darogha of the goldsmith's office

[1] Through the kindness of Captain Luard I have ascertained that if Bāz Bahādur was ever buried beside Rūpmatī, there is nothing to show the fact at present.

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in the royal establishment. The jewelled throne—known by the name of the Peacock-throne—was finished by him in the course of seven years at the cost of a kror of rupis, or 333,000 tomans of Persia, or four krors of the khānī coinage of Transoxiana. As a reward he was weighed against gold. In fact so valuable and adorned a throne was never seen in any other age or race, nor at the present day is there anything like it.

Verse.

No second to it has come to view
However many side-glances [1] have been thrown.

When by the revolutions of Time various kinds of costly jewels had been gathered together in the royal jewel-chamber, it occurred to Shah Jahan in the beginning of his reign that the sole object of collecting such eye-pleasing rarities was to add lustre to the sovereignty and therefore they should be so made use of that both sightseers might share the beauty of these products of the mine and ocean, and also that a fresh glory might be added to the Sultanate. After reserving the private jewels which were in the females' appartments, and which were of the value of two krors of rupees, it was ordered that jewels to the value of eighty-six lacs of rupees should be selected out of the jewels in the store-rooms, and which were nearly three krors of rupees in value, and made over to Bebadal Khān so that with them and one lac of *tolahs* of pure gold, corresponding to 250,000 *miṣqāls*, the value of which was fourteen lacs of rupees, he might make a throne three and a quarter yards (*gaz*) long, two and a half yards broad and five yards high. The inside of the canopy was to be chiefly of enamelled work and with a few jewels, but the outside was to be inlaid with rubies and cornelians and the canopy was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured pillars. On the top of the canopy there were two (?) peacocks made of jewels, and between every two (?) peacocks there was a *dirakht* (tree, the bouquet of Tavernier) set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls. In order to ascend to the throne there was a stair of three steps which was adorned

1 Aḥwal. lit. "squints."

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with lustrous jewels. The middle one of the eleven jewelled balustrades (*takhta*) which went round the throne in order to retain the pillows, and which is the one on which the king rests his arm, carried jewels worth ten lacs of rupees, and among them was a ruby[1] the price of which was one lac of rupees. Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī had sent it as a present to Jahangir and the latter had given it to Shah Jahan as a reward for his conquest of the Deccan. At first the names of Amir Timur, M. Shahrukh and M. Ulugh Beg were engraved on it. Afterwards when by the revolutions of Time it fell into the hands of the Shah (of Persia) he had his own name cut upon it. Jahangir had his own name and that of Akbar engraved on it, and afterwards Shah Jahan had his own name engraved on it. At the New Year's feast of the 8th year, 3 Shawāl 1044, 12 March 1635, he sate upon this incomparable throne. Ḥājī Muḥammad K. Qudsī[2] made the chronogram.

Aurang Shahinshāh 'Ādil. "The throne of the just Shahinshah," 1043, 1633-34.

He also wrote a *maṣnavī* in praise of the throne, of which the following is a verse.

Verse.

If Heaven approached to the throne-foot
It would give Sun and Moon as guerdon.[3]

Bebadal K. also wrote 134 couplets, every first line of twelve couplets gave the date of the king's birth, every first line of the 32 following couplets gave the date of the Accession, and every first line of the remaining ninety couplets gave the dates of the expedition from Agra to Kashmīr which took place in 1043, 1633-34, of the return to Agra, and of the sitting on the peacock throne. The following famous quatrain is also a production of Bebadal.

Quatrain.

That which was your throne majestic as heaven
Was the ornament of your justice over the world

[1] See Tūzuk 202. Another ruby worth a lac is mentioned in Khāfī K. I. 293.

[2] Rieu II. 648*b* and Ethé 845.

[3] *rūnamāī.* Present to a bride on unveiling.

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Thou wilt last as long as God exists
For substance is ever accompanied by its shadow.

In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb the Peacock-Throne was by orders of the reigning sovereign still more adorned by Amīnā at a cost of a *kror* of rupees. In the year 1152, 1739, when the great Shāhinshāh Nādir Shah filled the capital of Shahjahānābād with glory by his power, he took away the throne[1] from the king of the time as part of the spoils of India.

BEGLĀR KHĀN.

His name was S'aad Ullah and he was the son of S'aīd K.[2] Caghatai of Akbar's time. He had all the advantages of an Amīr's son. He was famed for personal beauty, the strength of his limbs, and pleasant speech. He surpassed his companions in skill in polo and in military aptitudes. In the lifetime of his father he gained a name for reliability. In the 46th year Akbar gave M. 'Azīz Koka's daughter in marriage to him. He had a lofty mind and behaved like a prince in matters of etiquette, and was always in quest of fame. When his father died he, though his rank was small, did not dismiss his father's servants. In the beginning[3] of

[1] For Tavernier's description see vol. II, pp. 241, 242, ed. 1676. He speaks of only one peacock. The account in the Maaṣir is copied from the Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 78, etc. See the translation in Elliot VII. 45. This translation has been useful to me, but the description is still somewhat obscure. According to Elliot's version there were two peacocks on the top of each pillar. Though Tavernier speaks of only one peacock, I think there were two for Bernier speaks of two, II. 53, ed. 1699. The peacock-throne was first used at Agra. In my father's History of India, II. 705, a representation is given of a jewelled peacock which was one of the ornaments of Tipu Sultan's throne. See also Keene's Delhi, p. 19. The total cost of the materials of the throne according to the Pādshāhnāma was a kror of rupees, that is one million sterling. Tavernier's account of the cost, p. 242, as stated by his informants, is much greater and presumably includes workmanship, etc. He saw it after Aurangzeb had spent an additional kror of rupees on it, but still two krors are far less than the 107 thousand lacs mentioned by him. According to Beale, Bebadal is probably a sobriquet of the poet Abū Ṭālib Kalīm. Elsewhere he calls Saidai Saidai Gīlānī and says his poetical name was Bedil. See pp. 106 and 344. Saidai is the Mullā Shaidā of Rieu. Cat. II 1083*a* and I. 251*a*. But if Shaidā lived till 1080, 1669-70, he must have been a very long-lived man.

[2] B. 331.

[3] Tūzuk 96. It was in the 6th year.

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Jahangir's reign he obtained the title of Nawāzish K. When in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, Ajmere became the residence of Jahangir, it was perceived that the remedy for the long-standing trouble of the Rānā, which had not been brought to a conclusion, lay in appointing Prince Shah Jahan to the task. Beglār K.[1] was his assistant. When Udaipūr, the Rānā's residence, was occupied by Shah Jahan, Nawāzish K. and some other officers were sent to Kambhalmīr, which was in the hill country, and there was such a want of grain that a *sīr* of it could not be had for a rupee. An universe of men gave their lives for want of bread. At this time the Khān in his zeal and generosity shared his food every day with a hundred others. As he had no money, he sold his dishes of gold and silver and expended the proceeds. When dissension broke out between Jahangir and the heir-apparent, and love became hatred, and the dispositions of both parties were turned towards strife, the imperial retinue proceeded with a small force from Lahore in order to collect troops on arrival at Delhi. Nawāzish K. also zealously came to the Presence from his fief in Gujarat and did homage. As such times were tests of the jewel of loyalty, he was the recipient of a thousand congratulations and was the subject of favours. He was appointed to accompany 'Abdullah K. who was in charge of the vanguard of the army. It happened that as soon as the imperial army and Shah Jahan's men encountered one another, 'Abdullah K. in accordance with a secret treaty galloped off and joined the prince. Nawāzish K. was ignorant of what was beneath the surface and thought that the urging on of the horse was for purpose of battle. He and some other officers and followers fought bravely and acquired fame for courage. He became more and more an object of favour and received the title of Beglār K. He obtained the *faujdārī* and the fief of Sorath and Junāgarh, the rank of 2000[2] with 2500 horse, and hoisted the flag of glory. He stayed long in that country with honour and respect, and after the accession of Shah Jahan

[1] In the 8th year he got an increase of 500 horse so that his rank became 2000 personal and horse. Tūzuk J. 116.

[2] In the 15th year of Jahangir he obtained the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse.

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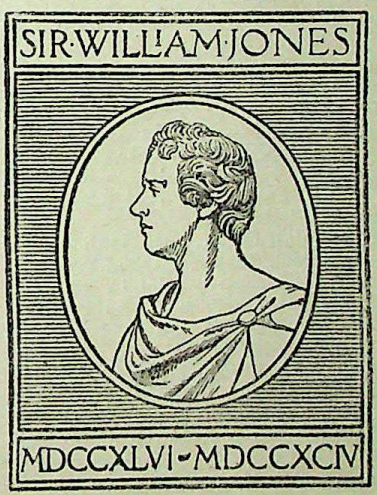

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though he received an increase of 1000 *zāt*, yet in the same year he was removed, and in the third year, 1039, 1630, he died. He was buried in Sirhind in his father's tomb. After him, none of his family became distinguished.

(RAJAH) BETHAL DĀS GAUR.

They say that formerly Marwār and Meywār were in the possession of this tribe (the Gaur tribe) before they came to be held by the Rāthor and Sīsodia tribes. After the latter became victorious, several parganas of those districts remained in the possession of the Gaur tribe. Bethal Dās was the second son of Rajah Gopāl Dās Gaur who, at the time of the return of Sultan Kharram from Bengal and of his coming to Burhanpur, was governor of the fort of Āsīr. After that the prince summoned him to his presence and put Sirdār K. in his place. At the siege of Tatta he with his son and heir Balarām bravely sacrificed their lives. Bethal Dās came from his home to Junair, and entered into service. After Shah Jahan had ascended the throne he obtained the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse, the title of Rajah, a flag and a horse with a gilded saddle, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 30,000. Afterwards, he was sent under Khān Jahān Lodī to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 2nd year he was sent off, along with Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan, in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī. In the keenness of his zeal he did not wait for the commander but went off like a whirlwind. Near Dholpūr he came up with Khān Jahān and engaged him. After the manner of the Rajputs he dismounted and behaved with gallantry, and received several wounds. As a reward, he received an increase of 500 horse, and the present of a drum. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies, under three leaders, to chastise Khān Jahān Lodī and to devastate the country of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, he was sent off along with Rajah Gaj Singh, and did good service in the battle against Khān Jahān Lodī.

As his and his father's fidelity had been witnessed by the king, and he was desirous of becoming the governor of a fort—without which the title of Rajah did not carry influence—he was made

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governor of the fort of Ranthambur in place of Khān Celā. In the sixth year he was made faujdār of Ajmere in succession to M. Moẓaffar Kirmānī. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Shujā' and did good service at the siege of Parenda. As the fort could not be taken, and the prince was summoned to court, he in the 8th year, after coming to court, was sent to Ajmere. In the 9th year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies under three leaders to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla, he was placed in the contingent of Khān Daurān When out of great liberality, the country of Dhandera had been given to his brother's son Sīv Rām, and the latter had gone with a body of troops and driven out Indarman the zamindar, the said zamindar collected a force and retook the territory from Sīv Rām. Thereupon, in the tenth year, the Rajah was sent with a force—of which the leader was Mut'amid K.—to set the territory free. After he came there, he erected batteries over against the fort of Sehra. The zamindar got hard pressed and waited upon Mut'amid K., and the Rajah came to court and received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and the territory of Dhandera as his home. In the 11th year when the king was going to Lahore, he was made the governor of the fort of Agra. In the 12th year, he, by orders, conveyed treasure from Agra to Delhi. In the 14th year he, on the death of Wazīr K., was left in charge of Agra, and in government of the fort.

In the 16th year, after the arrival of the royal retinue at Agra, he received the rank of 5000, with 3000 horse, and in the 19th year his rank was 5000 with 4000 horse. He was now sent in the vanguard of Prince Murād Bakhsh to take Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken, when the Prince became discontented and returned to court, and S'aad Ullah K. went off to settle the country, he in the 20th year came to court with the persons left behind by Naẓr Muḥammad. In the 21st year, when the king entered the newly-erected buildings of Shahjahanabad, his rank was 5000 with 5000 cavalry of which 1000 were two-horse, and three-horse, and was appointed to Kabul. In the 22nd year he came to court and another 1000 of the cavalry of his contingent were made two-horse and three-horse. In company with

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Prince Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians, which took place during the siege of Qandahar. When the fort could not be taken, he came with the prince to court in the 23rd year. He obtained leave to go home, and he died there in 1061, 1651.

As he was noted for his fidelity and loyalty, the king grieved for his death, and favoured those whom he had left behind. His eldest son was Rajah Anurūdha,[1] of whom a separate account has been given. The second was Arjan who became known to Shah Jahan during his father's lifetime. On the day when Rāo Amar Singh killed Ṣalābat K. in the king's presence, he behaved bravely and struck Amar Singh twice with his sword. In the 19th year he was appointed with Prince Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh campaign. In the 21st year his rank was 1000 with 700 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 100 horse, and in the 25th year, after his father's death, he had an increase of 500 with 700 horse and was appointed to Qandahar in attendance on the prince. In the 32nd year he accompanied Maharajah Jaswant Singh to check the advance of the Deccan army, and was appointed to Mālwa. In the battle which took place between the Maharajah and Prince Aurangzeb near Ujjain, Arjan behaved bravely and sacrificed his life. The third son was Bhīm, who after his father's death received a proper rank and who fought well at the battle of Samogarha on the side of Dārā Shikoh and came near the *qūr* of Prince Aurangzeb, and was killed. The fourth was Harjas, who entered into service in the time of Aurangzeb. After the Rajah s death the ten lacs of rupees which he had left were divided as follows; six lacs, and also goods, to Rajah Anurūdha, three lacs to Arjan, Rs. 60,000 to Bhīm, and Rs. 40,000 to Harjas. Girdhar Dās the younger brother of the Rajah was, in the 9th year of Shah Jahan, after the killing of Jujhār Singh Bandīla and the capture of the fort of Jhānsī, made governor thereof. In the 15th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After the Rajah's death his rank was 1500 with 1200 horse. He was appointed to the siege of Qandahar and in the 29th year he

[1] Maasir II. 276.

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was made governor of the fort of Agra in succession to Siyādat K., and had the rank of 2000 with 1200 horse. In the 30th year he was made faujdār thereof in addition to his governorship and had an increase in his contingent of 800 horse. In the battle of Samogarha he was in Dārā Shikoh's vanguard, but it appears from the 'Ālamgīrnāma that he was also actively employed during the reign of Aurangzeb.

(RAJAH) BHAGWANT DĀS.[1]

Son of Rajah Bihāra Mal Kachwāha. He distinguished himself at the battle of Sarnāl in 980, 1572, when Akbar after the conquest of Gujarat made an onset with 100 troopers on Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. He was rewarded with a flag and a drum. He also did good service in the nine days' expedition to Gujarat and thereafter was sent by way of Īdar to the Rānā's country, in order that he might put down the rebels there. The Rajah brought all the landowners of Budhnagar and Īdar into the highway of good service, and had an interview with Rānā Kīkā and brought his son Amr Singh to court. In the 23rd year, when the jagirs of the Kachwāha family were placed in the Panjab, the Rajah was made governor of that province. In the 29th year his daughter was married to Prince Selīm (Jahangir).

Chronogram.

The Moon and Venus were conjoined. (993)

Akbar personally went to the Rajah's quarters, and the latter gave a splendid feast, and produced the bridal present and tribute which came to a large sum. They say there were strings of Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Cutch horses, together with 100 elephants, and many male and female slaves, Abyssinian, Circassian and Indian. The dower was two *krors* of rupees.[2] The king and prince were conveyed in litters, and on the whole road rare cloths were spread. In the year 995 (on the 4th August 1587), Sultan Khusrau was born of this marriage. In the 30th year the

[1] B. 333.

[2] The T A. and Badayūnī say it was *tankas*, i.e. *dāms*.

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Rajah was made a panjhazārī, and in the year in which Kunwar Mān Singh was appointed to the Yūsufzai affair, the Rajah was made governor of Afghanistan. He formed some unfitting desires and the king recalled him. The Rajah repented and had recourse to entreaties, and his apology was admitted. But when he crossed the Indus and came to Khairābād he was seized with madness, and they brought him back to Attock. A physician was feeling his pulse, and the Rajah drew his (the physician's) dagger and stabbed himself. The king's physicians were appointed to treat him, and after a long while they cured him. In the 32nd year he and his tribe had a jagir in Bihar, and Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to look after that country. In the beginning[1] of 998, 1589, he died in Lahore. They say that when Rajah Todar Mal was cremated, he was present. When he came to his house he vomited[2] and had an attack of strangury. After five days he died. One of his good works was the building of a Jāma'[3] masjid in Lahore where many men collect and say their prayers on Fridays.

(RAO) BHĀO SINGH HĀRĀ.

Son of Satr Sāl who had a place in Dārā Shikoh's vanguard at the battle of Samogarh, and bravely lost his life. Bhāo[4] Singh in the first year of Aurangzeb came from his home to court, and did homage. He received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, the gift of a flag and a drum, and the title of Rāo with the zamindari of Bundī, etc., which had belonged to his ancestors. In the battle with Shujā' he was appointed to the king's artillery which was in front. When Shujā' had fled, he, in company with Prince Muḥammad Sultan, was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, when the prince's army had passed Bīrbhūm[5] on the way to Bengal,

1 Apparently both officers must have died in the end of 997, for Akbar got the news at Kabul in that year or very early in 998.

2 A.N. III. 570. The word is *ist-farāgh*, and perhaps it means "over-strained himself."

3 The Jām'a Mosque in Lahore was built by Aurangzeb in 1674. It seems unlikely that Bhagwān would build a mosque. He erected a famous temple to Harī Dev at Mathurā, Growse, 304.

4 'Ālamgīrnāma 231. Satr Sāl is the Chuttar Sāl of Tod who describes his death in battle.

5 'Ālamgīrnāma 498. The Rajputs left because they had heard false

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Bhāo Singh left the prince without leave and returned. He was appointed to the Deccan, and in the third year in company with Shaista K. the Amīru-l-umarā he was engaged in the siege of the fort of Islamabad[1] or Cakna, which had been constructed by Maliku-t-tajār the general of 'Alāu-d-dīn Aḥmad Shah Bahmanī, who had been appointed to conquer the Konkan. The garrison fell into difficulties, and by Bhāo Singh's intervention made over the fort. Afterwards when Shaista K. was removed from the Deccan, and Maharajah Jaswant Singh stayed in that quarter to punish Siva, Bhāo Singh also remained with him. As Rāo Bhāo's sister was married to the Maharajah, the latter sent for her from her native country in order that she might make friendship between them, but Rāo Bhāo Singh was faithful to his salt and did not agree. After the arrival of Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh at the Deccan, he made campaigns along with him. In the 9th year he went with Diller K. against the zamindar of Chanda[2] (in the Central Provinces). From the Naskha Dil Kushā[3] it appears that he was for a long time in Aurangabad. He had formed an intimacy with Sultan Muḥammad M'uazzam. In the 21st year corresponding to 1088,[4] he died.

As he had no sons, the rule of his native country fell to the grandson[5] of his brother Bhagwant Singh, who was called Anurūdha Singh and was son of the Kishn Singh whom Sultan

reports about the result of the battle of Ajmer with Dārā Shikoh. At p.496 of the 'Ālamgīrnama mention is made of one Kamāl Afghan the zamindar of Bīrbhūm. This would seem to indicate that the Bengal Bīrbhūm was meant, for an Afghan family did get possession of that zamindari about 1600. See Hunter's Rural Annals of Bengal, App. F., where a Kamāl K. is mentioned. At p. 496 of the 'Ālamgirnāma Bīrbhūm is spoken of as a village and at 458 as a station. Apparently the geography of the 'Ālamgīrnāma is vague. Mīr Jumla did try to take Shujā' in the rear by marching via Bishanpur, etc. See Steward's Bengal, 269. The rains obliged Mīr Jumla to return to Rājmaḥal. Perhaps the defection of the Rajputs also contributed to this.

[1] Elliot VII. 262.

[2] 'Ālamgīrnāma 1023.

[3] Rieu's Cat. I. 271*a*. It is a book of historical memoirs relating to the Deccan, and was translated by Jonathan Scott, and published under the title of a "Journal kept by a Bondela officer." The author was Bhīm Sen Kāyath.

[4] 1677. Tod says he died in 1682 in Aurangabad.

[5] The Maaṣir A. calls Anurūdha grandson of Bhāo, p. 227. But Tod agrees with the Maaṣir Umarā, which perhaps he has copied.

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Muḥammad Akbar had summoned when he was governor of Ujjain, and who had been killed[1] with a dagger on account of insolence. After his death his son Budha Singh was raised to the leadership, and was for a long time in the contingent of Bahādur Shah in Kabul. When after the death of Aurangzeb there was disagreement between Bahādur Shah and A'ẓim Shah and the former was victorious, he received the title of Rām Rajah, a *manṣab* of 3500 and the zamindari of Mūmīdāna,[2] and Kotah—which (Kotah) belonged to Rām Singh the grandson of Mādhu Singh Hārā, who had been killed along with A'ẓim Shah. There arose a quarrel between him and Bhīm Singh his (Rām Singh's) son. After his death, his son Umed Singh for a time ruled and then left the property to his sons. At the time of writing Kishn Singh[3] his grandson holds the property.

(RAJAH) BHĀRATHA BANDĪLA.

Grandson of Rām Cand who was (the elder) son of Rajah Madhukar. As Jahangir had a special regard for Bir Singh Deo, in the end of the year of his accession, 'Abdullah K. went[4] rapidly from his fief of Kālpī on the day of the Dusserah to Undchah (Oorcha), and arrested Rām Cand, who in that rugged place was showing the appearance of sedition, and produced him before the king, in chains, in the second year. The king removed his chains and gave him a robe of honour and made him over to Rajah Bāsū who was to take security from him and let him go. From that day Undchah belonged to Rajah Bir Singh Deo. In the fourth year Rām Cand's daughter[5] entered the royal harem, at his request. When he died, his grandson Bhāratha received in the seventh year a suitable rank and the title of Rajah. After the presumption which Mahābat K. showed on the bank of the Bihat (Jhelam) and his subsequent flight to the Rānā's country,

1 Maasir A. 161, which says that a quarrel arose at the time of putting on the robe of honour, and that Kishn Singh killed himelf. This was in 1088, 1677. Tod in his account of Bundī says Kishn was put to death by Aurangzeb.

2 J. II. 275.

3 Called by Tod Bishn Singh.

4 Tuzuk J. 39, where Rām Cand is called the son of Nand Kuar (Nandkūmar). 'Abdullah reached Undchah on the Dusserah day. See also B. 487-88. Bir Singh was Rām Cand's younger brother.

5 Tūzuk J. 77.

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Bhāraṭha[1] was one of the officers whom Jahangir appointed to pursue him, and who halted at Ajmere. Meanwhile the aspect of circumstances changed. Jahangir departed to another world, and the standard of Shah Jahan brightened Ajmere. Bhāratha hastened to serve him and received an increase of 500 troopers so that his rank became[2] one of 3000 with 2500 horse, and he had the gift of a flag and a horse. In the first year he became[3] faujdār of Etawah and its neighbourhood—which was crown land—and after some time had[4] the present of a drum. In the second year he went with Khwāja Abul-ḥasan in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī, and in the third year was appointed, along with Rāo Ratan Hādā, to conquer Telingāna. Afterwards, he had an increase of 500 horse and did good service, along with Naṣīrī K.,[5] in the siege of Qandhar in the Deccan. When the garrison got into difficulties, they, at his recommendation, surrendered.[6] In the fourth year he came to court and received an increase of 500 *zāt* and had altogether the rank of 3500 with 3000 horse. Afterwards he was appointed to guard the borders of Telingāna. In the 6th year he took the town of Waklūr[6] (?) together with the family of Bolā, who, along with Sīdhī Miftāḥ, held the town on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan. When this news reached Shah Jahan, he raised his rank to 4000 with 3500 horse. In the 7th year, when the court was at Lahore, the news came[7] that the Rajah had died in the year 1043, 1633-34, in Telingāna. His son was Rajah Deb Singh of whom an account has been given.

(RAI) BHOJ.[8]

Younger son of Rai Surjan Hādā (pronounced Hārā). When his father attached himself to Akbar, he too always did good service, and was the object of special favour. In the 22nd year of the reign the fort of Bundī was taken from Dūdā his elder brother and given to him. After that, he was for a long time

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 82.
[2] Do. 120.
[3] Do. 191.
[4] Do. 229.
[5] Pādshāhnāma, 377.
[6] It is Diklūr in Pādshāhnāma I. 534.
[7] Pādshāhnāma I Part II, p. 13.
[8] B. 458.

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included in the contingent of Kunwar Mān Singh and did brave deeds in the battles with the Afghans of Orissa. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan along with S. Abu-l-faẓl, and always distinguished himself. After Jahangir's accession, the king desired to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh. Rai Bhoj, who was the maternal grandfather of the lady, objected, and this displeased Jahangir, who resolved to punish him on his return from Kabul. In the same year, which was the second of the reign, and corresponded to 1016, 1607, he loosed[1] the thread of his life (committed suicide?). Up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign he held the rank of 1000. They say that the daughters of the Rahtor and Kachwaha families have entered the harem of the house of Timur, but that the Hādā tribe has never consented to such an alliance.

(RAJAH) BIHĀRA MAL.[2]

Son of Prithī raj Kachwāha. In this tribe there are two sections—Rajāwat and Shaikhāwat. Bihārā Mal belonged to the Rajāwat section, and was settled at 'Amber, which is a dependency of Ajmere and is east[3] of Mārwār. Though it is inferior to Mārwār in extent, it is superior in productiveness. He was the first Rajput who entered into Akbar's service. After the death of Humāyūn, when disturbances arose on every side, Ḥājī K., a slave of Sher Khan, also became seditious and besieged Nārnaul which was in the fief of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl. The Raja at that time was friendly with him, and from goodness and right-thinking he interposed and took amicable possession of the fort, and procured an honourable departure for Majnūn. After Hemū had been slain, and the report of Akbar's fortune had become current, Majnūn Qāqshāl represented the choice fidelity of the Rajah, and an order

1 B. l.c. says he committed suicide. Tod in his chapter on the Annals of Haravati (reprint II. 521) says Rai Bhoj died in his palace at Bundī, but does not say he committed suicide. The expression in the Maaṣir is ambiguous. Rai Bhoj's grand-daughter was married to Jahangir in the third year, 1608, Tūzuk J. 69. Rai Bhoj had a distinguished son, Rāo Ratn, who received the title of Sarbuland Rai. See Maaṣir U. II. 208.

2 B. 328, where the name is spelt Bihārī.

3 Text has "west." Probably this is a printer's error.

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was sent for his appearance. The Rajah paid his respects in the end of the first year. On the day of taking leave, when the Rajah and his sons and other relatives had been clothed in robes of honour and presented, the king mounted on a furious (*mast*) elephant. As the elephant was furiously moving from side to side, the people everywhere dispersed, but when it ran to where the Rajputs were, they stood still. This pleased Akbar greatly, and he graciously said to the Rajah that he would cherish him.

In the sixth year, when Akbar was proceeding to Ajmere to visit M'uinu-d-dīn's shrine, it was represented to him in the village of Kalālī by Caghatai K. that Rajah Bihārā Mal—who was distinguished for intelligence and courage, and who had waited upon him in Delhi—had become apprehensive and taken refuge in the hills because M. Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain the governor of Ajmere had, at the instigation of Sūjā the son of the Rajah's elder brother Pūran Mal, led an army and had fixed a sum of money as tribute, and had seized Jagnāth the son of the Rajah, Raj Singh the son of Askaran, and Kangār the son of Jagmal, who were the brother's sons of the Rajah, and wanted to seize 'Amber which was the Rajah's ancestral residence. From appreciation of his merit the king sent for him, and his brother Rūpsī appeared at the station of Deosah along with Jai Mal his son, who was the headman in that neighbourhood, and did homage. In the town of Sāngānīr the Rajah himself appeared with most of his relatives and was graciously received. The Rajah, from his good sense and foresight, wished to emerge from the crowd of landowners and to be enrolled among the special intimates of the court, and so expressed a desire that his daughter might enter the Harem. The king assented, and the Rajah took leave to accomplish this affair, and at the time of Akbar's return he sent his daughter, with all ceremony, to the royal palace at the station of Sāmbhar. He himself, his son Bhagwant Dās, and Kunwar Mān Singh the son of the latter, waited on the king at the station of Ratan.[1] Akbar honoured

[1] This apparently should be Rantanbhur. Mān Singh was only the adopted son of Bhagwant. Bihārā Mal's daughter became the mother

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him more than all the other Rajahs and Rais of India and bestowed high dignities and offices on his sons and grandsons and on his tribesmen and made them the pillars of India. The Rajah was raised to the rank of 5000 and dismissed to his home, while Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh together with many of his other relatives attended the king to Agra, and rose by degrees to high honour.[1]

(RAJAH) BIKRAMĀJĪT.[2]

His name was Patr Dās and he was a Khatrī by caste. At first he was accountant of the elephant-stables of Akbar. He received the title of Rai Rayān, and afterwards attained to high rank. In the 12th year at the siege of Citūr he, along with Ḥasan K. Cagatai, looked after the royal battery. In the 24th year he was made diwān of Bengal in partnership with Mīr Adham. In the 25th year when the rebels killed Moẓaffar K. and imprisoned Patr Dās, he cleverly managed to escape, and was for some time afterwards employed in the province. In the 31st year he was made diwān of Bihar. In the 38th year he was sent off to take the fort of Bāndhū—which was one of the strong forts of the age, and where, on the death of Rām Cand Baghīla and his son, the men of the place had set up the grandson who was of tender age After besieging it for eight months and twenty-five days the garrison surrendered from want of food, and the fort was taken. In the 43rd year he was made Chief Diwān,[3] and next year he was removed from that post and sent off to the fort of Bāndhū. In the 46th year he received the rank of 3000. In the 47th year, when the slaying of S. Abu-l-faẓl by Bir Singh Bandīla was reported to Akbar, an order was given that Patr Dās should exert himself to extirpate that evil-doer, and not give up until he sent his head He in repeated combats fought bravely and

of Jahangir. For account of the marriage, etc. see A.N. II, p. 240, etc. of translation.

1 It would seem that Bihārā Mal died about 1569, for in 1570 a monument was erected at Mathurā, to the memory of his widow who committed Sati. Growse, Mathurā 148. There is also a temple at Mathurā to Harī Devī which was erected by Rajah Bhagwān Dās, do. 304.

2 B. 469.

3 A.N. III. 741 and 758.

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defeated Bir Singh, and when the latter took refuge in the fort of Īrīj, Patr Dās proceeded to invest it. When Bir Singh made a breach in the wall of the fort and came out, the Rajah followed him, till at last he escaped into the jungle In the 47th year the Rajah came to court according to orders and kissed the sublime threshold. In the 49th[1] year he received the rank of 5000 and the title of Rajah Bikramājīt. After the accession of Jahangir he was chief officer of the artillery and was ordered to collect 50,000 artillerymen (?). Fifteen[2] parganas were assigned in tankhwāh for the expenses. When the disturbance caused by Moẓaffar Gujarati's sons[3] and the slaying of Yatīm Bahādur in Gujarat were reported, he was sent there with a large force, and an order was given that he should appoint officers, from among those who appeared before him at Aḥmadabad, to the rank of yūzbāshī (centurion), or if they had held higher commands he was to report the circumstances in detail. The year of his death does not appear.[4]

(RAJAH) BIKRAMĀJĪT RAI RAYĀN.

He was a brahman, and his name was Sundar[5] Dās. He was a writer in the service of Prince Shah Jahan, and for his uprightness and zeal he was made Mīr Sāmān (major domo). On account of his high spirit and lofty nature he was raised from the pen to the sword. In the affair of the Rānā he attacked with a gallant army the country of the latter and devastated it, and killed many and made many prisoners. By his instrumentality the Rānā sub-

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[1] Jahangir in the Tūzuk, p. 9, speaks of having conferred the title on him. His father, he says, had made him Rai Rayān. He was to collect 50,000 artillerymen (topcīs) and 3000 gun-carriages.

[2] Cf. Price's Jahangir, 28. The Tūzuk, p. 10, does not mention the 15 parganas.

[3] The Tūzuk J. speaks of one son, and of the death of Yatīm Bahādur in the first year. See p. 23. Yatīm is there called Pīm. The Maaṣir has the variant Talīm. There is no mention of Yūzbāshīs etc. in the authentic Tūzuk. Perhaps the permission to appoint *yūzbāshīs* was a consequence of the former order for collecting 50,000 gunners. The Mirāt Aḥmadī lith., p. 192, says Moẓaffar Gujarati left two sons and two daughters.

[4] Jahangir, Tūzuk translation, p. 104, speaks of a son named Kalyān whom he severely punished.

[5] He was a native of Bandhū, i.e. Bānda, in the Allahabad Division. Tūzuk translation, 325.

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mitted and waited upon the Prince. In return for this good service Rai Sundar Dās had an increase of rank, and the title of Rai Rayān. When the Prince left for the first time for the business of the Deccan he sent him along with Āfẓal K. to give counsel to Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr. He transacted that affair in a proper manner and obtained fifteen lacs of rupīs of tribute. With two lacs of rupīs which 'Ādil Shah had given to himself he purchased at Goa a ruby weighing 7 *miṣqāls*, 5½ *surkhs*, and which was unrivalled for colour and water, and presented it to the Prince at the time of paying his respects. The Prince made it the head of his own present to his father, and the Rajah had an increase of rank and the title of Rajah[1] Bikramājīt, which is the highest honour in India. When in the end 1026 (1617) Gujarat was assigned to the Prince as his fief, the Rajah was appointed to the charge of it as his deputy. He led an army against the Jām and the Bihāra, who are the principal landholders of the province. The territory of the first of these is bounded on one side by Sorath, and on the other by the ocean. The other is on the seashore and marches with Scinde. Both landholders are men of substance, and who ever holds the properties is styled the Jām, and the Bihāra. Up to this time they had never waited upon any king. By the Rajah's dexterity they became obedient, and did homage to Jahangir in Aḥmadabad.

When Sūraj Mal, the son of Rajah Bāsū, who had been appointed to take the fort of Kāngra, became treacherous and rebellious, the Rajah was sent in the end of the 13th year with an army consisting of the Prince's servants, and also of Jahangir's, viz. Shahbāz K. Lodī and others, to take that inaccessible asylum, which no Delhi sovereign had hitherto thrown his lasso over. He first addressed himself to the putting down of Sūraj Mal. After a short struggle he put him to flight, and won the forts of Mau and Maharī which was Sūraj Mal's residence. In reward for this he was given drums. In the 16th year, 1029, 1620, he was sent to besiege Kāngra, the city of which is called Nagarkot. He pressed hard upon the besieged and in the beginning of 1030, 1621,

[1] Tūzuk J. translation, p. 402.

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they after a siege of fourteen months and odd days sued for quarter and surrendered the fort.

The fort is famous for its strength. It lies in the hill-country north of Lahore The belief of the landholders of the Panjab is that no one but God knows when it was built. During all this time it had never passed out of the hands of one tribe. No stranger's hand had ruled over it. Among Muḥammadan Sultans, Sultan Fīrūz Shah went with all his grandeur to take it. When he found that this was impossible,[1] he had to be content with an interview with the Rajah of it, and to withdraw his hand. They say that the Rajah took the Sultan and a number of his followers inside the fort to a feast. The Sultan said to the Rajah that it was indiscreet to introduce him to the fort: if he and his followers were now to attack him, what could he do? The Rajah made a sign to his men, and immediately crowds upon crowds of armed men came out of ambushes. The Sultan became apprehensive, but the Rajah represented that nothing but obedience was in his mind, but still it was right to take precautions. No Delhi Sultan had ever succeeded after this in taking the fort.

Akbar, with all his appetite for conquest, and length of reign, did not succeed in taking Kāngra, though the country adjoined his dominions. Once when the Rajah of it had become an object of censure, Akbar made over the country to Rajah Bīrbar and appointed an army under Ḥusain Qulī K. Khān Jahān, the governor of the Panjab. While he was pressing the siege, there arose the rebellion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. The Khān Jahān was compelled to make peace with the Rajah and to go after Ibrāhīm. After that, Rajah Jai Chand, the lord of the fort, showed proper respect for the emperor by continually sending tribute, and doing homage.

In the beginning of the 26th year, 990, 1582, when Akbar was marching towards the Indus, he went to see the wonders of the temple of Nagarkot, which has from old time been a place of pilgrimage. At the first stage Rajah Jai Chand did homage.

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[1] According to Shams Sīrāj's history, 188, the Rajah surrendered the fort. See also Elliot III. 317.

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When Akbar halted for the night at the town of Desūha, which was in Rajah Bīr Bar's fief, the spiritual form,[1] of which strange stories are told, appeared to him in a dream. She rehearsed the greatness of the emperor, but warned him against his intention. In the morning he related his dream and turned back. His followers, who had been wearied by the difficulties of the road, and the ruggedness of the defiles, but had been afraid to make any remonstrance, were greatly delighted at his change of plan.

When Jahangir came to the throne he resolved to take Kāngra and in the first place sent Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K., who was the governor of the Panjab, to take it. He died before he had accomplished the task, and Rajah Sūraj Mal was appointed to the undertaking. As everything has its appointed time, that scoundrel went the other way about. Meanwhile by the auspiciousness of the Prince the heir-apparent, and the excellent measures of Rajah Bikramājīt, the long-standing knot was unloosed, and in the 16th year Jahangir visited the fort and introduced Muḥammadan rites there.

The fort is situated on the top of a lofty hill, and has 23 bastions and 7 gates. Its inner circuit is one *kos* and 15 *ṭanābs*. Its length is a quarter *kos* and two *ṭanābs*, and the breadth is more than 22 *ṭanābs*, and less than 15. Its height is 114 cubits There are two large tanks inside. The temple[2] of Mahāmāya is near the city, and is known as Durgā Bhavānī. It is regarded as a representative of the deity. Pilgrims come to it from a distance and obtain their hearts' desire. A strange thing is that in order to obtain their wishes they cut their tongues, and that some of them have their tongues restored in a few hours, and others, after one or two days. Though physicians regard the tongue as capable of regrowth, yet its restoration in so short a time is very extraordinary. In the legends they call the goddess Mahādev's wife (viz. Mahāmaya), and the learned of the sect represent his energy by this name.

They[3] say that on seeing the evil she had done (to her

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[1] Taken from A. N. III. 348.

[2] Taken from Ain, see Jarrett II. 312.

[3] Jarrett II. 313, n. 2.

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husband) she committed suicide, and that her body fell in four places. Her head and some of her members fell towards Kāmrāj in the northern hills of Kashmīr, and this place is called Sāradā [1] Other portions fell near Bījāpūr in the Deccan. That place is called Tuljā Bhavānī. The place to the eastward where portions fell is called Kāmākhya. The place where portions remained on the original spot (of the suicide) is called Jālandharī. This is the place (near Kāngra), and near it flames burst out. Some places burn as if they were tallow, and this is called Jālāmukhī. It is visited by pilgrims, and they throw various things into the flame and draw favourable omens from this. On the top they have built a lofty dome, and there is a great assemblage of people. Apparently it is a sulphur mine, but the common people regard it as a miracle. Even Muḥammadans gather there, and some of them take part in the spectacle.

Some say that when Mahādev's wife ended her life, he out of excessive grief carried the body about for a while. When the cohesion of the members was dissolved, portions fell in various places. They worship at each place in proportion to the dignity of the member that fell there. As the breast fell there (at Kāngra), that is regarded as the holiest of the places. Some say that a stone which the infidels used to worship was removed by the Muhammadans and thrown into the river. Afterwards a cheating brahman showed another stone as that one. Afterwards, the Rajah, either out of simplicity, or from cupidity—for much was obtained from offerings—set up this stone in the village. It is written in histories that when Sultan Fīrūz Shāh came to this neighbourhood he heard that the brahmans had from the time when Alexander Ẕū-l-Qarnīn came there, set up an image of Naushāba and worshipped it. The Sultan took the image and sent it to Medina. It was cast into the highway in order that it might be trodden under foot. Ferishta [2] relates that there were in this temple 1300 books written by brahmans of old times. Sultan Fīrūz Shāh sent for the learned men of the sect and had portions translated. Out of these

[1] Text has an alif as the first letter, but the name is Sārada, or Shārada. See Jarrett l.c. For Tuljā Bhavāni see I.G. XXIV, 52.

[2] Newal Kishore's lithograph, Part I, p. 148.

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abstracts 'Izzu-d-dīn Khālid Khānī who was a poet of the time—composed a book in verse on the science of omens, etc., and called it Dilāīl Fīrūz Shāhī. In truth, it contained much about practical and theoretical sciences.

When Rajah Bikramājīt, after the taking of Kāngra, joined, with a well-equipped force, Shah Jahan in the 15th year, news came that the Deccan rulers had, on hearing that Jahangir had gone off to Kashmīr, become refractory, and extended their feet beyond their proper limits. Especially, Malik 'Ambar had done this, for he had taken possession of the territories of Aḥmadnagar and Berar. The imperial servants, who were gathered together in Mahakar, had contended with the enemy, but from want of provisions had gone to Bālāpūr, where too they could not maintain themselves. They had gone to Burhānpūr and joined the Khān Khānān. The enemy had attacked the imperial dominion and besieged Burhānpūr. As the settlement of the troublous Deccan depended upon Shah Jahan, he went off there with the great officers in this year of 1030, 1621.

After Shah Jahan had reached Burhānpūr, five armies of 30,000 cavalry were dispatched to put down the rebels, under the command of Dārāb K., 'Abdullah K., Khwājā Abu-l-Ḥasan, Rajah Bikramājīt, and Rajah Bhīm. Though Dārāb was nominally Commander-in-Chief, yet in reality the whole[1] management was in the hands of Rajah Bikramājīt. The Rajah marched in eight days from Burhānpūr to Khirkī—which was the residence of Niẓām Shah and Malik 'Ambar—and thoroughly destroyed that city. When Malik 'Ambar saw destruction in the mirror of his situation he approached the Rajah with representations of repentance and humility. It was agreed[2] that lands of the value of 14 krors of dāms out of the lands of the Deccan which remained in the possession of the Deccanīs should be given up, together with lands which were imperial property, to the imperialists, and that 50 lacs of rupis should be paid as tribute from the 'Ādilshāhī and Quṭbshāhīs, and that the Rajah should return with all the troops to the town of Tamarnī (?) and encamp there. The

[1] Khāfī K., I. 317. [2] Cf. Khāfī K. I. 322.

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Rajah in accordance with Shah Jahan's orders built near that town and on the bank of the river known as Kharak Pūrnā a very strong fort and called it Ẓafrnagar. He spent the rainy season there.

When Shah Jahan had settled the Deccan, time played another game. The particulars are that when Nūr Jahān got complete sway and had control of political and financial matters, and nothing but the name of king remained to Jahangir, she fell athinking that if Jahangir's long illness ended in his death, the empire would become Shah Jahan's. Though he was perfectly friendly to her, how would he permit her to exercise all this power? Therefore she married the daughter that she had by Sherāfgan to Sultan Shahriyār, the youngest son of Jahangir, and set about patronizing him. She became hostile to Shah Jahan and turned Jahangir's feelings that way also. So he was sent for to court for the affair of Qandahar. When he came to Māndū he wrote to his father that on account of the mud and slush of Mālwa it was advisable to remain in Māndū till the end of the rains. As the Shah of Persia had to be opposed, it was necessary to collect equipments, and he asked that fort Ranthanbhūr might be assigned for the harem and for the families of the officers. Also that the province of Lahore, which was on the road to Qandahar, might be given to him in fief in order that he might have facilities for collecting provisions, etc. He also asked that until the termination of the expedition he might have the appointment and removal of officers.

The Begam, who was all powerful, represented these requests as improper and made Jahangir believe that the prince's design was to take possession of the empire. She so worked upon Jahangir that he assigned the Qandahar expedition to Shahriyār, and took away the fiefs that Shah Jahan had in Upper India, and summoned his officers to court. Though Jahangir perceived the evils of these orders he could not help doing what pleased the Begam. He did whatever she said. At last it came to fighting. On the one side Jahangir left Delhi, and on the other side the prince came to Bilūchpūr. There were only ten *kos* between them. The prince's confidants represented that things had got

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beyond a peaceful settlement, Jahangir would not be quiet. The prince's army was better in quantity and quality than the emperor's, and they should engage. The prince replied that he could not behave so presumptuously, and in a way that was displeasing to both creature and Creator. If H.M were defeated and he obtained the victory, what advantage would he get from such a sovereignty? And what pleasure would it give him? His only desire was that the evil advisers and stirrers up of strife might be punished.

At last it was arranged that the prince should turn aside to the left to a distance of 4 or 5 *kos* and halt in Koṭlah which is in Mewāt, and that three forces under the charge of Dārāb K., Rajah Bikramājīt and Rajah Bhīm should attack and devastate the country round about the imperial camp, and so prevent the coming in of supplies. Possibly, this would lead to peace. When Āṣaf K. on behalf of the king came in front of the prince's troops, with 'Abdullah K. in the vanguard, the latter had previously said that when an encounter took place, he would join the prince's troops. No one knew of this except the prince and the Rajah. 'Abdullah in accordance with the agreement urged on his horse, and the Rajah perceiving this went to Dārāb K. to inform him. Suddenly Nawāzish K., son of S'aīd K. Chaghatai—who was in the imperial vanguard—thought that 'Abdullah was making a charge. He too urged on his horse and his contingent. He fell in with the Rajah who was coming back with four or five men from seeing Dārāb. He hastened to oppose. Before assistance came up a bullet struck his temple and he gave up the ghost. Both sides withdrew from fighting and returned to their own place. The Rajah had attained the rank of 5000 personal and horse, and there was no greater officer than he in the prince's service. His brother Kunhar Dās was his deputy in Aḥmadabad.

(RAJAH) BĪR BAHĀDUR.

Son of Bahrojī Sirkār (?), which is a section of the tribe of Dhangar. His ancestors lived in the neighbourhood of Anagundī [1]

1 Vijaynagar or Hampi in the Bellary district.

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on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and which was formerly a seat of kings. It chanced that they had to move from there and come and dwell in villages near Bijapur. Bahrojī in consequence of his connections with Nīma [1] Rajah Sindiah—who had obtained an important office and extensive fiefs—received in the time of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh a suitable office and the fief of pargana Pālam in the province of Bīdar, and entered into service When he died, Akājī his eldest son took his place and gradually attained to the rank of 7000 and the title of Rajah Bīr Bahādur, and got additional fiefs. In 1190, 1776, he died. He was acquainted with the Persian tongue and was skilled in poetry, and in *duhara* (dohra), which is an expression for rhyme in the language of the men of the Duāb. After him his son Sadharm and his nephews divided the hereditary properties, and continued in service. (Q)

(RAJAH) BĪRBAR.[2]

His name was Mohesh Dās, and he was a brahman and a bard (*bādfarosh*). In Hindī such a person is called a Bhāt. This set of men are the panegyrists of the wealthy. Though Mohesh Dās was without means and was in distressed circumstances, yet he was a congeries of eloquence and understanding. By his abilities he became a favourite with his contemporaries, and when by his good fortune he entered into Akbar's service, he became by his wit and humour one of the favourite companions, and gradually took the lead of all the other intimates. As he was skilled in the composition of Hindī verses, he received the title of Kab Rai, which resembles the phrase Maliku-sh'aara (king of poets). When in the 18th year the king was displeased with Rajah Jai Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, and imprisoned him, his son Budh Cand, who was young in years, assumed the position of his father's representative and entered on the path of rebellion. The king presented the territory to Kab Rai, who had a fief there, and issued an order to Ḥusain Qulī K., the Khān Jahān and governor of the Panjab, to the effect

[1] Text Timā. But the word is Nīma. It seems to be a family name and is used by Tod in his Annals of Meywār. Khāfī K. has the word several times in his second volume; in the Bib. Ind. ed. it is written Nībā.

[2] B. 404.

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that he should march there with the officers of the province and take Nagarkot from Budh Cand and give it to Kab Rai. He also conferred on the latter the title of Rajah Bīrbar, i.e. the brave Rajah, and sent him off there.

When the Rajah came to Lahore, Ḥusain Qulī K. and the fief-holders led an army against Nagarkot and besieged it. By chance, just when the garrison had got into difficulties, the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. broke out, and as the suppression of it became the pressing work of the hour, the taking of the fort had to be put off. On the recommendation of the Rajah, Ḥusain Qulī had to be content with receiving a tribute of five *mans* of gold from Budh Cand, with reciting the khuṭba and having coins struck in Akbar's name, and with laying the foundation of a mosque in front of the gate of the fort of Kāngra. When in the 30th year 994, 1586, Zain K. Koka was appointed to chastise the Yūsufzai—who are a large tribe in the hill-country of Bajaur and Swād—he after ravaging Bajaur came to Swād, which lies to the north of Peshawar and east of Bajaur, and is forty *kos* long and 5 to 15 *kos* broad, and has 40,000 householders, and punished it.

As the army was wearied out by traversing the defiles, he asked the king for reinforcements S. Abu-l-faẓl in his zeal and devotion begged to be placed on this service, and Akbar cast lots between him and Rajah Bīrbar. As it happened, the dice gave the name of the Rajah. After he was appointed, Akbar, out of caution, sent after him an army under the charge of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ. When both leaders had entered the hill-country, although there was a dislike between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, the former prepared a feast and invited the new arrivals. The Rajah displayed resentment and ill humour. The Koka exercised self-restraint and went to see the Rajah, but when they consulted together, the Rajah, who was also previously on bad terms with the Ḥakīm, spoke with flippancy and rudeness, and ended with contumely and abuse.

In fine, the mist of dissension arose between them, and each, from envy, tried to discredit the other's opinion. At last, on account of presumption and discord it came to their entering the defile of Balandī without proper arrangements. The Afghans

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overwhelmed them from every side with stones and arrows. In the confusion, men, horses and elephants got mixed, and a large number of men lost their lives. Next day they made an ill-concerted march, and in the darkness they got entangled in defiles, and many were killed. Rajah Bīrbar also fell.

They say that when they came to Karākar some one said to the Rajah that the Afghans intended to make a night-attack, and that if he could get through the defile—which was less than three or four *kos* long—the danger of the night-attack would be at an end. The Rajah without informing Zain-K. Koka, started off at the end of the day, and the whole army followed him, and what was to happen, happened. A great defeat befel the royal army, and nearly 8000 men with some officers and notables were killed in those two days. Though the Rajah tried all he could to get out, he was killed.

Whenever any one in his ingratitude and incognition of what is right treads the path of calumny instead of rendering thanks, he soon is pierced by the thornbrake of the results of his actions. They say that the Rajah whilst traversing these mountains was continually frowning in his heart and his brow, and would say to his confidants that the times seemed out of joint that he should have to accompany the Ḥakīm and assist the Koka in traversing hills and deserts. What would be the end of it all? He did not perceive that the furtherance of his master's projects and the carrying out of his commands was the main thing and the source of good. Though it might be a cause of dissatisfaction, it was evident that Zain Khān, on account of his fosterage and rank, was the superior, and that the Rajah had only latterly attained the rank of 2000. But his presumption was caused by his companionship and intimacy with the king.

They say that on receiving the news of Bīrbar's death, Akbar refrained for two days from eating and drinking, and the letter of sorrow which he wrote to the Khān-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, and which appears among S. Abul-faẓl's letters, shows what a place the Rajah had in the king's heart, and how close his connection with him was. Accordingly, after expressions of praise, and mention of his loyality, he says, "Alas, a thousand times, that the wine

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of this wine-cellar has become lees, and that this sugarcane has become poison. The world is a deceiving and thirst-producing mirage, and a station full of heights and hollows. Crapulousness follows the drinking at this feast. Some obstacles have prevented me from seeing the body with my own eyes so that I might testify my love and affection for him."

Verse.

"What heart is there that bleeds not for this sorrow,
Whose eyes are not blood-shot from this grief ?"

In fine, Rajah Bīrbar was among the singular of the age for liberality and generosity, and was famed for his gifts. He had perfect skill in music. His poetry and distiches[1] are well known. His *takhallaṣ* was Baramba[2] (?). His eldest son[3] had the name of Lāla, and he received a suitable *manṣab*. Owing to bad behaviour and self-indulgence he exceeded his income. When this was not increased, he took into his head to live in a free and easy manner, and in the 46th year he obtained permission to leave the court.

(RAJAH)[4] BIR SINGH DEO BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Madhukar. From the first he joined the service of Prince Sultan Selīm, and attached himself to his fortunes. When he showed audacity in slaying Abu-l-faẓl, Akbar repeatedly sent troops against him. In the 50th year it was reported that he with a few followers had gone off to the wilds, and that the royal troops were pursuing him. When Jahangir came to the throne,

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1 Text *duhaza*, but should be *dohara* or *dohra*.

2 The Darbār A. 295 says that many people say his *takhallaṣ* was Burhiya. Badayūnī, Lowe, 164 has Brahman Dās, but the Persian text II. 161 has Birham Dās, and it may be noted that a section of the Bhāts is called Birmbhāt. Elliot, Supp. Glossary, I. 18. The editors of the Maaṣir give the variant *Barhana* "naked."

3 There was another son, Har Har Rai, who is mentioned in the 48th year, A. N. III. 820, as having brought a letter from Prince Daniel from the Deccan. There is a long notice of Bīrbar in Darbār Akbari, p. 295 *et seq.*, and there is also a Hindustani pamphlet about him. It seems that he was a native of Kālpī. There is a tradition that his daughter was one of Akbar's wives.

4 Blochmann 488, etc.

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Bir Singh Deo was raised in the first year to the rank of 3000. In the 3rd year he was appointed with Mahābat Khān in the affair of the Rānā, and received a *khilat* and a horse. In the 4th year he went with Khān Jahān to the Deccan, and in the 7th year his rank was 4000 with 2200 horse. In the 8th year he hastened from the Deccan to join Sultan Khurram, who had been appointed to chastise Rānā Amr Singh, and again came to the Deccan. In the 14th year, when the prince aforesaid went to the Deccan, he distinguished himself in battle with the Deccanis, when he had under him 2 or 3000 cavalry and 5000 infantry. When a disagreement occurred between Jahangir and Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) Bir Singh came to court with a well-equipped force, and in the 18th year accompanied Sultan Parvez in his pursuit of Sultan Khurram.

When in the end of Jahangir's reign, things assumed a different aspect, and there was much intriguing, Bir Singh, with the help of bribery extended his power over the estates of the neighbouring zamindars and acquired a wide and fertile territory. He acquired such power as scarcely any other of the Rajahs of India had attained to. In the 22nd year, corresponding to 1036, 1627, he died. The idol-temple in Mathurā which was converted (?) by Aurangzeb into a mosque was built by him. As Jahangir had been impressed[1] by his good service, he, from indifference, preferred pleasing this villain to observing the glorious Law, and gave him permission for building this idol-temple of a wretched religion. He spent thirty-three lacs in making it strong, and especially in decoration and ornamentation.[2] He also made in Undcha (Orchha) lofty buildings which for size and ornamentation surpass all others. Especially there is an idol-temple by the side of his palace which is very lofty and grand. A large amount of money was spent on it. There are the tank Shersāgar, which has a circumference of 5½ royal *kos*, and the tank of Samandarsāgar, which is twenty *kos*

[1] The good service was the killing of Abul Faẓl. See Maaṣir A. 95, 96 for an account of the building of the mosque.

[2] *Parkārī*, or *purkārī*. Perhaps the word refers to the filling of the temple with idols. The account of the destruction of the temple is taken from the Maaṣir A. 95.

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round, in the pargana of Mathurā.[1] In this estate there are nearly 300 large tanks. He had many sons. Among them were Jujhār Singh and Pahār Singh, of both of whom accounts have been given.

BIYĀN K.

He was a Fārūqī Shaikh and like the Fārūqīs of Khandesh he was styled Khān. He attained to the rank of 2500, and held a fief in the Deccan, and entered into service. He had the manners of a dervish, and his disciples speak of his extraordinary customs. He had an old friendship with Saiyid 'Abdullah K. Quṭbu-l-mulk (the Bārha Saiyid). When in the year 1129, 1717, the Amīru-l-umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. proceeded from the Deccan towards Delhi in order to seize Farrukh Siyar, he was ill, and in the year 1130, 1718, he died and was buried in his own abode in the quarter of Fāẓilpūra in the city of Aurangabad. His eldest son obtained his title. His second son Muḥammad Murtaẓa K. gained high rank and was made governor of the fort of Bīdar. He was a pious man and one contented with fate. He was a good friend. He died in 1189, 1775, and is buried outside Haidarabad near the Fatḥ gate. (Q)

BURHĀNU-L-MULK S'AĀDAT K.

His name was Muḥammad Amīn, and he belonged to the Mūsavī Saiyids of Nīshāpūr. At first he had the rank of 1000

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1 This must be a pargana in Bandelkhand. In the history of Bandelkhand, A.S.B.J. for 1902, p. 114, it is stated that Bir Singh constructed the tanks of Bir Sāgar and Barwa Sagar, and many others, in all 52. Bir Sāgar is in Orcha, 12 m. S.S.E. Orcha, and Barwa Sagar is 12 m. E. Jhansi. It seems probable that the Mathurā of text is a mistake for Maraura which is a pargana of Jhānsī. Mr. Silberrad mentions a pargana Moth in Jhānsī which may be what is meant. Bir Singh built a great palace at Datia, id. 114. The temple which Bir Singh built in Mathurā and which Aurangzeb destroyed in 1670, Maaṣir A. 96, has been described by Taverniere, II, p. 403, Chap. XII. It seems to me that Taverniere's description applies better to the temple of Govind Das in Brindāban. He seems to speak of it as an old temple, and not one less than 50 years old. It was dedicated to Kesava Deva (Krishna). See Growse's Memoir on Mathurā, pp. 37 and 127. The site is now occupied by Aurangzeb's mosque, Growse, id. 127. The Maaṣir A. calls it the temple of Keshav Rai. It would seem that some of the idols were saved and taken to Nāthdwāra in Meywār, Growse, 130. Possibly Mathurā in text is a mistake for Jhatra or Chatra.

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and was enrolled among the Wālā Shāhīs (household cavalry) of Farrukh Siyar. After the accession of the latter he was, by the instrumentality of Muḥammad Ja'afar,—who then had the title of Taqarrib K. and was Khānsāmān, and in the beginning of the reign was, when there was a famine, also made in addition *krorī* of the market (*ganj*),—made his deputy-*krorī*. Afterwards he was made *faujdār* of Hindaun Bīāna—which is a turbulent place—and obtained a name for energy by his chastisement of the contumacious and seditious there. He received an increase of 500. When Agra became the encampment of Muḥammad Shah, he came there and joined him with a good force. Together with Muḥammad Amīn K. Bahadūr he was an important sharer in the killing of Ḥusain Alī K., and in the subsequent commotion of Ghairat K. and other friends of Ḥusain 'Alī he fought and distinguished himself. As a reward he received the rank of 5000, 5000 horse and the title of Bahādur, and the grant of a flag and a drum. Afterwards in the battle between Muḥammad Shah and Sultan Ibrāhīm,[1] eldest son of Sultan Rafī'u-sh-shān, whom Quṭbu-l-Mulk (Saiyid Abdullah the elder of the Bārha brothers) had raised up (as emperor), after the assassination of Ḥusain 'Alī, Burhanu-l-Mulk was a leader and fought well. After the victory he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse and had the title of Burhānu-l-Mulk Bahādur Bahadur Jang and was made Subahdār of the capital (Agra). When Cūrāman Jāt, who had been one of those brought forward by the Saiyids of Bārha, was killed[2] in this battle by the imperialists, and his sons had strengthened their forts and raised the head of arrogance, Burhānu-l-Mulk was appointed to chastise them. But as they had thick jungles and

[1] See Siyāru-l-Mutākherīn (reprint) I. 186. Burhān received the insignia of the Fish for his conduct in this battle. Sultan Ibrāhīm's title apparently was Rafī'u-l-Qadr. See Scott's History of the Deccan II. 179. The Hadīqau-l-Aqālīm, p. 384, says he was made governor of Agra in 1101, 1690 (but there must be a mistake in the figures here) and that he was made governor of Oudh in succession to Rajah Gīrdhar.

[2] Perhaps this statement is due to wrong pointing of the text. In the notice of Churāman I. 545, it is not said that he was killed in the battle, and though Beale says he was, the statement seems incorrect. See Elliot VIII. 360.

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strong keeps, they were not punished as they deserved. Afterwards he was removed from his *ṣubahdārī* and made *darogha* of the Headquarters' artillery—to which a daily salary was annexed (?)—in addition to the government of Oudh.[1] He became renowned in that province for having a large army and park of artillery and from his binding and killing the rebellious. In the 21st year of Muḥammad Shah, corresponding to 1151, 1739, when Nādir Shah came to India and the emperor went to Karnāl to engage him, Burhānu-l-Mulk had fallen behind, but by long marches he brought himself on. As his baggage was behind and on the road, the Persian army, on learning this, made a rapid movement and fell on it. As soon as Burhānu-l-Mulk heard of this, he, in spite of the prohibition of the emperor and his advisers, acted hastily and went off to fight with the Persians with the force that he had with him. They turned back and he went in pursuit, and then they joined with other troops and turned round and assailed him. He was wounded, and by chance the elephant of Niṣār Muḥammad K. Sher Jang his brother's son was *mast* and ran at his elephant, and drove it into the Persian army. There was no means of stopping him so that Burhānu-l-Mulk was made prisoner. After[2] that he became an opportunist and impressed upon Nādir Shah the weakness of Muḥammad Shah, and it was agreed that he should cause the giving of a large sum from the capital. After that an arrangement was made between Nādir Shah and Muḥammad Shah, and Burhānu-l-Mulk was ordered to go with Ṭahmāsp K. Jalair to Delhi. Accordingly he hastened there and arranged a lodging for the Shah in the fort. On 9 Ẕi'-l-ḥajja, 9th March 1739, both kings came to the city and on the night of the 10th, 1151, 10th March, Burhānu-l-Mulk[3] died of his former wounds. In

1 *Topkhāna-i-Ḥazūr.* Probably this has the same meaning as the phrase *topkhāna-i rikāb*, for which see Irvine's Army of the Moghuls, p. 134. Apparently both phrases meant the light artillery which attended on the emperor. The original of the words "to which a daily salary is annexed" is *ke rūz ṭalab mokarrarī ast.* I presume that the words refer to the office of superintendent of the artillery and not to the government of Oudh.

2 The Siyār M says he became disgusted by hearing that he had been superseded, id. I. 313.

3 See Beale, s.v. S'aādat K., where some additional particulars are given. He was the son of M. Nāṣir and was

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fact, he was an energetic officer and was bold and good to the people. He left no sons. His daughter was married to Abu-l-Manṣūr K. (Ṣafdar Jang). A separate notice of him has been given.

BUZURG UMED KHĀN.

Son of Shaista K.[1] In the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign he was raised to a suitable *manṣab* and was appointed, along with his father, to obstruct Sulaiman Shikoh who wanted to cross the Ganges and join Dārā Shikoh (his father). Afterwards he got the title of Khān and in the first year of the reign, when the imperial army, after defeating Shujā', proceeded to Ajmere to confront Dārā Shikoh, he came with his father from the capital and gained the bliss of service. In the 7th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 8th year, when the port of Chittagong was conquered[2] by his efforts, he obtained the rank of 1500 with 900 horse. Chittagong is on the borders and is contiguous to the territory of the zamindar of Arracan who belongs to the Magh tribe. The subjects of that zamindar were always attacking the imperial possessions when they had an opportunity, and committing plunder and carrying off prisoners. After Chittagong was

originally a merchant. See also Elphinstone. Sir Henry Lawrence, in an article on Oudh in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845, denies that he was ever a merchant. The Siyar-l-Mutākherīn says nothing about Būrhan's being wounded or of his dying of his wounds. It speaks of him as Saadat K. and says he died of a cancer in his foot, I. 316. There are several notices of Burhānu-l-Mulk in Elliot VIII. There is also an account of him in the Hadiqatu-l-Aqālīm under the article Nīshāpūr, p. 383 of Newal Kishore's lithograph. It says he began his career as a servant of Mubārizu l-Mulk Sirbaland K.

[1] Kewal Rām says he was the third son.

[2] Khāfī Khan II. 188. A large *pargana* in the Bakarganj district is named Buzurgumedpur. The fullest account of the taking of Chittagong is in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 940, etc. A Captain Moore* (?) is mentioned in connection with the victory, pp. 948 and 952. Chittagong was taken in 1665. There is a translation of the 'Ālamgīrnāma account of the taking of Chittagong in the translation of the Riyāẓu-s-salatīn, p. 228, etc.

* Captain Moore, as my friend Mr. Irvine has suggested to me, is probably Captain Mor, i.e. Chief Captain. See Danvers' Portuguese in India, II. 371, where it is mentioned as a title of Francisco Pereira da Silva. Buzurg Umed took Chittagong in January 1666. See two valuable articles by Jadu Nath Sarkār in A.S.B.J. for June 1906, p. 257, and June 1907, p. 405.

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conquered, it was included in Bengal. In the 30th year he was made governor of Allahabad in succession to Himmat K., the son of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh. Afterwards, he was made governor of Bihar. In the 30th year corresponding to 1105, 1694, he died. They say he was of a very haughty disposition. Musavī[1] K. Mīrzā Mu'izz whose pen-name was Fitrat, and who was the son-in-law of Shah Niwāz K. Ṣafavī, and was a learned man and a good poet, was made diwan of Bihar during Buzurg Umed's governorship, and went there. On the day of his first interview, as there was a small water-basin in the portico of the governor's house and it had running water, the Mirza without thinking put his hands into it, and rinsed his mouth once or twice. The governor was offended at this uncouth proceeding and reported against him to the Presence, and to gratify him Musavī was removed from his appointment.

(RAJAH) CABĪLA[2] RĀM NĀGAR.

The Nāgar is a branch of the Brahman caste, and they chiefly live in Gujarat. Cabīla Rām was the brother of Dayā Rām, and both were revenue-servants on the establishment of Sultan Aẓīmu-sh-ṣhān. Dayā Rām, after some time, died, and Cabīla Rām became faujdār of Karra-Jahānābād. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, in order to claim the sovereignty and to fight with his uncle Jahāndār Shah, marched from Patna, Cabīla Ram first[3] joined with Sultan A'zzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and afterwards he came with some lacs of rupees from the collections of his t'alūqs and with a suitable force and joined Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. In the battle he was opposed to Kokaltāsh K. and did good service, and after the victory he received the rank of 5000, the title of Rajah and the office of Diwan of the Khālṣa. As this post, which is subordinate to the viziership, was given him without the approval of Quṭbu-l-mulk the vizier (Saiyid 'Abdullah), it became a cause of disagreement between the king

[1] For Mūsavī's biography see III. 633. See also Sprenger's Cat. 109 and 408. He died in 1106 The Tazkira Ḥusainī 253 has a short notice of him.

[2] Capla in text. See Irvine, A S B.J. for 1898, p. 156 and note.

[3] See Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 185, etc.

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and the vizier, and there were long arguments between them about it. At last he received the government of the capital, and afterwards he was made governor of Allahabad, and went off there. In the beginning of the reign of Rafīu'-darjāt when seditious men raised to the sovereignty in Agra Nekū Siyar the son of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar, it was reported that Cabīla Rām wished to join him. But as he was on bad terms with the zamindar of his own province he could not arrive. After Nekū Siyar had been got hold of, Ḥusain 'Alī K. sought to punish Cabīla Rām. Before he set out, Cabīla Rām suddenly died in the first year of Muḥammad Shah's reign, corresponding to 1131, 1719. After him his brother's son Girdhar, who was the son of Dayā Bahādur, and was called his chief swordsman (Mīr Shamsher) attended to the collecting of troops and the putting in order of the fortifications of Allahabad. Though an army was sent against him, under the command of Ḥaidar Qulī K., yet at last, by the mediation of Rajah Ratan Cand, he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, the title of Rajah Girdhar Bahādur, and the charge of the province of Oudh, and went off there. When the Saiyid's downfall arrived, he came from Oudh to court and did homage. In the 7th year he was made governor of Mālwa in succession to Aṣāf Jāh, and in the 9th year when Holkar came to Mālwa from the Deccan and stirred up strife, he opposed him and was killed in 1139, 1727. Till the arrival of another governor his sons took charge of the defence of the city of Ujjain.

(KHĀN[1] 'ALAM) CALMA BEG.

He was the son of Hamdam Koka, the foster-brother of M. Kāmrān. By his fortunate horoscope he became a favourite with Humāyūn and was made his table-attendant. When in the year 960, 1553, Kāmrān was blinded he made from the bank of the Indus the request to go to the Ḥijāz. Humāyūn went with a number of his intimates to take leave of him. The Mīrzā after paying his respects recited this verse.

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[1] B. 375, 378, and Badayūnī III, 385, who calls him M. Barkhūrdār. But this title seems to belong to another Khān 'Ālam. B. 512.

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Verse.[1]

The fold of the poor man's turban brushes the sky
When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls on his head.

Later on, this verse rose to his lips—

Whate'er comes on my life from thee is cause for thanks,
Be it shaft of cruelty or dagger of tyranny.

The king, who was a world of compassion and gentleness, showed sympathy, and bade him adieu. Next day he ordered that all his servants who wished to do so were permitted to accompany the Mīrzā. No one volunteered. Those who had boasted of their love for him abandoned him. Humāyūn said to Calma Beg Koka who was attached to his court: "Will you go with him or will you stay with me?" He, though he was in service at the court and enjoyed the king's favour, preferred fidelity to temporal pleasure, and said, "I see that it is right for me that I, at this dark time and clouded nights of solitude, should be in the Mīrzā's service." Humāyūn highly approved of his fidelity and gave him leave, and made over to him the money and effects which had been settled upon for the Mīrzā, and sent him to the Mīrzā. When the Mīrzā died, Calma Beg obtained his desire of serving Akbar, and soon attained to the rank of 3000 and got the title of Khān 'Ālam.

When in the 19th year Akbar, at the request of the Khān-khānān, who had been besieging Dāūd Kararānī who had hoisted the flag of claim to the countries of Bihar and Bengal, came to that neighbourhood and perceived that the taking of Ḥājīpūr, which is a fort over against Patna, while between them there rolls with great violence the Ganges with a breadth of about two *kos*, was necessary to the conquest of Patna, he appointed a force under the command of the Khān 'Ālam to go by boat. He went up stream towards the Gandak, and in spite of a rain of cannon from the fort he disembarked and entered on the arena. Many of the enemy were killed in that man-testing fight, and the fort

[1] See A.N. translation I, 606. The first couplet is imitated from the Gulistan, III. 19.

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was taken. The Khān ʻĀlam was the object of thousands of thanks and praises. When in the same year Bengal, which was in Dāūd's possession, was conquered without a battle, and Dāūd went to Orissa and there displayed arrogance, the Khān-khānān went to extirpate him, with the Khān ʻĀlam in the vanguard. On 20 Zī-l-qʻada 982, 3rd March 1575, there was an engagement at Takrūī (Tukaroi), a dependency of Orissa. The Khān ʻĀlam, on account of being in the prime of life and of his excessive courage, dropped the thread of deliberation, and galloped too far. A body of archers exerted themselves against him. The Khān-khānān got angry at this recklessness and spoke roughly and made him turn back. His men had not been properly drawn up when Gujār K., who was the head of the hostile army, and whose swift elephants had their heads, necks and trunks dressed up with black Yāk tails and the skins of wild beasts so as to inspire terror, arrived. The horses of the imperial vanguard were frightened at this extraordinary spectacle and fled. The Khān ʻĀlam, who was mounted on a veteran horse, remained firm and behaved with courage and slew many of the foe. Suddenly his horse reared on account of a sword-cut and Khān ʻĀlam was thrown. He quickly remounted, and then a *mast* elephant came and flung him to the ground. The Afghans crowded round him and finished him. They say that before the battle he said, "Something tells me that I shall yield up my life in this engagement. I am confident that my devotion will be told to the king." He had a poetical vein and wrote poetry. Hamdamī was his pen-nome. This verse is famous.

Quatrain.[1]

O thou, why ruin your white beard,
You pull out white hairs one by one, but the whole shows (white).
You surrendered your youth to folly,
It boots not now to pluck out your beard.

[1] These lines may remind us of the famous verse of Rochester which Goethe and Jowett used to quote.

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(RAJAH) CANDAR SEN.

He belonged to the Mahratta tribe and had the title of Jādūn. His father Dhanājī Jādūn was one of the influential leaders who accompanied Sambhā Bhonsla. He was always attacking and plundering countries with a large force. Accordingly, his name is mentioned in the notice of Rajah Sāhū Bhonsla. After him, Candar Sen obtained great influence among the Mahrattas. For some reason he became discontented, and in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, he, on the recommendation of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh,—who had become governor of the Deccan for the first time,—entered the royal service and obtained the rank of 7000 together with Bhālkī and other estates in Bīdar. He served with 4000 horse. In the Pancmaḥala[1] t'alūq—which is an expression for the parganas of Angūr (?) Maknahal, Amarcatiya, Karīcor and Ūdmān, which are five estates in Sarkār Moẓaffarnagar *alias* Mulkhair in the province of Muḥammadābād Bīdar, which were in his fief—three *kos* from the river Kishna—he built a small fort on the top of a little hill and gave it the name of Candargaṛha Āṣaf Jāh had much consideration for him. After his death, in 1156, 1743, his son Rajah Rām Cand took his place, and had the rank of 7000 and the title of Maharajah. But on account of his addiction to wine, and neglect of business, his soldiers were always in want of their pay. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang most of his estates were resumed on account of his injustice, and again for some reason they were restored. Sometimes he applied himself to service and sometimes he neglected his duties. In the time of the heir-apparency of Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh—when the army of Islam had entered the Mahratta country, and there was daily fighting—he colluded with them and at night went off with a body of troops. As he was of a changeable disposition, and wicked, and was devoid of understanding, he did not acquire their confidence either, and after some time was imprisoned in Daulatabad. By the mediation of some persons he was released and after expressing repentance for his crimes he came before Niẓāmu-d-daula

[1] This is not the Pancmaḥal of the I.G. This Pancmaḥala lay in Bīdar and west of Hyderabad.

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Āṣaf Jāh. He was confirmed in his rank and fief. When at last he did improper actions, confidence in him was lost and Āṣaf Jāh put him under surveillance and shut him up in the fort of Golconda. There he died. He left two sons who obtained a small fief out of the hereditary possessions.

(MIRZA) CĪN[1] QULĪJ.

Son of M. Qulīj Muḥammad K. of Akbar's time. He was learned and excellent. He studied under Mullā Muṣṭafa of Jaunpūr, and read the current books. He was adorned with many good qualities, and was very liberal. Nor was he wanting in courage and greatness of heart. He advanced far in administrative matters and for a long time was faujdār of Jaunpūr and Benares. They say that he was skilful in entertaining, and that his assemblies were so delightful that they inspired desire to centenarian ascetics when they beheld them. When his father died in the reign of Jahangir, his younger brother M. Lahorī,[2] who was his father's favourite and had been brought up with excessive kindness, but whose disposition was enough to leaven a whole world with petulance and turmoil, and whose navel-strings had been cut in devilry, joined him. No long time had elapsed before his disordered brain had made him stretch out his hand against the king's territory. In Jaunpūr he raised the head of presumption, and became notorious for sedition. So far was this that M. Cīn Qulīj was killed in consequence of his wickedness, and his property confiscated. They say that it took the clerks a whole year to make out lists of his property.

In the year 1022, 1613, when Jahangir was in Ajmere, Mullā Muṣṭafa, who was one of the learned men of Jaunpūr, was summoned to the presence with the intention of censuring him for his teaching of the Mīrzā. Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta was the spiritual teacher of Āṣaf Khān,[3] and on account of the profundity of his learning was an intimate friend of that noble Khān. He

[1] B. 500, Tūzuk J. 148.

[2] Qu. The Mīrzā of Lahore.

[3] Text Jāh. He was Abul Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and Shah Jahan's father-in-law. B. 369. For Mullā Muḥammad, see Maaṣir III. 369.

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entered into disputations with the Mullā and carried them on for a week without interruption. When he became acquainted with Mullā Muṣṭafa's erudition, he interceded for him and saved him from calamity. The Mullā resolved to go to Mecca, and after that he went to his native country and died.

M. Lahorī was a terrible specimen of the Divine Wrath, and full of wickedness. He had no good quality. He was a hideous lump of flesh, and his pleasure was confined to hearing the sound of the whip. It was necessary that he should hear it all day long. He never paused for an instant in his ill-treatment of God's people. He used to bury his servants alive that they might bring him tidings of Munkir and Nakīr! When they opened the grave afterwards, the victim was found dead. In the lanes and the bazaar he rode over men's shoulders, and on account of his father's high position no one ventured to complain. When his father was governor of Lahore he one day heard there was a wedding in a Hindu's house, and he went there and carried off the bride by force. Whenever her kinsfolk complained to the father, he, in spite of his learning and piety, which made him regard himself as the *mujtāhid* of the time, was so overcome with fatherly affection that the reply he gave was that "it is just as if you had made a good connection with us." When M. Cīn Qulīj was involved in his wickedness, M. Lahorī was seized and brought to court. He was imprisoned for a long time. At last he was released and received a daily allowance. He lived at foot of the *Darsan* (window) of Agra on the bank of the Jumna and kept a number of pigeons. He lived by begging and passed his time in misery and suffered the retribution of his evil deeds until he died.

Of the sons and relatives of Qulīj [1] Muḥammad K. there were M. Cīn Qulīj, Qulīj Ullah, Bāljū Qulīj, Bairām Qulīj, and Jān Qulīj. Most of them had suitable appointments.

[1] Cīn Qulij's father. See B. 354, and 501, and Tūzuk J. 148, where, as remarked by B., the story is told differently. The account of M. Lahorī's character is borne out by Father Pinheiro's letter quoted by General Maclagan, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 99. Pinheiro says that one of Qulīj K.'s sons (doubtless M. Lahorī) ordered a man who was going through the bazaar to be hung merely that he might see how it was done!

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CŪRĀMAN[1] JĀT.

The Jāts are a proud and seditious tribe Plotting is their profession and their hearts are stony. Though they live in the land of Pannah[2] under the pretext of being agriculturists, and have populous habitations and strong[3] forts, yet they have always practised thieving and robbery from the environs of Agra to the borders of the province of Delhi. Repeatedly have the imperial *faujdārs* become the victims of those rioters and have thrown away the coin of their lives. For instance, in the time of Shah Jahan, Murshid[4] Qulī K. Turkmān, the *faujdār* of Mathurā, Mahāban and the Kumaon hills, was killed by a musket-shot while attacking one of the strong villages of that country. Those banditti have often been chastised by the imperial troops, and have given their honour and their lives to the winds of destruction. But after some time one of the tribe again raised the hand of violence from out of the skirt of sedition and reared the standards of insolence by plundering the highways. In the time of

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[1] The author treats c and j as the same letter.

[2] *Sarzamīn i-pana.* A variant gives Patna, and M. Ālamgīrī, p. 93, 2nd last line, has sarzamīn i-Patna. The Jāts belonged neither to Patna in Bihar nor to Pannah in Central India, and it is clear from the passage in the M. 'Ālamgīrī that some place near Mathurā and in or near pargana Sa'īdābād in that district is meant, and it is also clear that that passage is the source of the statement in the text. I have examined two MSS. of the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī and also two MSS. of the Maasiru-l-Umarā, in the B. M., but they do not altogether clear up the difficulty. What they seem to have is Battiah, or Bettiah or Battih. Lieut. Perkins, who translated the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī for Sir Henry Elliot, has Tabīa, but I can find no such place, and I think it is clear that the first letter is a P. or a B. The Maasir A. says that the Kokila Jāt was a leading man of the village in question and that he was the cause of the killing of 'Abdu-n-nabī and of the devastation of pargana Sa'īdābād. Now 'Abdu-n-nabī was killed at Sahora, a village of the Mahāban pargana, Growse, pp. 36 and 151. See also Maasir A. 83 where it is written Sora or Sahora. Possibly the word intended is pattī, a village or share, for there are many pattīs in Mathurā: see Growse, p. 340. It is also possible that the word is Mathurā, there being not much difference in Persian writing between پتی and متهورا. It may be noted here that Cūrāman was the son of Bhajja.

[3] Text, *razih*, but *rasīna* seems to be the true reading.

[4] Bādshāhnāma II. 7 and K. K. I. 552. The occurrence was in the 11th year of the reign, 1667. Apparently the fight was in pargana Jadwār, Sambhal sarkār, J. II. 290 and Supp. Glossary II. 157. For an account of the Jāts see Supp. Glossary I. 130.

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Aurangzeb, Kūkla[1] Jāt by name, by his insolence and turbulence became the terror of the countryside. He plundered and burnt the town of S'aīdābād[2] near Mathurā. 'Abdu-n-nabī K., a famous *faujdār* of that place, attacked, in the 12th year (of Aurangzeb), the village of Sūra[3]—which was the abode of the miscreants—and sent many of them to annihilation. In the battle a bullet caused his death, and he attained martyrdom. Aurangzeb sent off from the capital Ḥasan 'Alī K. Bahādur to be *faujdār* of Mathurā and gave him a brave army and a park of artillery. The Khān by his courage and excellent dispositions made that rebel, as well as his companion Sangī (text Sankī), prisoners and sent them to court. The royal wrath caused both of them to be cut to pieces, limb by limb, while the son[4] and daughter of that scoundrel (Kūkla) were made over for their upbringing to Jawāhir K. Nāẓir. The daughter was given in marriage to Shāh Qulī cela, a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fāẓil and became a ḥāfiẓ (reciter of the Qoran). In Aurangzeb's opinion no other ḥāfiẓ was so much to be relied upon.

When the royal standards went off to take the forts of the Deccan, this seditious tribe seized the opportunity afforded by the sloth of the officers who laid their heads within the collar of comfort, and wrapped their feet in the skirt of perfunctoriness, and at once severed the chain of obedience, and stirred up a tempest of evil, and, under the leadership of one called Rajah[5] Rām, oppressed many of the parganas and plundered caravans and travellers. Leading members of society were imprisoned and disgraced. The honour of *bahādurs* trickled into the dust of contempt, and *ṣūbahdārs* had to prostrate[6] themselves before this impudent fellow. Of necessity Prince Bīdār Bakht and Khān

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[1] M. 'Ālamgīrī 93.

[2] M. 'Ālamgīrī, pargana S'aīdābād. 'Abdu-n-nabī built the Jama' Masjid at Mathurā in 1071 or 1660-61. See Murray's Handbook to Bengal, 269. According to Tiefenthaler 'Abdu-n-nabī was a convert from Hinduism.

[3] M. 'Ālamgīrī 83, where there is the variant Basahrah. It really is Sahora in pargana Mahāban, E. of the Jumna. See Murray's Handbook to Bengal, 270.

[4] M. 'Ālamgīrī, 94. For *dakhtarān* read *dakhtar-i-ān*.

[5] M. 'Alamgīrī, 311.

[6] Lit. Had to draw a line with their noses.

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Jahān Bahādur Ẓafr Jang were appointed from the Deccan, and they took much trouble and made great exertions. On 15 Ramẓān,[1] 4th July 1688, in the 32nd year, that warlike bandit received a gunshot wound and became a resident in hell, and the countryside was cleansed of his contumacy and violence. His head was sent to court. After that, in the 33rd year, 16 Jamāda-al-awwal[2] 1100, 26th February 1689, the fort of Sinsinī,[3] which was the residence of that miscreant, was taken from the hand of the infidels by the exertions of the fortunate prince (Bīdār Bakht; nevertheless the crew was not extirpated. Reports of their oppression were continually brought to the emperor. In the 39th year the eldest son of the Caliphate, Bahādur Shah, was appointed to chastise them. And after that, Cūrāman renewed the disturbances. When Shāh 'Ālam and A'ẓim Shāh joined in battle, this evil-minded one collected a number of robbers and kept near the two armies and was prepared to plunder the vanquished. As soon as the defeat of one party was reflected in the mirror of his observation, he opened the hand of plunder and carried off goods and cattle. He also laid[4] hands on the treasure and jewels, and in a moment got possession of what his predecessors had not acquired in a lifetime. When Bahādur Shāh, after returning from the Deccan, came to Ajmere, to punish the Gūrū (the Sikhs), and the line of march passed near their houses, Cūrāman made[5] his appearance and removed the stain of contumacy from his countenance. He was ordered to accompany Muḥammad Amīn K. Cīn Bahādur who had been appointed to proceed in advance against the Sikhs. Afterwards, he bound up the waist of service and accompained 'Umdatu-l-mulk the Khān Khānān who was besieging the Gūrū in Lohgarha near the Barfī Koh[6] (snowy mountains) among difficult hills. Afterwards, when the sovereignty was changed, and the ruler became suspicious, he, in his own native

[1] M. 'Ālamgīrī, 311.
[2] do. 334.
[3] Text Sansīnī. "A village situated between Dīg and Kumbher." Elliot VIII. 360. It is called Sansī in do. VII. 532.
[4] Khāfī K. II. 668.
[5] Khāfī K. II. 669.
[6] See Elliot VII. 424 where it is stated that Barfī Rajah is a name given to the Rajah of Sirmūr. See Khāfī K II. 673.

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country, returned to his old ways and increased more and more in insubordination and contumacy, and by devastation and plunder produced insecurity and ruin up to the capital.

In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Rajah Dhīrāj (Rajādhīrāj) Jai Singh Siwāī led an army against him, and Saiyid Khān Jahān the maternal uncle of Quṭbu-l-mulk (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha), went off to assist with a proper force. The rebel shut himself up in the fort of Thūn. When after a year's siege and after severe engagements he got into difficulties, he begged pardon from Quṭbu-l-mulk, and asked for an increase of rank, and promised tribute. Though the Emperor was unwilling, yet in spite of his dislike, he (Quṭbu-l-mulk) contrary to the wish of the Rajah (Jai Singh) persisted,[1] and summoned him, and gave him a place beside himself. The emperor was helpless and ordered that he should be received into service. He was not again admitted to an audience, but by the favour of Saiyid 'Abdullah K he was raised to a high rank and was elevated from the low position of a robber to the zenith of Amīrship. He strengthened the chain of unity and concord with the Saiyids of Bārha and gave himself out as one of the loyal and devoted adherents. At the time when the Amīru-l-umarā removed the sovereign and set off to the Deccan, and Quṭbu-l-mulk hastened to the capital, Cūrāman enrolled himself among the Amīru-l-umarā's companions. After that brave leader was killed, Cūrāl man stayed for some days in the Imperial army in a hypocritica-manner and wished to set fire to the Imperial powder-magazine, or else to drive off the artillery-bullocks. He did not succeed on account of the carefulness of the officers and the arrangements made by the Head of the Artillery. When Quṭbu-l-mulk approached the Imperial army with the intention of giving battle, the scoundrel stole some sets of camels and three elephants and left the Imperial camp and joined Quṭbu-l-mulk. On the day of the battle he made great attacks upon the Emperor's baggage, and as his men held possession of the river-bank, he allowed neither friend nor foe to quench their thirst. Whoever approached the water was destroyed. The men who were assembled on a

[1] Siyar M. I. 106, 107 and Elliot VII. 533.

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sandy hill by the bank of the Jumna were all plundered by him, so that even the office-papers[1] (*daftar ṣadārat*) were looted. His activity and insolence were such that the Emperor himself took a bow into his hand and shot arrows at him twice or thrice. The special musketeers also discharged their muskets at him. When signs of defeat showed themselves, he went round and round in the neighbourhood of the camp by the route of Delhi, and fell upon the vanquished. Wherever his hand could reach he took what was left. After the rope of his life was severed[2] by the traction of death, Muḥakam Singh and others of his sons made disturbances by means of their strong forts. With the fire of injustice and oppression they burnt up everything (lit. the dry and the wet). S'aādat K. Burhānu-l-mulk the governor of Agra used all his energies to chastise them, but his sword did not cut, and the strength of his arm could not uproot the thorn. The Emperor sent Rajah Dhīrāj[3] with officers and artillery against them. The Rajah first attended to cutting the jungle, and with the help of the Moghul and Afghan heroes took two or three fortlets. In less than two months—during which there were many fights and night-attacks on both sides—he made the position of the besieged difficult. At this[4] time Badan Singh, one of their cousins, on account of quarrels and disputes about property, separated himself and joined the Rajah. He showed him the way to take the fort, and they at once lost confidence, and set fire to their own powder-magazine. The fort was taken possesion of. But no trace was found of the treasures which were everywhere famous. When the zamindārī was by the Rajah's recommendation given to Badan Singh, Muḥakam Singh also chose submission, and by the instrumentality of Moẓaffar K. the brother of Khān Daurān came to Court and made many efforts. As he did not succeed, he from that time made his castle (*badnā*) and his home at Deeg. Up till now he has not withdrawn his foot from the circle of obedience, and he makes a

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1 Elliot VII. 541.

2 Beale says Cūrāman was killed in battle between 'Abdullah and Muḥ. Shāh, but this seems a mistake. Apparently he eventually committed suicide. See Elliot VIII. 360, and Siyar M. 239, also Elphinstone 614.

3 That is Jai Singh Siwāī the founder of Jaipūr. See Beale, p. 193.

4 Khāfī K. II 945. Elliot VII. 521.

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show of service. Accordingly, in 1150, 1737-38, when Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went forth to punish Bājī Rāo, he (Muḥakam) sent one of his relatives together with a suitable force. His men fought well in the Bhopal-Mālwa battle. Though in order to preserve their rank and name as royal servants they have left off their old habits of robbing and stealing, yet they have carried violence so far that the territory from within five *kos* of the capital (Delhi) to one fourth of the province of Agra belongs to them as zamindari and *jagir* and as farm. When they relinquish them (the farms) they give them to tiyūldārs, and they take without any subterfuge, abundant toll (rāhdārī) from comers and goers. No one ventures to complain. Good God! the subahdārs do not impute all this bad management and disgrace to themselves. The business of the sovereignty of India has come to a standstill.

When Badan Singh went to his place (i.e. died) in the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, his son Sūraj Mal surpassed[1] his ancestors in violence and proceeded to lay hold of the estates in the environs (of the capital) and seized the exchequer lands, and people's jagirs. From the city of Shahjahanabad to Bhadāwar,[2] and from the estates of the Kacwāhas to the bank of the Ganges—which on the other side belonged to the Rohillas—he passed by nothing, and took most of the parganas in the Doāb, and in the year 1174, 1761, he also took possession of the fort of Agra. At the time when the reigning sovereign Shah 'Ālam was obliged to stay in the provinces of Bihar and Allahabad, Sūraj Mal became offended with Najīb K. (Rohilla) on account of estates on the borders and led an army against him. A battle took place near Shahjahanabad, and although the Khān had but a small force, yet the arrogance and presumption of Sūraj Mal worked for him, and he suddenly stretched[3] him on the dust of destruction. The short account of this affair is that Sūraj Mal came forth with a small party to watch his own men who had been appointed to surround Najib K., and was going along incognito. At this time a jam'adār of the Khān's companions, who recognized Sūraj Mal, fell upon him with a hun-

[1] Literally, advanced beyond his ancestors' pillow.

[2] Apparently Bhadaurā a native State in Gwalior, I.G. VIII. 21.

[3] In December 1763.

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dred young men of his brethren and put an end[1] to him. After him, his son Jawāhir Singh took his place, and in order to redress matters led a force against Delhi and made a commotion for a time. At last peace was made through the instrumentality of Mulhār Rāo Mahratta. In the year[2]—he began to behave ill to Rajah Ānīr,[3] and a battle ensued in which he was defeated. After him, his brothers took the place of their ancestors. M. Najaf K. Bahādur prevailed over them and rooted them out. One of their descendants holds a small property.

(RAO) DALPAT BUNDĪLA.

S. Rāo Subh Karn s. Bhagwān[4] Rai s. Rajah Bir Singh Deo. They say that Benares is the native place of this clan, and that an ancestor came from there and took up his abode in Khairagarha Katak and received the title of Khairwār. A long time ago, one Kāsī Rāj—the 24th ancestor of Rāo Dalpat—lived in the tract now known as Bundīlkhand, and paid his devotions to Bindeshwarī[5] Devī. On this account he received the name of Bundīla. When in the reign of Shah Jahan, the headship of the clan came to Rajah Pahār Singh, Aurangzeb at the time he was prince, and had charge of the Deccan, sent a letter (*nishān*) to Subhakarn along with money and summoned him, and gave him the rank of 1000. In company[6] with Saiyid 'Abdul Wahāb of

[1] Siyar Mutākharīn IV. 32, Elliot VIII. 363.

[2] The year is left blank but is 1182, or 1768. Elliot VIII. 364-65.

[3] He is called Rajah Mādhū Singh: s. Rajah Jai Singh in Elliot VIII. 364. After his defeat Jawāhir was assassinated in Agra Jawāhir's brother Ratan Singh succeeded him, and he too was assassinated by a Hindu impostor who pretended that he was an alchemist. The victories of Najaf K. over Sūraj Mal's descendants are recorded in Elliot VIII. 366, etc.

[4] Third s. Bir Singh, J.A.S.B. for 1902, p. 115, where the name is spelt Bhagwān. At p. 103 *id.* it is stated that before the rule of the Bundīlas there were Gharwar Kshattrīs who were Sūraj-bansīs by descent, who ruled in Kāshī, that is Benares.

[5] The Bindhāsni or Durgā of the J.A.S.B. article, p. 104, where see the legend. Kāsī Rāj is there called Jagdās or Pancham (the fifth son). See also Pogson's Hist. of the Bundelas, pp. 6—8. Apparently Khairāgarha Katak is Khairāgarh in the Central Provinces, I.G. XV. 207, and the title Khairwār is Gaharwār. See V. A. Smith, J.A.S.B. for 1881, pp. 1 and 3.

[6] The text omits the words *ba ittifāq* "together with" and so makes the introduction of 'Abdu-l-Wahāb's name here unintelligible.

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Jūnagarh—who for some time had taken up his abode in Burhanpur—he was engaged in the conquest of Baglāna, and that country came into the imperial possession. In the beginning of the 32nd year of Shah Jahan, the prince (Aurangzeb) proceeded to the capital to inquire after his father's health, and when he came to Ujjain, he fought a battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh.

In it Subha Karn performed feats of valour and was wounded. He also behaved equally well in the battle with Dārā Shikoh. After the battle with Shujā' he was sent away to pursue and chastise Campat Bandīla. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the affair of Bijapur he was in the Mīrzā Rajah's left wing. In the 10th year he quarrelled with the Mīrzā Rajah and came to court, and was appointed to serve along with Muḥammad Amīn K., the governor of Kabul. But as his companionship with the Khān was not agreeable to him, he in the 11th year was summoned to court and appointed to the Deccan army. He always did good service in battle, and in the 19th year, when the army, under Diler K., had an engagement with the Deccanis, he and his son Dalpat were in the rearguard. In the 20th year he fell ill, and he left Diler K. and went to Bahādurgarha—where his quarters were—and died in the 21st year. Rāo Dalpat attained in the 11th year to the rank of 250 with 80 horse, and after some time he got 300 *zāt* and horse, and after his father's death obtained 500 *zāt* and horse. He conciliated his father's servants by good treatment. In the 22nd year he quarrelled with Khān Jahān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, and came to court, and afterwards he went back to the Deccan with Ā'ẓim Shah. In company with Ḥasan 'Alī K. 'Ālamgīrshāhī he went into the Konkan and did good service in battles. In the 23rd year his rank was 600 with 600 horse duāspa (two horse), and in the 24th year he had the rank of 700 with 700 horse, and in the 27th year when he, along with Ghāzī-u-d-dīn K., was bringing grass to the army of Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah which was besieging Bijapur, he displayed courage in resisting the enemy, and his rank was raised to 1500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Rāo. In the 30th year when Imtīyāzgarha *alias* Ūdnī (Adoni) fell into the royal possession, his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and

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he received the gift of a drum and was made governor of the fort of Ūdnī (Adoni). In the 33rd year he resigned this charge and came to court. After this, he was sometimes employed in bringing treasure from Aurangabad and sometimes in convoying caravans from that city to the camp. On the route he frequently chastised the foe. In the 34th year he was appointed to the contingent of Prince Kām Bakhsh, and when this prince attacked Wākinkera he took excellent charge of the rearguard and with the prince he in accordance with orders hastened to Ginjī—where Ẕūl-fiqār K. was, and where corn was scarce—with corn and other stores. Ẕūl-fiqār K. placed him on the right wing. In the 44th year his rank was 2500 with 2500 horse, and in the 47th year it was 3000 with 2700 horse, and in the 49th year it was 3000 with 3000 horse. After Aurangzeb's death he came to Upper India in company with Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah and attained to the rank of 5000. In the battle which took place with Sultan Ā'ẓīmu-sh-shān he fell [1] in the vanguard. After his death Bihārī Cand and Prithī Singh, his sons, disputed in their native country the possession of the property. Meanwhile Rām Cand, his eldest son, who was in Satara, arrived. When the army of Bihārī Cand also came forward, he retreated and went to court, and joined when Bahādur Shah had halted near Ajmere. When no one attended to him, he hastened to his native country and prevailed over his brothers. Afterwards he came to Lahore and waited upon Bahādur Shah. In the time of Muḥammad Shah he was appointed to go with the royal army against Bhagwant Singh the Zamindar of Karra Jahānābād, and fell bravely in that battle. The remainder of the clan entered into the royal service, but the Mahrattas took possession of most of their estates. At the time [2] of writing, an army of the hat-wearers (English)—who came from Bengal with the design of reaching the port of Surat—had stayed for some time in their country and worked much havoc there.

As mention [3] has been made of the Feringhī hat-wearers, it is

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[1] Rieu Cat. I., 271 b.

[2] This biography is by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. The expedition referred to must be that of Colonel Goddard in 1779.

[3] Much of this account has been

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necessary to give some account of the doings of this tribe. Formerly, they, with the permission of the rulers, inhabited the sea-shore and lived like subjects. The port of Goa was their seat of government In the time of Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat they got a permit (*qaul*) by wiles and made two strong forts called Damān and Basī (Bassein). They brought a tract of country into cultivation. Though its length was 40 or 50 *kos*, yet the breadth was not more than a kos or half a kos. They cultivated the skirt of the hills and raised valuable products such as sugarcane, pine-apple, and rice. They also made much money by planting many cocoanut and betel-nut trees. Their current coins were *ashrafis*,[1] which were silver pieces of the value of nine annas and struck after the European fashion, and lumps of copper which they called *buzurg*. One *falūs* is four *buzurgs*. They do not do any harm to the peasantry, and they have assigned a separate quarter for the Muhammadans. But if any of the latter die, they educate[2] his children in their religion.

When these facts came to the knowledge of Aurangzeb, M'aatbar K. the Faujdār of Gulshanābād[3] and son-in-law of Mullā Aḥmad Nāītha, in accordance with orders, attacked them (the Portuguese) and made some of their men and women prisoners. Upon this, the Captain of Goa made a petition[4] with all humility to the King and his courtiers to this effect: "We are your unpaid servants for preventing the wickedness of the pirates of the sea; if you do not approve, we shall leave the land, and live upon the

abridged from Khāfī K. II. 400 *et seq.* See also vol. I. *il.*, p. 468. See Elliot VII. 344. Bassein appears to have at one time belonged to Gujarat. See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 20.

1 For an account of the Portuguese coinage see Whiteway's Rise of Portuguese power, p. 67, etc. *Ashrafis* which were five-sevenths silver and two-sevenths copper were coined by D. Luis d'Ataide in 1578. *Buzurg* is perhaps a corruption of *bazaruco*: see Whiteway l. c. 68 and Hobson-Jobson, art. Budgrook. But it is not improbable that the word is *bazarg* "linseed." *Buzurg* has been corrupted in Mahratta into Budrukh, so it or *bazarg* may have become in English Budgrook.

2 Khāfī K. I. 469.

3 "In Baglāna near Junair." Elliot VII. 337. It is frequently mentioned in Khāfī K. M'aatbar is mentioned in Khāfī K. II. 402. He was of the Nāītha clan.

4 Goa is a long way to the south of Junair. It was the Portuguese of Damān, etc., that were attacked by M'aatbar. See Khāfī K. II. 403. The date was 1103-1691-92.

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ocean.'' Their offences were thereupon forgiven, and an order was given to M'aatbar K. to release the Feringhī prisoners. Afterwards the King was offended by the Feringhīs' plundering the ship Ganj[1] Siwāī—which was the largest ship belonging to the port of Surat,—and again an order was issued for chastising them. But owing to the subterfuges of the officials this was not carried out. They (the English) inflicted injuries[2] (*rag-u-resha dawānīda*) and girded up their loins to extirpate the French, who after the time of Nāṣir Jang the martyr appointed one of their leaders to accompany Moẓaffar Jang and were in the Deccan till the time of Āṣafu-d-daulah Amīru-l-Mamālik (Ṣalābat Jang, 3rd s. of the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk). The English took possession of the Haidarabad Carnatic (Arcot), and afterwards they abolished the emperor's sway in Bengal, and also got possession of the province of Bihar. By degrees they have now become the predominant partners in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. They have established ports[3] from Bengal to Arcot and the Tūl Konkan[4] of the Deccan, and have also seized the port of Surat. They have taken possession of Sīkākul (Chicacole) and other Sarkārs of Haidarabad. At this time they have, at the instigation of Raghū Nāth Rāo, become involved in a quarrel with the Mahrattas and are making a disturbance in Gujarat. O God, assist the followers of Muḥammad. May the peace of God be upon him and on his family!

DĀNISHMAND[5] KẖĀN.

He was Mullā Shafīā of Yezd. He spent a long time in Persia in acquiring knowledge and excellence. After he had acquired

[1] Text Gaj Siwāī. But it is Ganj Siwāī in Kẖāfī K. II. 421, where there is an account of the taking of the ship. It had sailed to within 8 or 9 days of Surat when it was attacked and taken by an English ship. The Portuguese had nothing to do with this. The year according to Kẖāfī K. was 1105-1693-94. See Elliot VII. 350.

[2] The sentence is obscure. The account agrees in its wording with Elliot VIII. 392. Perhaps the phrase there "who are ever in thirst for their blood" is the *rag-u-resha dawānīda* of text. For this phrase see Vullers II. 95.

[3] Banādar. Perhaps here means "factories."

[4] The Tūl Konkan is described in Kẖāfī K. II. 113 as the part of the Konkan which belonged to the 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur.

[5] Bernier's patron.

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the currrent sciences both rational and traditional, he in order to obtain a maintenance in an honourable way took a sum of money from Persian merchants on the arrangement of a participation in profits, and came[1] to the spacious land of India which is the capital of profits for the owners of hopes, and the possessors of desires. He stayed for some time in the Imperial camp, and accompanied it from Agra to Lahore and from thence to Kabul. On the return of the Royal retinue from Kabul he went to the port of Surat with the intention of returning to his native country. As his star was rising, and his fortune advancing, the extent of his wisdom and excellence became known to Shah Jahan. An order was issued directing the officers of the port to send him to court. He by the guidance of fortune donned the garb of pilgrimage to the world's throne and on 9 Ẕī-l-hajja of the 24th year, 23 November 1650, opened the gates of his own success by kissing the threshold of dominion.

As the merit and ability of this man who was worthy of the royal favour again became impressed on H. M., who was a patron of the wise, he was raised to the rank of 1000 with 100 horse, and an order was given that the *peshkash* of Sunday[2] for a year should be given to him. Afterwards his rank was increased, and in the 29th year he was made 2nd bakhshi in succession to Lashkar K., and he received the title of Dānishmand K., and an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so received the rank of 2500 with 600 horse. In the 31st year his rank was raised to 3000 with 800 horse, and in succession to I'tiqād K. he was made Mīr Bakhshī. In the same year he resigned[3] the office, and lived retired in Shahjahanabad (Delhi). In the 2nd year of Aurangzeb he was again encompassed by royal favours and received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the 7th year his rank was raised to 5000, and in the 8th year he was Ṣūbadār[4] and guardian of the fort of Shahjahanabad. In the 10th year he was made Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Muḥammad Amīn K., and received a

[1] According to M. 'Ālamgīrī 257 he was for a long time at Aḥmadnagar as a trader.

[2] Khāfī K. I. 703.

[3] Bernier I. 67. He resigned because he did not approve of Dārā Shikoh.

[4] Bernier I. 249 and also 289.

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decorated writing case. When in the 12th year the victorious standards of Aurangzeb went to Agra (*mastaqarru-l- khilāfa*) the charge of the capital (*dāru-l-khilāfa*, i.e. Delhi) was added to his office of Mīr Bakhshī, and he was sent to perform this work. In the 13th year 10 Rabī'-al-awal 1081, 18 July 1670, he[1] died.

This excellent Amir was one of the learned men of the age and was distinguished for his good sense and right thinking. After him, up to the present day, no one has been found who united learning with Amīrship. They say that when he entered the royal service he was directed to argue and dispute on scientific subjects with Mullā 'Abdu-l-ḥakīm of Sialkot, who for learning and wisdom surpassed the wise men of old. A better scholar than he was not to be found in India, and his wise comments on a number of influential books are a clear proof of this. There was a long discussion between these two learned men about the conjunction *wau* (in the phrase[2]) "Thee do we worship, *and* of Thee do we beg assistance." The very learned S'aad Ullah K., who was in learning a master (*dar'ilm 'alam būd* "in erudition an ensign") was the umpire, and in the end the two were adjudged equal. From that day he was a favourite with the emperor and became an Amīr. As to what they say that in the end of his life he became inclined to the learning of the Franks, and repeated many of the paradoxes[3] of that set, it is improbable, when we consider his learning and excellence.

DĀRĀB KHĀN.

S. Mukhtār K. of Sabzawār. Younger brother of Shamsu-d-dīn Mukhtār K. At the time when Prince Aurangzeb proceeded from

[1] M. Ālamgīrī, 105.

[2] Koran I. 4. I do not know the point of the dispute. There is an account of 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm in the Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 340.

[3] Cf. Bernier II, 134, who says that he used to discourse with Dānishmand about the discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet, and the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes. See also *id.* II. 209. These discussions took place early in the sixties and nearly twenty years before Dānishmand's death. There is a portrait of Dānishmand in an album in the B. M., Rieu II. 779, No. 38. Even Aurangzeb grew tired of Muhammadan learning and administered a striking rebuke to his old preceptor Mullā Ṣāliḥ: see Bernier and Manucci II. 29. Apparently the Mullā Ṣāliḥ, referred to by Bernier, is the man mentioned in Pādshāhnāma II. 624 and described as belonging to Badakhshān. He also may be the Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ K. of Maasir A. 130.

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the Deccan towards the capital in order to seize the sovereignty and to overthrow Dārā Shikoh, who on account of the illness of Shah Jahan had taken possession of the affairs of the empire, Dārāb received leave to depart as one of the auxiliaries of the Deccan. When Aurangzeb became successful, Dārāb in the very first, and before the accession, received the title of Khān and was appointed to the charge of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. In the end of the second year he was relieved and came to court, and in the 9th year he was made Qarāwal Beg (chief huntsman) in succession to Faiz Ullah K. After that, he was also made superintendent of the special gun-room. In the 13th year he was made superintendent of the Ghuslkhāna in succession to 'Abdulla Khān, and after that he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Rūḥ Ullah. After that he was made governor of Ajmere. In the 19th year he came to court from there, and in succession to Multafat K. was made Head of the Artillery. He was also made 1st Mīr Tūzuk. In the 22nd year he was sent with a suitable force to chastise the Rajputs of Khandīla and to throw down the idol temples there. When the Emperor came to Ajmere, Dārāb attacked that abode of disturbance and destroyed the idol temples of Khandīla, Sanaula, etc. Three hundred odd Rajputs stood firm in their obstinacy, and not one of them escaped. In the same year the 25th Jamāda-al-awal 1090, 24th June 1697, he died. He had three sons and one daughter. The eldest, Muḥammad Khalīl, had the title of Tarbīyat K. and of him a separate account has been given. The second, Muḥammad Taqī, married[1] the daughter of Bahramand K. bakhshī. His son was known as Mīn (or Mubīn), and after his father's death received the title of Muḥammad Taqī K., and in the 48th year was married[2] to the daughter of Shaista K., the son of Shaista K. (the Amīru-l-Umarā). Aurangzeb was very fond of him. In the time of Bahādur Shah he received the title of his maternal grandfather Bahramand K. In the time of Jahāndār Shah when the office of vizier came to Zū-l-fiqār the Amīru-l-umarā, and the management of all affairs was in his hands, Muḥammad Taqī, on account of his relationship, was made a Panjhazārī (5000). Some

[1] Maasir A. 221, Maasir U. I. 457. [2] Maasir A. 480.

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of the business of the viziership was transacted by him. When by the bad trading of the old workmen of the sky in the market of the world, the shop of Jahāndār Shah's power went to pieces, and another kind of goods came into use, the said Khān was chastened by having his wealth and property seized and his *manṣab* and jagir taken from him. But again by the help of the Amīru-l-umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K., he was saved from these enveloping waves of calamity and brought to the safe shore of the Deccan. In Aurangabad he lived for a time in the dwelling (*hawelī*) of Sultan Mahmūd (Aurangzeb's son), near the 'Ambarī tank, which Aurangzeb had given to the deceased Bahramand.

When the government of the Deccan came to Āṣaf Jāh, he respected the Khān's family and spoke to him with much consideration, and gave him the government of citadel which yielded nothing except retirement. For 15 or 16 years he lived there. At present, a son occupies his place, and lives in the fort which is but a ruin. The aforesaid Khān was even in this position a pleasant companion (*khūshṭ'aām*). The third son is Kāmyāb K. who was married to the daughter of Maṭlib K. He left a daughter who in the time of Farrukh Siyar was married to Ḥusain 'Alī K. But the daughter of Dārāb was married to Mīr Lashkar who was a descendant of Mīrzā Ḥaidar Ṣafavī. Her eldest son, Askhar 'Alī K., was for a long time governor of the fort of Dharap (Dharab) in the Deccan, which for strength and solidity has been called Daulatabad the 2nd. Āṣaf Jāh, out of regard to his family, kept him in his presence and made him clerk of his jagirs and *dīwānī*. At present he has some government work. He is an old man; may God forgive him!

DĀRĀB KHĀN MĪRZĀ DĀRĀB.[1]

Second son of the Khān-Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm. He was always with his father and distinguished himself in the campaigns. Especially did he distinguish himself in the famous battle of Khirkī when he assisted his elder brother Shah Newāz K., and was honoured by obtaining increased rank. When in the 14th year of Jahangir his brother Shah Newāz died, he received

[1] B. 339. There is a portrait of Dārāb in the B. M., Rieu II. 780.

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the rank of 5000 *zāt* and horse and in the place of his brother became governor of Berar and Aḥmadnagar. In the 15th year when Malik 'Ambar broke his promises and treaty, and stretched out his arm against the Imperial territories, thinking the expedition of the Emperor to the distant country of Kashmīr a good opportunity, most of the officers left their stations (thānahs) and collected near Dārāb. Khanjar K., the governor of Aḥmadnagar, took refuge in the fort, and Dārāb having equipped his forces proceeded towards the Bālāghāt. 'Ambar's banditti (*bargīān*) every day prowled round him and there were repeated fights, in all of which the evil-fated foe was defeated and slain.

One day Dārāb took with him well-mounted cavaliers and attacked the enemy's quarters, and a great fight ensued. He was victorious and returned to camp with much booty. After that, the enemy so barred the coming in of corn that the troops were reduced to distress, and Dārāb was compelled to leave the defiles of Rohankhera and to come down to Bālāpūr to encamp. When the tyranny of the Cossacks of the Deccan proceeded so far that they crossed the Narbada and plundered the estates in Mālwa, Prince Shah Jahan again was sent to the Deccan, and in the 16th year halted at Burhanpur. The victorious army attacked and devastated the Niẓām Shāhī territory up to the Godavery, and sacked Khirkī which was the residence of Malik 'Ambar. One day before the army arrived, he had crept into the fort of Daulatabad along with the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. Malik 'Ambar was compelled to sue for peace and agreed to pay fourteen *krors* of dāms for the estates adjoining the imperial territories, and fifty lacs of rupees as tribute. In the 17th year the Prince in accordance with his father's summons left the Deccan for the Qandahar campaign in company with the Khān-Khānān and Dārāb.

When juggling Time started another game and there occurred a cloud between the Emperor and the Prince to such an extent that there was marshalling of forces and contention, the Prince, from a recognition of duty, did not confront the Imperial army and turned aside. Rajah Bikramājīt—who was his chief supporter—faced the Imperial army along with Dārāb. As it chanced, in the melée the Rajah was killed by a musket-shot, and the army

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became disorganized. Dārāb could not maintain his ground, turned back and joined the Prince.

When Shah Jahan was constrained to send the Khān-Khānān from Burhanpur to Mahābat K. for the purpose of coming to terms, and that old man washed the roll of loyalty and fidelity in the waters of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy, Dārāb with the children and grandchildren of the Khān-Khānān were imprisoned. When Bengal came into Shah Jahan's possession and he aimed at the conquest of Bihar, he again received Dārāb into favour and made him Governor of Bengal, but kept with himself as hostages Dārāb's wife, one daughter and one son, and his nephew. When the prince after the battle of the Tons[1] (near) Benares proceeded by the same route back to the Deccan, he sent an order to Dārāb to proceed quickly to Garhī (Teliagarhi)—which is the gate of Bengal—and to join him. Dārāb, from want of rectitude, saw the affair in another light, and wrote in reply that the land-holders had combined and were besieging him, and that he could not come. Though the misbehaviour and oppression of the land-holders were true, yet he by not joining acted with dilatoriness and contrary to loyalty. The prince was compelled to withhold his hand from him, but in his displeasure he made over his young son and his nephew to 'Abdullah K. To a madman a suggestion is enough (?) and so 'Abdullah cruelly put both of these innocent ones to death. Afterwards, when Sultan Parvez and Mahābat K. heard of this they sent strict orders to the zamindars of Bengal to refrain from interfering with him and to send him to them. When in the end of the 19th year Dārāb joined Sultan Parvez's army, an order of Jahangir came to Mahābat to the effect that there was no sense in keeping such a worthless fellow alive, and that he should quickly send his head to court. Mahābat was bound by the order and immediately had his head cut off and dispatched.

Shahīd pāk shud Dārāb miskīn.

"The wretched Dārāb became a pure martyr" is the chrono-

[1] The Tons is a tributary of the Ganges. It flows northwards and joins the Ganges on the right bank and in the Allahabad district.

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gram (1034, 1625). They say that Mahābat K. had the head wrapped in a napkin and sent it to the Khān-Khānān—who was his prisoner—as a melon. The Khān-Khānān on seeing it said, "True; a beautiful[1] melon." Dārāb was a young man of excellent qualities, a prudent leader, and a brave man. No other did such feats as he in the Deccan. But his horoscope was unfortunate. He left the side of Shah Jahan, and was driven out by the Imperial side, so that his end was miserable.

DARBĀR K.

His name was 'Īnayat, and he was the son of Taklū[2] K., the storyteller (*qiṣṣa-khwān*), who was distinguished in the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī as a storyteller, and was a favourite with him. When his son came to India, he entered the service of Akbar in his hereditary capacity and became a companion. He received the rank of 700 and the title of Darbār K. In the 14th year, after the taking of Ranthambhor, and when the king had gone to Ajmere to visit the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn, Darbār K. took leave on account of sickness and came to Agra. He died[3] after arriving there. As Akbar liked him much, he was greatly grieved at his death. Darbār K., from excessive fidelity and worship of his master, made a deathbed will to the effect that they should bury him at the feet of the king's dog—over which a dome had been erected—because in former times this dog had, from perfect fidelity, always abode at the king's threshold. The king too used occasionally to take notice of this dog. When the dog died, the king lamented the circumstance, and Darbār K. erected[4] a building and buried the dog under the dome. In accordance with his will he was buried under the dome.

Good God! How far affection for the world carries us! And how many efforts and flatteries are used in such matters! To speak of the king's dog and to admit into one's mind thoughts of

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[1] tarbuz *shahīdī*. There is a play on shahīdī which means both martyred and beautiful.

[2] B. 464 where, and also in Persian text of Ain I. 227, it is Takaltū.

[3] Akbarnāma II. 339.

[4] A. F. does not say that Darbār erected the tomb; l.c. 339.

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world-worship at such a time when one should be occupied with one's God, and concentrate one's thoughts on Him! If it was hypocrisy, woe for him when they show him at the Resurrection along with the dog, and if it was devotion—God forbid that it should be so. Yet the end of things is obscure and God's mercy is wide![1]

Though Akbar did not possess fully[2] the arts of reading and writing, yet he occasionally composed verses, and was versed in history; especially was he well acquainted with the history of India. He was very fond of the story of Amīr Ḥamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that he in the female apartments used to recite them like a storyteller. He had the wonderful incidents of that story illustrated[3] from beginning to end of the book and set up in twelve volumes.

Each volume contained one hundred folios, and each folio was a cubit (ẓirā) long. Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwāja[4] 'Aṭā Ullah Munshī of Qazwīn. Fifty painters of Bihzād-like pencil were engaged, at first under the superintendence of the Nādiru-l-mulk Humāyūnshāhī Saiyid 'Alī Judāī[5] of Tabriz, and afterwards under the superintendence of Khwāja

[1] See Blochmann's remarks on this subject.

[2] *Khatt u sawād kāmal nadāsht.* Perhaps the meaning is "did not at all possess these arts."

[3] The illustrations are referred to in the Ain B. 108. It is said that there were 1400 illustrations, but if there were twelve books each of 100 folios and two pictures on each, there would be 2400. Ḥamza was Muḥammad's uncle. For an account of the "Story of Ḥamza" see Rieu II. 760b. Both Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad are mentioned in B. 107. The word in A.F. and in the Maasir for illustration is *majlis.* The Ain also uses the word *moza.* Perhaps *majlis* is pleonastic for it is followed in the Maasir by the word *taswīr.* There is a specimen of 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad's work in the Bodleian. The reference to Akbar's listening to the story of Ḥamza is A.N. II. 223.

It would seem from A.N. II. 349 that Akbar was in the habit of passing by or visiting Darbār's tomb and that the latter's son Deo Sultan—who presumably was mad or violent—was found lurking there with an evil design. He was seized and imprisoned, and died in confinement.

At p. 332 of Elliot V. it is stated that Akbar went into Darbār K.'s dining-hall after his death. Apparently the correct translation is that he attended the funeral-feast (majlis-i-ṭ'aam).

[4] Author of a history of Akbar. Rieu 922b.

[5] Text has khudāmī, but the variant Judāī is right. See B. 590.

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'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shiraz. No one has seen such another gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in the Imperial Library.

DARYĀ KHĀN ROHILLA.

Of the Daudzai tribe. At first he was a servant of Murtaẓa K. Shaikh Farīd. Afterwards he became the servant of Shah Jahan during the time when he was prince. In the fight at Dholpūr with Sharīfu-l-mulk the servant of Sultan Shahriyar he distinguished himself, and acquired reputation. When Ibrāhīm K. Fatḥ Jang, the Governor of Bengal, opposed the prince and was besieged in his son's tomb one *kos* from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), the fleet was in Ibrahim's hands, and without boats the Ganges could not be crossed. Daryā K. and 500 Afghans crossed by an unknown ford pointed out by the Teliya (the oilman) Rajah, and when some ten or twelve horses had not reached the other side, Ibrāhim came to oppose them. Darya K. stood firm and fought. When 'Abdullah K.—who wished to cross at the same place—saw this, he drew rein and went off to another ford. Ibrāhīm K. sent off Aḥmad Beg K. after him to help his men, and when the prince learnt this, he directed Rajah Bhīm to take 'Abdullah K. with him and join Daryā K. But before they arrived Daryā K. had twice attacked and defeated the enemy. But as he was on foot he could not pursue them.

When Ibrāhīm K. learnt that Aḥmad Beg had been defeated, and that Rajah Bhīm and 'Abdullah K. had joined, he drew up his forces and opposed. When his companions could not resist the shock of the brave men and fled, Ibrāhīm and a few more were killed. The prince rewarded Daryā K. with a lac of rupees and some elephants out of the spoils of Bengal, and when he left, Bengal and Bihar came into his possession. 'Abdullah K. and Daryā K. went off to Allahabad in advance, and in the first place surrounded the fort, and afterwards encamped at Mānikpūr on the bank of the Ganges. 'Abdullah K. summoned Daryā K. to assist him. Daryā K. delayed to do so, and a disagreement arose between them. Meanwhile Mahābat K. and Sultan Parvez arrived at the bank of the Ganges. Daryā K. asked 'Abdullah for the

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fleet and the artillery in order that he might strengthen the fords and prevent the Imperial army from crossing. 'Abdullah purposely delayed compliance, and their mutual disagreement injured their master's business. Daryā K., who in addition to the arrogance produced by victories was a continual drunkard, did not properly secure the fords, and Mahābat procured boats and crossed elsewhere. Daryā K. was obliged to join 'Abdullah and Rajah Bhīm who had assembled in Jaunpūr, and from there they went to the prince's camp at Benares. There it was agreed that they should give battle at Kankerā[1]—which was not devoid of strength—and keep the river Tons[2] in front of them. After a fight, when victory was declaring itself on the side of the Imperialists, the new servants of Daryā K.—who were disgusted with his ways—fled without fighting, and Daryā K.—who was the leader of the right wing of the vanguard—also withdrew. After that he in Junair unfaithfully left the prince's service and joined Khān Jahān Lodī, who was the governor of the Deccan. He was not contented with this infidelity, but also stirred up Khān Jahān Lodī to rebellious thoughts After the accession, he, by a thousand supplications and submissions, obtained service and received[3] the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. His fief was assigned to him in Bengal, and he was appointed to go with Qāsim K. the governor of that province Afterwards he received[4] in fief the pargana of Banādar (?) etc. in Khandes, and was ordered to the Deccan campaign.

At the time when Sāhū Bhonsla, at the instigation of the Niẓām Shah, was stirring up strife in Khandes because the Khān Zamān, the governor of that territory, had gone off to take the

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[1] *Sarzamīn Kankerā.* Possibly it means rocky ground but more probably it is a misreading. The Iqbālnāma, which is apparently the source, has, p. 232, "the jungle of Kanpat," and there is the variant Kantīt for which see B. 425. Probably Kantīt is right.

[2] A tributary of the Ganges. It flows N.E. and joins the Ganges in the Allahabad district on the right bank. I.G. There is also a Tons which is a tributary of the Jumna, but this is not the one here meant.

[3] Khāfī K. I. 401. He afterwards had an increase of 1000 horse. Pādshānāma I. 300.

[4] Pādshāhnāma I. 226. It is mentioned there that he got a fief in the Deccan, but the name is not given. At p. 251 *id.* his fief is called Bashāwada.

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fort of Bīr from Saiyid Kamāl the Niẓām Shāhī, Daryā K. came from his fief with lightning-speed to Sāhū and chastised[1] him and drove him out of the country. When in the 3rd year the city of Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan in order that he might uproot Khān Jahān Lodī, Daryā K came from his fief and did homage. At that very time, he remembered friendship and tribal connection and fled, and joined Khān Jahān. When Khān Jahān was defeated by A'ẓim K. the Viceroy of the Deccan, and went off to Daulatabad, Daryā K. came by the Pass of Chālīsgaon[2] to Khandes and lighted the flames of devastation. When 'Abdullah K. was appointed to chastise him, he returned to Daulatabad, and at the same time he went off with Khān Jahān with the intention of stirring up strife in Upper India, and came to Mālwa. As he could not stay there on account of the pursuit by the imperialists, he went off, and when he came to the Bundīla country, he had a fight with Bikramājīt the son of Rajah Jujhār Singh. Daryā K. was in the rear, and in the madness of drunkenness he took no account of Bikramājīt and unhesitatingly attacked him. In the melée a bullet reached him and he was killed. His son and about 400 Afghans were also killed. In the 4th year, 1040, 1630-31, his head was brought to court at Burhanpur.

DASTAM KHAN.[3]

Son of Rustam of Turkestan, and one of the Sih hazārī (holders of *manṣab* of 3000) of Akbar. His mother Bībī Bakhyah Begī was connected with Māham Anaga, and had access to the seraglio. Dastam was brought up in the service of Akbar. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with Mir M'uizzu-l-mulk to pursue 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, and in the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Khān Ā'ẓim Koka and was appointed to Gujarat. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā he did good service and be-

[1] Pādshahnāma I. 251.

[2] Chālīsgaon is a subdivision of the Khandesh district. It was at the foot of the Sātmāla range. I.G. X. 127.

[3] B. 398 and 620. It would appear from Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs, A.S.B.J. for 1898, that Dastam's mother's name was Takhta. Dastam is mentioned in the 7th year as having accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Paronkha, A.N. II. 164. At p. 177 of do. his mother is called Najība Begam.

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came distinguished. Afterwards he came with the Khān A'zim and waited upon the Emperor. In the 22nd year the sarkār of Rantambhor was put into his fief and he was made governor of Ajmere. After being for some time there he turned his attention to putting down the rebellious and to heartening the oppressed. In the 25th year Ūchlā, the son of Balbhadar, and Mohan, Sūr Dās and Tilūksī, the brother's sons of Rajah Bihāra Mal, came without the Rajah's [1] permission from the Panjab to the town of Lūnī, their native place, and took to evil courses. Dastam, in order to observe the respect due to the family of the Kachwāhas, engaged in giving them advice. His mildness increased their turbulence. At this time an order came from Court to treat those recalcitrants with a mixture of promises and threats, but if they did not listen, Dastam was to punish them. He in his haste cast aside the thread of plan and went forth to fight with them without having gathered an army. The three nephews were killed, but Ūchlā—who was the leader of the malcontents—took refuge in a field of millet (? jawar). Suddenly he came out, calling "Dastam Khān," and engaging him wounded him severely with a spear. Dastam, in spite of such a wound, killed him with his sword, and then fell to the ground. His men set him on horseback, and as long as the fight endured he contiuued encouraging them, until at last the rest of the wicked fellows took to flight. Their houses were plundered. Two days (*rūz duwam*) afterwards he died in 988, 1580. As he was energetic, disinterested, and tactful, Akbar regretted his death, and in comforting his mother said,[2] "He was (only) separated from us for three years of his life; from you he was separated for many years. Consequently his departure is harder upon us."

D'AŪD KHĀN.

He, Bahādur K. and Sulaimān K. were sons of Khizr K. Panī. At first he (Khizr) was a merchant, and afterwards by the

[1] The A.N. III. 326 says nothing about the Rajah's leave.

[2] Apparently Dastam and Akbar had met when the latter was only three years of age, and presumably therefore when he was at Qandahar or Kabul with his uncles, and the two must have been together ever since. His mother perhaps ceased to attend Court when Māham Anaga died. There

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influence of Bahlol K. 'Abdū-l-Karīm he became a sirdar. He took part with Bahlol in the imprisonment of Khwāṣ K. Afterwards Bahlol nominally appointed him to assist Shaikh Manhāj—who along with the Deccanis had gone off before this to chastise Sīvā, but in reality in order that he might arrange for the killing of the said Shaikh. After Khiẓr K. had joined him, he one day invited him to a feast. When the Shaikh came near Khiẓr's tent, the latter came out to welcome him, and the Shaikh, who knew his design, was beforehand with him and killed him, and then joined the army. Bahlol, on hearing this, brought an army against the Deccanis and there was a great battle. At last the Deccanis made an alliance with the ruler of Haidarabad and joined him. D'aūd K. was then in the fort of Naldrug. The Khān-Khānān Koka, the governor of the Deccan, conciliated him, and in the 18th[1] year of Aurangzeb he became a servant of the king and received the rank of 4000 and the title of Khān. His brothers and other relatives received suitable rank and Naldrug was taken for the government, and Ẓafarnagar in Berar was assigned to him as a residence.

In the 26th year, after the imperial army had reached the Deccan, he with his brother Sulaimān and his uncle Ranmast—who was called 'Alī and in the 7th year of Aurangzeb had entered the imperial service and obtained the rank of 1500 and gradually risen to the rank of 5000 and the title of Ranmast Khān—had the good fortune to do homage. In company with the other two he was attached to the retinue of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn and was sent off to chastise the Mahrattas. Ranmast K. got the title of Bahādur K., and became famous. He was appointed, along with Rūḥ Ullah K. to the seige of Wakinkera, and in the 34th year was killed in the batteries by a musket-ball from the fort. His son Umr K., who afterwards had the title of Ranmast K., took up his abode in Ranmastpūra in Aurangabad. On his death several sons remained, but at the time of writing none of them is alive. D'aūd K. obtained distinction by being attached to Ẓū-l-fiqār K. and performed

is a reference to Dastam in Jahangir's Tūzuk, p. 256.

1 This apparently should be the 20th. See Maaṣir Umarā I. 802 which gives 1677 as the date.

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feats in the seige of Ginjī and in battles with the foe. In the 43rd year he was made Naib-faujdār of the Carnatic-Haidarabad—which was substantively held by Ẕū-l-fiqār, and in the 45th year the faujdāri of Carnatic-Bijapur was added to this. In the 48th year he as deputy for Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh was made governor of Haidarabad, and in the 49th year—when the king came in person against the fort of Wakinkera—he was summoned from Ginjī and did good service in the seige of the said fort (Wakinkera). He behaved bravely and was treated with favour in consequence. After Aurangzeb's death he took part with Ẕū-l-fiqār in the battle against Kām Bakhsh. In the 3rd year of Bahādur Shah, he as Ẕū-l-fiqār's deputy held the government of the Deccan with the exception of Khandes, Berar and the Payānghāt. On the death of the Khān-Khānan he was made governor of Burhanpur and the Berar-Payānghāt. In Burhanpur his sister's son Bayāzīd K. was Naib, Hīrāman Bakseria was the manager, and in Berar another sister's son, who was called 'Alāwal K., had the deputyship.

When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar became sovereign, D'aūd K. was appointed to the government of Gujarat. When the government of the Deccan came into the hands of Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amiru-l-Umarā, he proceeded thither (the Deccan). At this time D'aūd K., in accordance with the king's directions, came from Gujarat to Burhanpur, and though after crossing the Narbada the Amīru-l-Umarā proposed an amicable arrangement, it did not take place. Outside the city of Burhanpur, in the 3rd year, D'aūd K. with a small force proceeded to oppose and behaved with Rustum-like courage, and drove on his elephant and broke the ranks. In that battle, in the year 1127, 1715, he was killed by a bullet from a *Ẓambarak* (camel-gun) and died without offspring. But Bahādur K. and Sulaiman K.—who were his full brothers—did imperial service along with their elder brother. The second one in the 51st year obtained the rank of 2000, and after the death of Aurangzeb was a companion of Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah. Afterwards, when Bahādur Shah sat on the throne, he was made, in the 1st year, governor of Burhanpur, and in the 2nd year, after the king came to Burhanpur, as the ryots complained of his oppres-

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sion, he was set aside. After Bahādur Shah's death he joined Aẓimu-sh-shān, and on the day of the battle with the other princes in 1123, 1711, he was killed. Except daughters' sons he left no offspring. The eldest of these was Ibrāhīm K. After his uncle's death he had the title of Bahādur K., and in the 49th year he received suitable rank and the gift of a drum. When in the time of Aurangzeb the deputyship of the government of the Deccan came to Dāūd K., he (Bahādur) became Naib of Haidarabad, and in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar—when Ḥaidar 'Alī K. became Dewan of the Deccan—he was made faujdār of Qamarnagar *alias* Karnūl. In the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shah he, in accordance with orders of H.M., came with Mubārik K. and was killed in 1136, 1774, in the battle against Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His sons were Alif K. and Randaula K. The former was made faujdār of Qamarnagar, and the latter got a jāgir and lived with Āṣaf Jāh. Both died, and Bahādur the son of Alif was made faujdār of Karnūl, an appointment which he held for a long time. When the hat-wearers of Pondicherry made a night attack on the camp of the martyred Nāṣir Jang, and discipline got out of hand, the said martyr, thinking that Bahādur was on his side, went towards his detachment (miṣl) which was the left wing. As Bahādur K. was in league with the enemy he knowingly and intentionally martyred him by shooting him, in 1164, 1750. He then formed an intimacy (*ṣahbat kok*) with Hedayat Maḥīū-d-dīn K. (Moẓaffar Jang, grandson of Niẓām-ul-mulk) and assumed triumphant ways. Though the leader, on account of prudence, temporised, yet after the army had reached Raicor near Cuddapah he became impatient and the dislike became public. In the end there was fighting and the leader was wounded by an arrow and Bahādur was killed by a bullet. The verse is excellent.

Verse.

Everything that succeeds in the world
When it comes to the top, it fails:
No success remains in perfection,
When the book is finished, the page is turned.

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At the time of this writing Ranmast K. *alias* Manawar K. the half-brother of Bahādur K. is faujdār of Karnūl. He is a friend of the writer.[1]

D'AŪD KHĀN QORESHĪ.

S. Bhīkan K., who was one of the Shaikhzādas of Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā and was a chief and confidential servant of Khān Jahān Lodī. In the fight at Dholpūr, which took place between Khān Jahān and the royal troops, Bhīkan flung away the coin of his life. Shaikh D'aūd entered into the service of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and obtained influence with him by his courage and good qualities. In the 30th year he was made faujdār of Mathūra, Mahāban, Jalesar and other estates which on the death of S'adullah K. became the prince's fief. He also had charge of the road between Agra and Delhi with 2000 horse. In the same year he at the request of the prince received the title of Khān. In Dārā Shikoh's first battle he was in the vanguard with Satarsāl Hārā. His brother S. Jān Muḥammad was killed. Afterwards, when Dārā Shikoh fled before Aurangzeb, he left D'aūd on the bank of the Sutlej at the ferry of Talwan[2] which is a well-known crossing. Afterwards he fortified the further bank of the Beas in order to hinder the pursuit. At last when Dārā Shikoh lost courage and fled from Lahore towards Multan, D'aūd K., in accordance with orders, burnt and sunk the boats, and then joined Dārā. He went with him everywhere till he separated from him at Bhakar and went off by Jasalmīr to his native country of Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā. As his experience and ability were well-known he received from Aurangzeb a robe of honour. On the return of the royal standards from Multan to Delhi he came and did homage and received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the battle with Shujā' he had command of the right wing of the reserve. After Shujā''s defeat he was sent off with Muazzam K. (Mīr Jumla) to pursue him towards Bengal. When he came to

[1] This life was written by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. In the life of Nāṣir Jang in the 3rd vol. it is stated, p. 855, that the Nawab was shot by Himmat K. and another person who is not named. The occurrence was on the 19th November 1750. Elliot VIII. 391. There is an account of Nāṣir Jang's death in the first vol. of Orme's History.

[2] Jarrett II. 316, in Sarkār Lahore.

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Patna he was made governor thereof, and his rank was increased by 1000 horse, *duāspa* and *sihāspa* (two horse and three horse). When M'uazzam K. in his pursuit of Shujā' had gone from the direction of Makhsūsābād (Murshedābād) to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) D'aūd was ordered to cross the river Ganges with his contingent and the auxiliaries, and to proceed to Tānda, which was the residence of the enemy, so that Shujā' might be pressed on two sides. D'aūd left his brother's son as his deputy in Patna and went off. He afterwards joined M'uazzam K. and assisted in disposing of the business. When Shujā' left the imperial domains D'aūd returned to Patna and addressed himself to chastising the sedition-mongers there. The zamindar of Palāwan (Palamow)—which is forty *kos* to the south of Patna, and the confines of which are 25 *kos* distant from that city—was always insolent, and the territory had strong forts, difficult roads and much jungle. Relying upon these features he behaved presumptuously, and at this time he raised the standard of obstinacy and delayed to pay tribute. The Khān, in accordance with orders, proceeded to conquer the country. He began by taking the forts on the borders, by relying upon which the zamindar used to oppress the imperial territories. Though the ruler was overcome with fear, and begged with contrition that the amount of the tribute should be fixed, and that he might be pardoned, D'aūd did not listen to him, and in the 4th year marched to the territory with a well-equipped force. Batteries were erected near the fort of Palāwan and there was hot fighting. An order came from the Emperor to give the ruler quarter, and to make over the territory to him on condition of his submission and of his embracing Islam. The miserable fellow stubbornly adhered to his paganism and D'aūd by successive engagements arrived at the wall of the fort. Though from the great strength of the place it was not thought that it could soon be taken, yet by secret (Divine) aid the heroes reached the fortification[1] of the wall and carried it. The position of the garrison became difficult, and the zamindar fled by night. After this victory, the Khān stayed some time in the

1 *Ḥiṣār-i-shahrband.* The expression comes from the 'Alamgīrnāma, pp. 658 and 659.

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country to settle it and to strengthen the forts. He then left Manklī K. there—who had, by the Emperor's orders, been made faujdār of Palāwan—and returned to Patna.[1] After that he came to court and was appointed to the Deccan along with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh to punish Sīvā Bhonsla. His rank was made 5000 with 4000 horse, of which 3000 were two-horse and three-horse. At the same time he was made governor of Khandes, and an order was sent that he should leave one of his relatives with a body of troops in Burhanpur and address himself to the duty assigned to him. After taking the fort of Rormāl he, during the siege of Purandhar, was sent by the Mīrzā Rajah with 7000 horse to devastate Sīvā's country. He burnt the villages and hamlets appertaining to Rājgarha, and the dependencies of Kundāna, and devastated many towns and then returned with his victorious troops. Afterwards he, with the right wing of the Mīrzā Rajah's army, ravaged the territory of Bijapur and fought several battles with the 'Ādil Shāhī troops. In the 9th year he was removed from the government of Khandes and was summoned to court. In the 10th year he was sent off as governor of Berar, and after that he was again governor of Burhanpur. In the 14th year he waited on the Emperor and was made governor of Allahabad. The date of his death is unknown. Ḥamīd K. his son had a great name for courage and always served the Emperor. He died in the 25th year of Aurangzeb.

DAULAT[2] KHĀN LODĪ.

He belonged to the Shāhū tribe, and at first was in the service of Khān A'ẓim M. 'Azīz Koka. As he had an abundant share

[1] There is a full account of D'aūd's campaign in Palamow in the 'Ālamgīrnāma 648 *et seq.* There is a notice of D'aūd K. in Manucci I. 308 and 317. The campaign of Palamow is also referred to in the Maasir A. 37, and in Khāfi K. II. 129. The campaign began in the third year of Aurangzeb, 1070, D'aūd having begun his march against Palamow on the 22nd Sh'abān of that year (23rd April 1660), 'Ālamgīrnāma 649 last line; but Palamow was not taken till the 4th year, 1071, December 1660. There is an abstract by Blochmann of the account in the 'Ālamgīrnāma in the A.S.B.J. for 1871, p. 124, etc., and in the same journal for 1874, p. 240, there is a letter from Colonel Dalton describing a large picture of the taking of Palamow. It is preserved at D'aūdnagar in the Gya district.

[2] B. 502.

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of bravery and skill, the Khān A'ẓim, at the time of the marriage of his sister to 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm s. Bairam K., made over Daulat to him and said that if he wished to rise high and to get his father's title he should keep this man near him and cherish him. For a long time Daulat accompanied M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm and did excellent service. He was a predominant partner in the Gujarat victory, in reward of which the Mīrzā got the title of Khān-Khānān. He did famous things in the Tatta and Deccan campaigns. He had attained the rank of 1000 in the Khān-Khānān's contingent, when Prince Sultan Daniel made him his own servant and gave him the rank of 2000. When that Prince went from Aḥmadnagar to congratulate his father on the taking of Asīr, he left Daulat to help M. Shah-Rukh who had been appointed to guard that territory (Aḥmadnagar). In the end of the 45th year, 1009, 1600-01, he died[1] of colic in Aḥmadnagar. He was one of the bravest men of the age. Akbar was always apprehensive of his courage and daring, and they say that when the news of his death came he said, "This day Sher Khān Sūr has departed from the world." There are wonderful stories told of Daulat K.

They say that when Shahbāz K. Kambū in the year 986, 1578, in the 24th year of the reign, was appointed to chastise the Rānā, he made very strict arrangements about the order of march. He and some of his servants went ahead, and all the *manṣabdārs* and servants came along with the *qūr*.[2] The *yesāwalān* (lictors) were so strict that they would not allow one horse to be in front of another by so much as an ear. One day, the Khān-Khānān—who was also among the auxiliaries—was riding alongside of Daulat K. Daulat came out of the line and did not heed the prohibition of the *yesāwals*. At a sign from Shahbāz K.—who had many hastinesses—his brother 'Abdal K. spurred on his horse and struck Daulat's horse on the nose with a stick. The latter drew his sword and struck such a blow on the buttocks of Abdal's horse that it fell to the ground. Shahbāz told his men to seize Daulat. They say that on that day Daulat Khān showed great activity, and did wonders, and boldly went ahead of the troops. The Afghans,

[1] A. N. III. 785. [2] B. 50 note.

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however, joined (with him) in making an onset. The Khān-Khānān in order to discharge himself of his obligation (to produce Daulat K.?) sate at the entrance to Shahbāz K.'s quarters till evening. Shahbāz came out and embraced the Mīrzā, and permitted him to go to his lodging. Next day the Khān-Khānān brought Daulat K. to Shahbāz's quarters and apologized for him. Shahbāz gave Daulat a horse and a robe of honour and said, "Be you the protagonist (Imām "fugleman") of the army and ever lead the way." [1]

They say that when Shaikh Abu-l-faẓl came to the Deccan as general manager, he one day in an assembly where the Khān-Khānān was, said apropos of something, that the Indian sword was written about in books, but that he had never seen it. Daulat suspected an allusion, and flourished his sword and said, "This is an Indian sword, if I strike your head with it, it will go through." The Khān-Khānān laid hold of his arm and put him out. The Shaikh was much disconcerted, and afterwards the Khān-Khānān by much importunity brought Daulat to the Shaikh's quarters and begged pardon for Daulat. The Shaikh rose up and embraced him, and gave him an elephant and a robe of honour and said that he had no allusion in his mind.

Stranger still is the story told in the Zakhīra-ul-Khwānīn that when prince Daniel was displeased with the Khān-Khānān, he in the heat of youth hinted to one of his blackguard-intimates that when the Khān-Khānān came, he should give him a push in the side so that he should fall from the fort of Burhanpur, which lies on the Tapti. Accordingly, one day they did this to the Khān-Khānān, but he kept his footing. His turban however fell off. The prince

[1] The story is not well told, there being too great an effort at brevity. Apparently Daulat K. broke his arrest and distinguished himself in the battle. He was an Afghan, and the Afghans supported him. As he was the Khān-Khānān's servant, the latter was responsible for him, and so sate at Shāhbāz's gate in order to get pardon for Daulat. Perhaps, however, there was no fighting on the first day, and the meaning is merely that Daulat insisted on going on in front and that his brethren—the Afghans—made a tumult and prevented the ushers or lictors from arresting him. Apparently the incident belongs to the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, 986, 1578. See Blochmann, 400, and Maasir, II. 592.

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rose and took the Khān-Khānān's hand and begged his pardon, on the ground that it was the result of drunkenness. Daulat put out his hand and took off the prince's turban and put it on the Khān-Khānān's head and took him home. But the story is improbable and is not consonant with facts, for at that time Daulat was in attendance on the prince, and not a companion of the Khān-Khānān. So it cannot be accepted by those who investigate.

Among Daulat's sons Maḥmūd became melancholy and eventually mad. Remedies made him a little better. In the 46th year he went out to hunt and got separated from his companions. Near the town of Pāl[1] he had a fight with the Kolīs and was killed. Another of his sons was Pīrai who had the title of Khān Jahān Lodī. A full account of him has been given elsewhere.

DAULAT KHAN MAYĪ.

He is commonly known as Khwāṣ Khān. Mayī is a section of the Bhatti[2] tribe which make their livelihood in the Panjab by zamindari, and by robbery. He was the servant—*rūmālbardār* (handkerchief-holder)—of Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K. As in early youth he was very beautiful, whenever he came into the presence of Jahangir, the latter looked favourably upon him. After the Shaikh's death he received a suitable rank, and as his horoscope contained advancement, he in a short time attained to greater intimacy and to the title of Khwāṣ Khān, and was made superintendent of the manṣabdars of the Jilau (retinue) who are trusted houseborn servants; such an office as his is only given to confidential men. When Shah Jahan became king, he, in the year of the accession, received the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse, and as he was not devoid of energy and courage, he distinguished himself in the fight at Dholpūr with Khān Jahān Lodī and fell wounded on the field. His courage and alacrity were impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, and his rank was increased. In the

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1 There was a Pāl in Khandes on the borders of Malwa, J. II. 222, but probably this is the Pāl in Kathiawar. A. N. III. 802 wrongly has Māl

2 Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 37. Mayī is the Mavī of Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 99, who makes it a section of the Gujar tribe. A note to text suggests that the word is Mati. There was such an Afghan tribe. See J. II. 403, n. 2.

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6th year his rank was 3000 with 2000 horse, and he received the title of Daulat Khān. In the same year he was appointed to accompany Prince Shujā' to the seige of Parenda. When he had advanced beyond Burhanpur, he was by Mahābat, the commander-in-chief's arrangement, appointed [1] to Aḥmadnagar with 3000 horse, in order that he might chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and attack his native country of Chamārkūnda.

In the 8th year in Muḥarram 1045, 1635, he was made [2] governor of Sind in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammad of Tāshkend. In the 9th year he arrested [3] the false Bāisanqar and brought him to court. That trickster was an obscure person who gave himself out as the Bāisanqar who in Shahriyar's battle was the leader of the latter's army, and who after fleeing to the fort of Kaulās [4] in Telingana died a natural death. The pretended Bāisanqar went to Balkh. Naẓr Muḥammad K. the ruler there wanted to make him a relation by marriage (*khweshi*, son-in-law ?), but as his claims did not prove to be true the connection did not take place. Then he went to Persia, and though Shah Ṣafī did not admit him to his presence, he showed him some favour. From thence he went to Bagdad and Asia Minor (Rūm). After a long time, willingly and unwillingly, the hand of death seized his collar and brought [5] him to Tatta. Daulat K. arrested him and sent him to court and he was put to death. In the 20th year, Daulat received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse, and was appointed in succession to S'aīd K. to the government of Qandahar. In the end of the same year he received the high rank of 5000 *zāt* and horse; suddenly evil fate became unkind and prepared for him the materials of ruin.

In Zi-l-ḥajja [6] of the 22nd year, December 1648, Shah 'Abbās the 2nd, ruler of Persia, addressed himself to the siege of Qandahar. It was the depth of winter so that on account of the quantity of snow it was unlikely that help could arrive from India. Though

[1] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. 36.
[2] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. 101.
[3] Do. 206.
[4] N. N. W. Haiderabad N. Bīdar. Abdu-l-Hayy, the second author of the Maasir, died there.
[5] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. 207. Can this be the man whom Olearius and Tavernier saw in Persia and took to be Bolāqī ?
[6] Elliot VII. 88 *et seq.*

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the governor of the fort was vigilant in the matter of receipts and expenditure, yet he, from a confused mind, so neglected prudence that he did not make secure the towers which Qulīj K. had made. For Qulīj K. had in the time of his government the foresight to build towers on the top of the hill Cahal Zīna (forty steps) from which guns and matchlocks could be fired into the fortifications of Daulatabad [1] and Māndū. The Persian musketeers took possession of them, and proceeded to fire from them. One day the Shah rode out in person and animated the fight. For three watches the flames of contest blazed, but he was not successful and turned back. But a number of liverless men threw the dust of disloyalty on the head of fidelity and shamelessly said to the governor that as the roads were closed, on account of the quantity of snow, there was no hope of speedy help arriving, and that it was evident from the energy of the Persians that the fort would soon be taken. After the taking, they would lose their lives and their children would be made prisoners. Daulat K., who should have quenched these flames by the water (*ab*, lustre) of the sword, from want of heart and worthlessness did not remember the verse

Verse.

Whenever it is right for you to inflict a wound (i.e. an operation),
You'll do no good by laying on a plaster.

and replied by counsel and admonition. Naturally this had no effect. But Shādī K. Uzbeg was the forerunner of all in the path of disloyalty and sent messages to the Shah.

When at this time the fort of Bast was taken from Pur Dil K., and he was covered with contempt, Daulat K. lost still more of the courage in which he was deficient and sent 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, the diwān of Qandahar, to get a safe-conduct (*amān-nāma*) which

1 Tieffenthaler I. 75 says that Shah Jahan surrounded Qandahar with an earthen wall and also put walls to the forts of Doltabad and Mandui (evidently these were names of forts near Qandahar). The passage in text is taken from Wāris's continuation of the Pādshāhnāma. B.M. M.S. Add. 6556, p. 413b. Daulat left the towers or forts unoccupied, and the Persians took possession of them. See Elliot, *id.* 90.

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was the seal of his condemnation, along with 'Alī Qulī K. the brother of Rustum K., the Persian commander-in-chief. 'Alī Qulī had brought a message from the Shah to the effect that he should not labour to cause more bloodshed and disgrace to himself and others. Daulat K. himself made a pretence of sending men to clear out[1] the fort on the top of the hill, but as his heart was not in it, there was no good result.

Though they say that if this spiritless man had by the guidance of right-thinking gone with a body of men to that strong position and waited there till the arrival of help, no harm would have come to him or his men, yet in the opinion of good judges it would have been impossible for him to hold out there[2] for three months—when Prince Aurangzeb arrived with the learned S'aad Ullah K. on 12 Jumāda-al-awal, 14 May 1649, at the foot of the fort. I admit this, but he from cowardice did not regard his honour which men regard as above price, and to keep which they sacrifice property and life. Daulat K. chose the perpetual disgrace of disloyalty and want of spirit which would not be removed from him till the day of judgment. On 9 Ṣafr 1059, 12 February 1649, he came out with his goods and his companions and much importuned 'Alī Qulī K. to relieve him of the burden of doing homage to the Shah. If this was inevitable, he begged that there might be no delay in his dismissal. 'Alī Qulī having learnt both his wishes introduced him to the Shah in the garden of Ganj 'Alī K. known as Bāgh Ganj, and at the same hour he got permission to go to India. He came there with a world of shame and loss. As his faithlessness and ingratitude left no room for excuses, he saw that the door of intercession was shut in his face, and with a sad heart chose the corner of contempt, until the rest of his life was completed.

In truth there is no question about his want of leadership and littleness of courage, for he surrendered a strong fort—which had five powerful defences to it, 4000 swordsmen and archers, 3000 skilled musketeers and two years' supply of materials, includ-

[1] Probably the word is *baruftan* and not *baraftan*.

[2] Presumably this refers to the occupation of the Cahal Zīna hill.

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ing money, provisions, lead, gunpowder, etc.—after a siege of two months. He preferred a fleeting life to eternal fame, though a number[1] of persons threw in at night arrows bearing information to the effect that the Persian army was in great distress from the want of hay and corn, and that their cattle were dying and that help would soon come from India. If he stood firm for another month, the enemy would retreat without gaining their object. But this lost one had no fortitude. By the strength of misfortune (*bedaulat*) he gave to the winds the fortune[2] (*daulat*) of many years of his life.

(RAJAH) DEBĪ SINGH BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Bhāratha. After his father's death in the 7th year of Shah Jahan he attained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. In the 8th year he was appointed, along with Khān Daurān, to punish Jujhār Singh, and received a drum. After Undcha (Orcha) was taken—which formerly had belonged to his ancestors, and in Jahangir's time had, in order to please Bir Singh Deo, been taken from them, and given to him—it was given to Raja Debī Singh, and he remained there. He also became the head of the Bandīla clan. Afterwards, when the king came to Undcha (Orcha) and proceeded towards the Deccan, he, in the 9th year, came to court and was sent to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha who had been appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory. He did good service there. In the 10th year he, at the request of Khān Daurān, received a flag and a drum. In the 19th year he in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh went on the expedition against Balkh and Badakhshan, and repeatedly performed brave actions, and on many occasions had hand to hand combats with the Almānān. In the 22nd year—when the fort of Qandahar came into the possession of the Persians—he again went, with Prince Aurangzeb, to take that fort. In the battle with the Persians he stood firm, and fought bravely. A third time he went to the same quarter with Dāra Shikoh. When he returned in the 28th year he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in

[1] Khāfī K. I. 6 8, who only speaks of one man's having given such information and of one arrow having been shot in.

[2] The writer puns on his name.

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Malwa, and in the 30th year he went with Muazzam K. Mīr Jumla to Aurangzeb in the Deccan. In the 31st year he was summoned to court and was sent off with Maharaja Jaswant Singh—who was appointed to Malwa—to hold Aurangzeb in check. As the Divine decree had gone forth for his preservation, the Maharaja appointed him on the day of the battle to protect the camp. In the course of the battle when Sultan Murād Bakhsh rushed upon the royal (i. e. Shah Jahan's) camp and this caused agitation and confusion, he out of foresight submitted to the prince and joined him. Through the prince's recommendation he entered Aurangzeb's service, and after Murād Bakhsh's arrest he received a robe of honour. Afterwards when his zeal was made known through the Khān Daurān Saiyid Muḥammad, his rank became 2500 with 2500 horse. After the second battle with Dārā Shikoh he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in succession to Rajah 'Ālam. In the 3rd year he was appointed to chastise Campat Bandīla—who was being rebellious in the province of Malwa—and in the 10th year he was sent off to assist Shamsher K. who had been appointed to chastise the Yūsufzais. In the 13th year he was appointed [1] to the contingent of Muḥammad Amīn K., the governor of Kabul. When he came to the Khyber, that Khān was defeated. After that, there is no further account of Debī Singh. Outside of Aurangabad to the westward inclining to the south is a quarter which bears his name.

DĪĀNAT KHĀN.

He was Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir and the eldest son of Amānat K. Khawāfī. He was a man straight in conduct, weighty of speech, magnanimous and sedate. He was distinguished for honesty and truthfulness, and for soundness of judgment and prudence. He became known during his father's lifetime, in the reign of Aurangzeb, and his ability and justice adorned the age. When his father was conducting the affairs of the Deccan, he had charge of the buildings of the city of Aurangabad. When Aurangzeb came there, an order was given for renewal of the city-wall, the circuit of which

[1] Maasir A. 104. There is an account of M. Amīn's defeat in the Khyber in Manucci II. 199.

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was a thousand yards which is equal to two royal *kos*. The work was undertaken under the superintendence[1] of Ihtimām K., the Kotwāl of the army. As the king was anxious that the work should be done quickly, Dīānat undertook to do it in four months, and finished it by an expenditure of three lacs. After his father's death, the king having been impressed by the excellent services of the deceased, took into consideration the position of all those who were connected with him, and especially provided for Dīānat, who was the eldest and best of the sons, and increased his allowances. As his younger brother Mīr Ḥusain had chiefly come under the notice of the king, he had his father's title, and the other was styled Dīānat. In the 34th year he was made dīwān of the Deccan on the death of Mūsāvī K. Mīrzā M'uizz. When in the 43rd year his brother Amānat K. the 2nd, who was the superintendent of the port of Surat, died, Dīānat was appointed to the office. He received an increase of 500 and had the rank of 2000. But the management of the affairs of the port was not approved of by the king, and he on account of his dissatisfaction summoned him to court Afterwards he was made dīwān of the Deccan, and the water that had flowed away returned to its old channel (i.e. he was received again into favour). After Aurangzeb's death, Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh confirmed him in the same appointment, and left him in Aurangabad.

How can the power and influence of the Diwāns of those days be described? They could make grants (*tankhwāh*) up to 99000 dāms (rs. 2475) under their own signature, and whenever they

1 Maasir A. 224. It was in the 26th year. The text and apparently all the MSS. have "one thousand *zar'a*," i.e. cubits, but surely the words *daura ash* "its circumference" are a mistake for *daura shash* and the number of cubits should be 6000, which would more nearly approach to two *kos*, though even this falls far short of the number of cubits required, for according to the Mirātu-l 'Ālam a royal *kos* contains 5000 *zara'* or cubits. We ought, therefore, to have 10,000 *zar'a*. According to the Mirāt two royal *kos* were equal to 3½ ordinary ones. Compare Khāfi K. I. 488 where a description of the Daulatabad fort is given, and is stated that the circumference of the hill is 5500 *dara* Shahjahani which are equal to 1 kos, 10 *jarīb* (bighas).

According to Rosen's Persian grammar *zira'* and *zar* are different, the first meaning a cubit, and the second a yard. The Maasir here then may be taken to mean yards.

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wanted they could from time to time add to such grants. As the grants[1] of jagirs were not valid without the signature of the emperor or the prime minister (*Nāẓim-i-kull*) and as with the exception of Khān Fīrūz Jang—who was stationed in Berar—there was no higher officer in the Deccan (than Dīānat the Diwan), whenever a necessity arose, the lists of the grants of fiefs were brought to him (Dīānat)[2] and that high officer entered the word "unexpectedly presented" on the deeds and signed them.

When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan, the diwānī thereof was nominally assigned to Murshid Qulī K., and Musāvī[3] K. Mīrzā Mahdī was appointed his deputy until he should arrive from Bengal. Afterwards, when Dīānat waited upon the king, he was received with much favour, and as the king designed to visit Haidarabad and the overthrow of Kām Bakhsh, he left some revenue-debtors[4] (?) in the strong fortress of Bīdar, and appointed Dīānat to guard that territory. When Bahadur Shah returned from the Deccan to Upper India, Dīānat,—who had chosen Aurangabad as his home—was put in charge of the fort and citadel thereof and spent his days in ease and comfort. Afterwards, when Murshid Qulī came into the Presence from Bengal, he did not wish to undertake the duty (of Diwan of the Deccan) as his heart was in Bengal. On account of former good offices, the deceased Khān[5]

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[1] Grants were made both of money and of land. Compare Bernier who says his patron's grant was *nagdī* (cash).

[2] The whole paragraph is obscure, and I am not sure of the meaning in several places. I think that it must be Dīānat, the diwan to whom the grants were brought, and not Khān Fīrūz Jang, i.e. Ghāzīu-d-dīn K. Fīrūz Jang, the father of the famous Niẓāmu-l-Mūlk Aṣaf Jāh of the Deccan, for he was at a distance and moreover he was not the prime minister. The expression *ghair mutaraqqab* occurs at vol. III, p. 853, and that of *nā mutaraqqab* at I, p. 6, and I think that the words after it are *ba sanad namūda* "showing on the grant" but it may be that they are *basand namūda* "contenting himself with this." There is a biography of Fīrūz Jang at II, 872. I should mention, however, that my friend Mr. Irvine is of opinion that the grants were submitted to Ghāzīu-d-dīn.

[3] He is mentioned in Khāfī K. II, 396.

[4] *Asāmī Maḥal.* The expression is a curious one and I am not sure of the meaning. Perhaps it means "ladies of the harem."

[5] The words "deceased Khān" are obscure and I am not certain that they refer to Murshid Qulī. From the biography of Dīānat K. the son it ap-

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(Murshid Quli?) exerted himself to have the diwani conferred again upon Dīānat.

When the sovereignty accrued to Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, the Diwānī of the Deccan was given to Ḥaidar Qulī K. Khurāsānī. Before he arrived, Dīānat had died. He had a share of learning and excellence. The great book of the spiritual Maṣnavī (by Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī) was read in his assemblies as a blessed thing. His son was Dīānat K. the 2nd, of whom a separate account has been given. Among his daughter's sons, the one whom he loved most was Saiyid Amānat K , the son of his eldest daughter, who was known as Arjmand K. His father was Saiyid Atāī. Mīr Aḥmad his father was from Tūrān. Saiyid Aḥmad was of high genius and was associated with poetry and eloquence. For some days he was his grandfather's deputy. After that he became acquainted with Ḥaidar Qulī K.[1] and held the faujdārī of Bīr. In Gujarat he held the government of Pitlād[2] on behalf of Ḥaidar Qulī. Some time before this he was appointed by Āṣaf Jāh to the collectorship of Andūr[3] which is one of the known estates of Bīdar. From misfortune and the disease of cataract (*nazūl mā*,[4] lit. descent of water) which prevents one from seeing without spectacles, he was confined to his house. In this unemployment and idleness he became fond of alchemy and acquired a good knowledge of its technicalities from reliable books. But success in it is a hidden treasure and is not to be found in druggists' shops, and it is a matter of hope. "The bounty of God He causeth to come to whom He chooseth."

DĪĀNAT KHĀN (son of the above).

His name was Mīr 'Alī Naqī, and he was the worthy son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādīr Dīānat K. By his straightness and honesty he was the equal (lit. the second of two) of his honoured father. In

pears that it was Zūl fiqār who procured the reappointments of father and son.

1 Text 'Alī but the variant is right.

2 J. II, 253.

3 Qu? Indūr in Sarkār Talingāna, J II. 237; or perhaps Indūrī in Sarkār Kaiam, J. II. 235.

4 Nazūl-i-āb means hydrocele, but here nazūl-i-mā must mean cataract. Apparently Dīānat had not access to spectacles. He was the author's grand-uncle.

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the discharge of his duties in the king's service he did not take the road of hypocrisy or connivance. From the beginning of his years of discretion he was his father's deputy and acted as Diwan of the province of Aurangabad. His father was Diwan of the Deccan and so abode in the royal camp. Dīānat also held the substantive office of the Biẏūtāt of the city (charge of the public buildings). In the time of his youth he experienced an awakening and had a desire for devotion. By a fortunate guidance he embraced the service of that knower of spiritual and temporal mysteries Miyān Shah Nūr,[1] who was a dervish without vanity and who passed his time in asceticism and in trust in God. Dīānat was his devoted follower. At the same age, he by the virtue of his association with that saint kept free of forbidden pleasures, and followed some of the pure ways of the sect. When that illuminated (nūrānī) Pīr died, Dīānat spent a large sum in the building and repairing his tomb, and made endowments of land, etc. At the present day, in the decay of the once flourishing city, there is no other shrine which is visited by far and near. Besides the days of his and his successors' anniversaries, and on other days also, there is an assemblage of high and low, like what occurs on the *Ākhir Chār Shambah*[2] of the month of Ṣafr. When any poor person came to visit the shrine he (Dīānat?)[3] used to put two *falūses* into his hand in order that he might go and bathe at the public baths, and so he used to be called Shah Nūr Ḥamāmī (the faqīr of the bath).

They say that this saint never told any one his family or tribe, or birthplace, or profession, but it was gathered from his words, and was inferred, that he was the son of a rich man of the east country (i.e. Bengal or Bihar). His disciples agree that his life was prolonged beyond the natural limit. Stranger still, he never told to what order he belonged. In fact he never said a word about either *pīr* (master) or disciple. He instructed and advised the sincere and his associates. After his death his order became current. The Khān appointed Saiyid Shihābu-d-dīn—who was

[1] He died on 2 Feb., 1693 (Beale).

[2] The last Wednesday of Ṣafr and the day when Muḥammad bathed for the last time. Hughes' Dict. of Islam.

[3] Perhaps the saint himself is meant.

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from Bihar, and for a long time had served Shah Nūr—to be his successor. After him, his sister's son Saiyid S'aad Ullah succeeded him. At present his (Sāed Ullah's) son Saiyid Quṭbu-d-dīn known as Mjyān Manjhalī is the representative. In the flower of his youth he is ascetic and awakened, and acquainted with the traditional and rational sciences; especially is he adorned with humility and good dispositions.

In fine, during the reign of Aurangzeb the Khān held the dīwānship of Bīdar and afterwards that of Būrhanpur and had increase of rank and the title of Khān. When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan with his victorious army, Dīānat waited upon him and was graciously received. Inasmuch as he was a man of powerful frame and fine physique, of quick apprehension and clever, and acquainted with most of the sciences, and in every respect was of an original and inventive mind, pressure was put upon him to make him stay at court—which is the source of advancement. The Khān on account of love for his birthplace had no liking for pomp, and could not bring himself to remain in attendance. Some shortsighted persons from obliqueness of vision and erroneous notions brought a charge of alchemy against him. They even represented this to the king. The real facts are that the vapours of quicksilver or sulphur never touched his brain, nor did the odour of sulphur[1] or lead reach his nostrils. But sometimes for the sake of sport and in order to excite wonder he would by legerdemain (*tardastīhā*) put a rupee into a fold of paper, remove the rupee to another place and show men the paper, and then produce the rupee. At first sight the spectators were astonished. This sort of thing got noised abroad and was the cause of his being arrested. And so Bahādur Shah, at the time of

1. *Mis u-riṣāṣ*, but there are different readings and the expression "smell" of copper and tin, or lead, does not seem appropriate. The variant "ās" "ashes" is supported by many MSS. and is probably right. For *riṣāṣ* B.M. 21, 470 has *nahās* "bronze." Cf. chapter on the Origin of Metals, B. 38. A. F. says that sulphur and quicksilver were the only component parts of "the seven bodies," and that quicksilver was called the mother of the bodies, and sulphur the father of the bodies. Also that *riṣāṣ* was supposed to be silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver, silver in the state of apoplexy, and that an alchemist could heal them!

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returning from the Deccan, took him with him by compulsion and brought him to near Ujjain. It chanced that at this time Murshid Qulī K. M. Hādī—who had come from Bengal and been raised to the dīwāni of the Deccan—was seeking to resign his new appointment as his heart was attached to Bengal, and was trying to gain his desire. Ẕūl-fiqār K. the Amīru-l-Umarā gave, by the breath of kindness, new life to that hankerer after his native land (Dīānat) by nominally appointing his father—who was spending his days in guarding the citadel of Aurangabad, and in spite of the Khān-Khānān—who was the chief cause of the supersession—procured Dīānat's release from court by making him his father's deputy, and so made him happy by enabling him to return to his native country. In the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign he came to court. Ḥaidar 'Alī K. of Khurasan the dīwān appointed to the Deccan, who had no equal in influence, met him in Agra and in accordance with royal orders took him back with himself. He had groundless[1] apprehensions in his mind. At the same time his father died and Nawab Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Fatḥ Jang (Aṣaf Jāh) the Nāẓim of the country sent a recommendation that Dīānat should have charge of the citadel. This was granted and he was appointed. After that the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. in accordance with an agreement with his brother Saiyid 'Abdullah K. entrusted the dīwānship of the Deccan to Dīānat, and treated him with much honour and favour and conferred on him the title of Dīānat K.

When that high officer had determined on returning to Upper India he took Dīānat, who had been removed[2] from office, willing or unwilling, with him. After the destruction of Farrukh Siyar, he gave him the dīwānship of the Khālṣa and the rank of 4000. Inasmuch as Dīānat had lived from the early youth in Aurangabad which, on account of its proximity to the royal camp, had no effective governor (ḥāris), and Dīānat also enjoyed special consideration on account of his father being in attendance at court, and used to spend his days in much security and independence,

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that Ḥaidar 'Alī thought Dīānat had come to Agra to supplant him.

[2] Ziyau-d-dīn had been appointed in his room. Maaṣir, III. 37.

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he had not submissive ways, nor the understanding of people's dispositions. Now he was obliged to study how to please the man in power (Sirdār), but he took no pains to conciliate their environment. Rajah Ratan[1] Cand—who had established himself in the hearts of both the leaders (the Saiyids)—was offended at this, and set about defeating him. At length, the minds of both the leaders became prejudiced against Dīānat by Ratan Cand's calumnies. At that time Nawab Fatḥ Jang (the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk) had disposed of 'Ālam 'Alī K.,[2] and as he had now to deal with the faction of the Amīru-l-Umarā, he was using all his endeavours to collect money and soldiers For these purposes he wished to get by compulsion a sum of money from the rich. Some well-meaning counsellors had regard to the lawfulness of inflicting private loss for the public gain and restrained him from vexing the commonalty and suggested the confiscation of Dīānat's property, as he had been long suspected by the populace of having treasure and buried wealth. Owing to the emergency of the times his eldest son was put under surveillance, and the gates of investigation were thrown open. When nothing was found, lying claimants set about excavating disused wells, and the result was that the dust of disgrace was sprinkled on the heads of the tale-bearers. Except gold and silver, jewellery, and the household utensils of his own and of his near connexions, the total value of which was Rs. 70,000, nothing was got except disgrace and a bad name (to the informants). The strange thing (*ṭurfa*) was that as the Amīru-l-Umarā had taken a dislike to him, he regarded the commotion as a plot between the two (Fatḥ Jang and Dīānat).

The Khān himself used to relate how "One day when the news came of the death of 'Ālam 'Alī K., I was asked (by the Saiyid) as to what should be done to amend matters. I said, 'There's a Hindustani proverb that when one's hand has been caught under a stone, it should be withdrawn slowly.' Here the very head of the Nawab (Ḥusain 'Alī's) has been caught, for his

[1] He was 'Abdullah K.'s diwan and had great influence. The Siyar M. I. 66 says, he had originally been a shopkeeper.

[2] The Amīru-l-Umarā's brother's son; killed in battle with the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk in 1132, 1720.

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honour is caught there.[1] Now an order should be quickly sent giving the viceroyalty to the Niẓāmu-l-mulk in order to conciliate him, and his amendment and punishment should be left until an opportunity occurs." He (Ḥusain Alī) gave a glance at Rajah Ratan Cand and smiled sardonically and said, "I have sent money to the east (for recruits?). From here to the Deccan there will be relays upon relays of carriage (?). There will be 12,000 torch-bearers and I will not halt even to take breath, and I will make no distinction between night and day." The Khān said, "The might and majesty of the Nawab is greater than this, but if you go so fast, how much of an army will accompany you, and what strength will remain to men and horses." He frowned and said, "To die is the perfection of soldiering." It is a hopeless case when a leader proudly[2] utters words like one who has lost his senses, and so the Khān answered, "When you have determined on a thing, trust in God."

In fine, after the overthrow of the Saiyids, he was favourably treated by 'Itimādu-d-daula (Muḥammad Amīn K.) and was sent off to the Deccan to take up the hereditary office of the Diwānī. He waited upon Fatḥ Jang and was encompassed with favours. When that great officer went to court to take up the Viziership, he entrusted to Dīānat the care of his estates. He increased more and more in his appreciation of Dīānat and made him cheerful by restoring the money that had been confiscated, and moreover apologised for what had taken place. The Khān said, "It was a subject for thanksgiving, not for complaining, for it (the plundering) had been a means of allaying a suspicion of wealth that had existed for many years. Otherwise God (only) knows what kind of raging tyrants I might have fallen among, and how far they might have gone." After that, as his disposition was naturally self-opinionated and independent, he did not

[1] This alludes to the fact of Ḥusain 'Ali's families being in the Deccan, and exposed to the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's attack. See I. 333.

[2] Text *jurāat*, but the reading of a B.M. MS. *jabrūt* seems preferable. The text is wrongly pointed, making it appear as if this last sentence was part of Ḥusain 'Ali's speech. But it really is a reflection of the author.

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consort with 'Izadu-d-daulah 'Iwaz K. the Naib Subahdar of the Deccan, and it was a case of "Hold aslant[1] and don't spill."

When Nawab Fatḥ Jang returned from Upper India, and there was an intention of giving battle to Mubāriz K., the Khān, who could not be controlled when speaking the truth, and knew nothing about timeserving, without hesitation ascribed rebellion and falsehood to his own side, and spoke of the rights of the other side. Consequently, it was reported that he belonged to the opposite party and he was nearly meeting with a great misfortune. The mildness and easy-going of the Chief (the Niẓāmu-l-mulk) protected him, and after the victory he was merely deprived of his fief and office, and for a long time was confined to his house. Again, Āṣaf Jāh became kind to him and wished to restore him to his fief and office, but 'Izad-u-d-daulah from the old enmity opposed this and withheld the Niẓām from befriending him. Though he behaved with independence and nonsolicitation and did not beg or importune, yet the anxieties of unemployment and vacancy at last made him ill. In the month of Rajab 1141, Jan.-Feb. 1729, he died. Though he was reported to be hard and rough, and did not in the king's business behave mercifully or with regard to relations and did not open wide the gates of praise and consideration for the world at large, yet for truth and honesty he was the unique of the age. He did not take trouble about the preserving of dignities and the proper forms of address, but he secretly and clandestinely gave charities to the poor and needy. Though he had but slightly studied the current sciences, yet he had studied rules of conduct and ethics, especially the commentaries of the Ṣūfīs, and could speak accurately about them. He abstained from forbidden things. But he did not much regard external observances, nor did he consort much with ecstatic Shaikhs. He was spoken of publicly and privately for his great appetite.[2] Though he did not eat so much, yet he was fond of dainties, and relishes with fruits and sweetmeats. He was of a powerful frame and had a vigorous appetite. He was a skilful marks-

1 See B. 192 and note 1.

2 *Kasrat ishtihā*. Perhaps "numerous appetites," or "passions," is meant.

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man with the gun and bow and was very fond of and much versed in hunting, in shooting at a target and in polo. At Kandhila—which is a village three *kos* from the city—there was a meadow of Zainu-l-abidīn K. Khawāfī which was famous. He bought it and made a garden, and planted cocoanut trees. Time did not befriend his desire, though he wished to spend much money on it. At present there are many flourishing cocoanut trees there. His eldest son was Mīrak Muḥammad Taqī [1] K. who was unequalled for gentleness and friendliness. He was an exquisite companion. He was for a long time charged with the buildings of Aurangabad. After his father's death, he was kindly treated by the Nawab Āṣaf Jāh, and was made diwan of the Deccan, and had the title of Wazārat K. and the rank of 2000. In the 16th year of Muḥammad Shah a madlike and poverty-stricken *manṣabdār* one night without any reason attacked him with a sword. He hit him on the nose. He was wounded, but the wound soon healed. But from that day there was a disturbance in his disposition and he went now to the other extreme. He kept bravoes (*mardam khānajang*) and cherised improper ideas, and gave himself up to destruction.

Though his mature understanding and discernment were inconsistent with such vain thoughts, yet fate prevailed. He took to soldiering and leadership and became on behalf of the Niẓāmud-daula Bahādur (Nāsir Jang)—may his fortune endure!—master of the army and went off to Dharūr and Dhārāsīn.[2] He left the path of safety behind him and without having resources for independence and without power or influence, took up with every wicked wretch, nor did he understand the infamy of those people.

At this time he, in Rīnāpūr, entered the service of the aforesaid Nawab, who aspired to the government of Haidarabad. It chanced on the [3] 16th Ẕi-l-ḥajja 1151, 16 March 1739 (it was the day), when the Shahīnshah Nādir Shah came to Delhi and ordered a general massacre, a soldier who was doomed to die behaved

[1] Perhaps this should be Naqī.

[2] Dhārasiyūn, Elliot VII, 55, 50 m. N.E. Sholapur.

[3] The meaning is that it happened on the same day, not that there was any connection between the two things.

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with violence and drew his dagger. One of the spectators was beforehand with him and killed him. A number of soldiers who were tribesmen and relatives of the slain man, rose up to fight, and some rioters entered Mīrak Taqī's tent and in the twinkling of an eye cut him to pieces with a hundred swordcuts. He did not know about this and had no suspicion, and did not lift his hands, and died a victim. Two youths who were not connected with him bravely fell in that turmoil. None of his friends or servants exerted themselves. Nor was any help given by the leaders who had assembled.

It looked as if they had all wished for this thing. What they wished, happened. It is said that at his death all memory of the flavour of his energies and the sweets of his companionship departed from the hearts of his friends. He (i.e. Dīānat Mīr 'Alī Naqī, the father) had many sons. His second son, Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī K., is dead. He was pure of heart and an orthodox and God-fearing man, and was prudent in business, and he was also charitable. When the diwānī of the Deccan fell to his full brother the martyred Wazārat K. (Mīrak Taqī), he was put in charge of the buildings. In the 15th year of Muḥammad Shāh he died in his 37th year. He left scars on the hearts of the sincere. At the time of writing, another son, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K., is an object (lit. vessel) of favour with Āṣaf Jāh and is exalted by the hereditary diwānī and the diwānī of the establishment of Asaf Jāh. He maintains in perfection the honesty (*dīānat*) which he obtained by inheritance.[1]

DĪĀNAT KHĀN QĀSIM BEG.

An Amīr of the reign of Jahangir, and one who became acceptable to him on account of his tact and diligence. After the advancement of I'timādu-d-daula, Dīānat spoke improperly about him in the king's presence and so was placed in the charge of Aṣaf K. Abu-l-ḥasan, in order that he might place him in the fort of Gwalior which was in his charge. After some time he was

1 The length of this notice is accounted for by the fact that Dīānat Mīr 'Alī Naqī was the son of the author's grandunole.

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released[1] at the request of I'timādu-d-daula. In the 8th year he was appointed reviser of petitions (ʿarẓ *mokarrir*). In the 11th year he was removed from that appointment and sent with Prince Sultan Khurram to the Deccan. Nothing more is known[2] of him.

DĪĀNAT KẖĀN ḤAKĪM JAMĀLĀ KĀSHĪ.

In the first year of Shah Jahan he was made diwan of the establishment of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī (the Queen), and in the 4th year his rank was 1000 with 250 horse and he had the charge of the dīwāni of the Panjab in succession to Mīr ʿAbdu-l-Karīm. As he showed marks of trustworthiness he in the 5th year had the title of Dīānat K. and an increase of 150 horse, and received the diwānī, amīnī and faujdārī of Sarkār Sirhind in succession to Rai Kāsī Dās. In the 9th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 11th, after the fort of Qandahar had come into the royal possession, and Prince Shujāʿ had been appointed to Kabul in expectation of an attack by Shah Ṣafī, the king of Persia, he was sent with the prince as diwān of the army. In the 12th year he was appointed to the service of the "Branding and Verification" in succession to ʿĀqil K. ʿInayat K. In the 14th year he received a robe of honour and a horse, and the diwānī of Aurangabad, the Bālāghāt of Berar, and of the country of Telingāna which had been conquered. In the 17th year he received an increase of 500, and in the 18th his rank was 2,000 with 7,000 horse. In the 21st year when the dīwāni of the Subahs was entrusted to the Rai Raiyān he came to court. After that Prince Murād Bakẖsẖ had shown himself displeased with the Rai Rayān, Dīānat K. was in the 22nd year made diwān of the four provinces. In the 27th year after being relieved of that charge he came to court and was made diwān of the establishment of Prince Murād Bakẖsẖ. Afterwards when the well-wishers of Aurangzeb had their desires fulfilled, he had court service, such as the Superintendentship of the Branding. In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he was made diwān of

[1] Tūzuk J. 149. This was in the 10th year. He was made reviser of the petitions in the same year, do. 150.

[2] He came from Agra and waited on Jahangir in the 17th year, and he was pardoned and restored to his former rank, Tūzuk 355.

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the Biyūtāt, and in the 9th year he was removed from that employment and in the 16th year corresponding to 1083, 1672, he died. His sons[1] Dev-āfkan, Sher-āfkan and Rustum received mourning robes of honour. The first of them was made in the 24th year Superintendent of the "Branding and Verification" and had the title of M'utamid K. The other two also obtained suitable *manṣabs*.

DĪĀNAT KHĀN.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Dasht Bayāẓī. The Dasht[2] Bayāẓ is one of the nine tracts of the country of Qohistan. He was one of the nobles of that country and was the unique of the age for his knowledge of history. By the guidance of good fortune he entered the service of Shah Jahan in Junair and was admitted to intimacy and influence. On the day of the Accession he received[3] the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and a present of Rs. 8,000. When, after the death of Jahangir, Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of the Deccan, took some steps which indicated insincerity towards Shah Jahan, or rather which were repugnant to royalty and fidelity, the latter, though, owing to the necessity of the time, he issued orders for his being confirmed in his government, and rank and fief, yet he made many inquiries about his actions. For Khān Jahān had taken away Mālwa from Moẓaffar K., who was the governor thereof, and had laid hold of it, and all the leaders of the Deccan auxiliary forces were devoted to him, and the Niẓām Shāh was his partizan because he had surrendered[4] to him (the Niẓām) the territory of the Bālāghāt (above the passes). Shah Jahan feared lest he might rebel, and in the first year of his reign he appointed Dīānat K.—who had a reputation for sound judgment and good sense—to be wāqa'navīs[5] (Recorder) of the Deccan, and gave him

1 Maasir A. 124, where it is said that Dīānat was famous for his knowledge of astrology.

2 The white plain. It was a district of the Qohistan of Khurāsān, towards Afghanistan. The Qohistān begins at the frontiers of Herat and extends to Nahavand and Hamadan. (Yāqūt, Barbier de Meynard).

3 Pādshāhnāma I. 119, where the present is stated as Rs. 7,000.

4 Pādshāhnāma I. 76. See also the biography of Khān Jahān Lodī I. 716.

5 Pādshāhnāma I. 205, where it is said that he was also made Bakhshī.

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secret instructions to make himself acquainted with the secrets of Khān Jahān's heart and to ascertain what his projects were and to report them. After Dīānat arrived at Burhanpur he, from his perfect skill in physiognomy and his wisdom, wrote strongly to the emperor to the effect that the disturbing and rebellious acts of this man (Khān Jahān) were the result of his suspicions, and that in reality he was in great fear and had lost heart. He could not originate such projects (of rebellion). Shah Jahan might in full confidence invite Khān Jahan to court, for there was no likelihood of any disturbance in the country. On receiving this report Shah Jahan gave up his apprehensions, and removed Khān Jahan from the Deccan and made him governor of Mālwa. And he made Dīānat governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. In the beginning of the 2nd year he had an increase[1] of 500 *zāt* and 700 horse. When in the 3rd year Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,000 horse. In the same year, 1040, 1630-31, he died[2] in Aḥmadnagar.

DILĀWAR K. BAHĀDUR.

He was Muḥammad N'aīm, the third son of Dilāwar K. 'Abdu-l-'azīz, s. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm, s. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Raḥīm, s. Maulānā Kamāl of Naishāpūr, who was brother of Maulānā Jamāl, the grandfather of 'Inayat Ullah K. As it happened, Maulānā Kamāl came from his native country and settled in Lahore, and died in the year 1011, 1602-3. His tomb is outside of the city in the Serai of Ḥājī Siyāh. Mīr 'Abdu-l-'azīz at first was the servant of Dārā Shikoh. When he turned his face towards serving Aurangzeb, he gave out his name as being Shaikh 'Abdu-l-'azīz. In the 17th year he had the title of Dilāwar K. and gradually rose to the rank of 2,000 and then died. Muḥammad N'aīm on account of his being connected by marrage with 'Inayat Ullah K. was called by

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 258.

[2] Pādshāhnāma 320. Khāfī K. I. 429, who says that it was Dīānat who refused to give up the fort of Aḥmadnagar when Khān Jahān Lodī sold the country to the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk for six lacs of *hūns*. According to the Pādshāhnāma I. 76 it was Sipahdār K. who refused to surrender the fort, and apparently this was before Dīānat had come to the Deccan.

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his father's title and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's reign went to the Deccan in company with the Niẓāmu-l-mulk 'Āṣaf Jāh, who was Niẓām of the Deccan. Afterwards Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā had him appointed faujdār of Raicor. After that he addressed himself—in company with Mubāriz K. who was his wife's sister's husband—to do battle against Āṣaf Jāh. After Mubāriz was killed, he was made a prisoner and for a long time was an associate of Āṣaf Jāh. He obtained the rank of 5,000 and in 1139, 1726-27, he died. He had a poetical vein and had a good talent. Nuṣrat[1] was his *takhallaṣ*. This couplet is his:—

Verse.

The eyelashes are not closed, the beloved is without a veil.
How can one sleep in the mansion of the Sun?

Of[2] his sons the eldest was Muḥammad Dilāwar, Muẓaffaru-d-daula Bahādur Intiẓām Jang. He was in the time of Niẓāmu l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh, faujdār of Serā. After some years, when that taluq came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went to Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh and became Bakhshī of the provinces of the Deccan, and was friendly to the writer of these lines. The second was Dil Dilāwar K. who was faujdār of Biswāpatan, a dependency of Serā. He afterwards came before Niẓāmu-l-mulk Aṣaf Jāh, and was made head of the artillery of the Deccan. He died in 1166, 1753. Both had children.

DILĀWAR KHĀN KĀKAR.

His name was Ibrāhīm. At first he passed his days as a companion of M. Yūsuf K. Reẓavī. By good fortune he distinguished himself in Jahāngir's presence in the affair[3] of Akhīrāj and Abhī-

1 Sprenger's Cat., p. 525. The dīwān is in A.S.B. library No. 136, No. 1432, p. 116.

2 The preposition *az* is omitted in text, but occurs in a B.M. MS.

3 See the account in the Tūzuk J., p. 12, and the travesty of it in Price's Jahāngīr, pp. 37, 38. The disturbance occurred on 27 Sha'bān 1014, 25 December 1605. Akhīrāj was s. Bhagwān Dās, and Abhīrāj, or Abhī Rām, was his son. The disturbance was caused by Akhīraj's three sons proposing to join the Rānā. Jahangir ordered their arrest, and while endeavouring to carry out this order, Ibrāhīm received nine wounds.

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rāj. This occurred in the public courtyard [1] of the palace, and Ibrāhīm received several wounds. This service was the cause of his advancement, and he was given a suitable rank. In the beginning of Jahāngir's reign he was sent off to act as governor of Lahore. He had reached the town of Pānīpat when he heard of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau. He crossed his family over the Jumna, and went off to Lahore on the wings of speed and reached the fort before Khusrau. He strengthened the bastions, etc., and when Khusrau came to the city, he found the gates closed. Khusrau set about the siege, and the collection of troops, and the fire of contention raged within and without. As the imperial army was in pursuit of him, and he saw that the taking of the city was difficult, he raised the siege. Dilāwar did good service and his devotion was rewarded by royal favours. In the 8th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Shah Jahan in the campaign against the Rānā. In the 13th year, 1027, 1618, he was made governor of Kashmīr on the removal of Aḥmad Beg K. Kabulī and behaved gallantly in conquering the territory of Kishtwār which is distant sixty *kos* from the city of Kashmīr (Srīnagar) to the south.

The short account [2] of this affair is as follows. In the 14th year of Jahangir Dilāwar K. resolved to conquer the country by means of 10,000 horse and foot. As there were difficult defiles and passes, which were impassable for horses, he left the horses in Kashmīr (Srīnagar) except a few which were kept as a precautionary measure. The soldiers mounted the hills on foot and fought stage after stage till they came to the river, where there was an engagement. The ruler of the country lost heart when 'Alī Cak,[3] who claimed to be heir to Kashmīr and had taken protection with him, and was making a disturbance, was killed, and took to flight. He crossed the river and halted in Bhadarkot [4] which was on the other side. Though the brave men tried to cross by the bridge the

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1 *Kathra*, which I suppose is the Hindustani word katra. Here it must mean courtyard, for Jahangir states that the affray took place in the *ṣahn* of the public *daulat khāna*. Price's account makes the three Rajputs to be crushed by elephants, but perhaps this refers to treatment after death.

2 Tūzuk J. 294 and Iqbālnāma 141.

3 Should be Abiya or Iba?

4 Bahandarkot in T. J.

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resistance was such that they could not do so. When some days had elapsed, the Rajah craftily sent a message to make peace. Dilāwar K. did not listen to him and exerted himself to cross the river. At last, one day, Jamāl-K., his eldest son, crossed the swollen river with a number of others by swimming, and engaged the enemy. The latter broke down the bridge and fled, and Dilāwar repaired it and crossed his troops, and established his camp in Bhadarkot. From the river in question to the Cināb—which is a great support of theirs—there is the distance of two bowshots, and on the bank (of the Cināb) is a high hill which is difficult to get over. In order to cross the river on foot they take three ropes and between two ropes they place planks of the width of a cubit, and fasten one end of the rope to the top of the hill and the other on the other side of the river. They also put two other ropes one yard higher (as handrails). The foot-passengers put their feet on the planks and take the upper ropes in their hands and so cross, descending from the top to the bottom. This kind of bridge is called by the hill-people *zība*.[1] They had placed musketeers and archers at every place where they thought an attempt would be made to make a rope-bridge. Dilāwar K. made rafts and tried to cross men by them. As the current was very strong, the rafts went to the bottom and sixty[2] men were drowned. For four months and ten days every attempt that was made to cross ended in failure.

It happened that one night Dilāwar's son Jalāl, under the guidance of a landholder, crossed with safety at a place where the enemy did not think that he could cross, and fell upon the Rajah and sounded the trumpet of victory. Many were killed, and the rest saved their lives by flight. One of the soldiers came up to the Rajah and was about to kill him when he called out that he was the Rajah, and was made prisoner. Dilāwar crossed and came to the capital of the country, which was three kos distant. He took the Rajah with him and produced him before Jahāngīr in the 15th year near Bārahmūla, which is the gate of Kashmīr. He received various favours and was made an officer of 4,000 with

1 Zampa in T. J. and Iqbālnāma. The *jhola* of the I. G., VIII. 65 (old edition).

2 Tūzuk, 68 men.

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3,500 horse. He also received a present of a lac of rupees, being the revenue of the conquered territory for one year.

The custom in Kishtwār is that the Rajah does not take rent for land. From every house he takes each year six *sastī*,[1] which was a coin of the Kashmīr rulers. 1½ *sastīs* make a rupee, and in accounts fifteen *sastīs*, i.e. ten rupees, are reckoned one royal muhr. The saffron is superior to that of Kashmir, and Rs. 4 are taken from the buyer on each *manī sīr*[2] (برسر صني) which is equal to two *sīr*, Jahāngīrī. The chief income of the Rajah is derived from fines which are imposed for small offences, and come to a large sum. His total revenue is about a lac of rupees. The *tankẖwāh* (assignments) are 1,000 *zāt* with 1,000 horse. As the Rajah was not devoid of dignity, an order was given that his sons—who in the time of the war had been placed with the neighbouring landholders—should be sent for, in order that the Rajah might be delivered from perpetual imprisonment, and might spend his days in peace. He obeyed and was treated with favour.

After a while Dilāwar died a natural death. His eldest son, Jamāl K., was, in the time of Shah Jahan, appointed to accompany Mahābat K. During the siege of Daulatabad, high words passed in the divān on account of some matter, and Mahābat K. said that whoever showed slackness in the king's business would be slippered. Jamāl K. drew his sword and aimed at his head. Mīrzā Jaafar Najm Ṣānī, who was seated behind him, jumped up and caught Jamāl in his arms. His (Jamāl's) son, who was of tender age, finished the Mīrzā with a dagger. The Khān Zamān (Mahābat's son) acted with alertness and knocked down Jamāl, and with another stroke he finished the son. They say that Mahābat K. was seated, and that in that position he said[3] "Both sons did well!" The second son of Dilāwar was Jalāl K., of whom an account has been given.

[1] *Sanhasī* in T. J., 297. It is the silver sāsnū of J. II. 354, and note 2.

[2] The I.O. MSS. of Tūzuk have *ekman*, and both they and Saiyīd Aḥmad's text have the "Indian *sīr*" and not the Jahāngīrī *sīr* as here and in the Iqbālnāma, p. 146.

[3] Jamāl's death took place in the 6th year. Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 313. Mahābat was referring to the conduct of Jamāl's son, and of his own son Khān Zamān. The story of the fight is not told in the Pādshāhnāma.

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DILER K. 'ABDU-R-RAUF MIYĀNA.

Great grandson of Bahlūl K. Miyāna, who attained to royal favour in the time of Jahāngīr and received the rank of 2,500[1] with 1,000 horse. In the second year of Shah Jahan's reign, when Khān Jahān Lodī became suspicious and fled, he too joined the Niẓāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan and obtained service with him. For some time he opposed the imperial troops and behaved perversely. Afterwards he joined 'Ādil K. of Bijapur and became his servant. In the 7th year he displayed audacities (*shokhīhā*) in the siege of Daulatabad. After his death 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm his son obtained the leadership, and when he died, his son 'Abdu-l-Karīm obtained the leadership and the title of Bahlūl K. As the ruler of Bijapur was a child, and the power was in the hands of others, 'Abdu-l-Karīm engaged in collecting men of his own tribe and obtained much sway. In the 9th year[2] of Aurangzeb's reign, when Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory, 'Abdu-l-Karīm was one of the leaders of the opposing army, and had frequent battles. In the 17th year Khān Jahān Bahādur Koka was the governor of the Deccan, and Khwāṣ K. Ḥabshī was the minister of Sikandar 'Adil K. and acted in concert with him and came to the bank of the Bhīmra. From the other side Bahādur Kokaltāsh came, and there was an interview between the two, and the daughter of Khwās K. was married to Naṣīrī K., the son of Kokaltāsh. After that both of them returned to their dignities. Bahlūl K. cherished treacherous feelings towards Khwāṣ K. and wished to seize him on the road. He came to know of this, and set off at night to Bijapur. Afterwards, when Bahlūl arrived near the city, he came out to welcome him, as he did not abandon the part of magnanimity. Bahlūl took advantage of his opportunity and put him under arrest.[3] After that he was prosperous. Hostility came between the Deccanis and the Afghans and they came to blows. Some of the Deccanis joined the imperial troops and many went to the ruler of Haidarabad. When he heard of the

1 The Pādshāhnāma I. 182 speaks of Bahlūl's receiving the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. See also *id.* 289.

2 Khāfī K. II. 191.

3 Fryer speaks of Bahlūl's putting Khwāṣ K. to death He also says that Sikandar's legitimacy was doubted.

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imprisonment of Khwāṣ K., Bahādur Kokaltāsh, in accordance with Aurangzeb's orders, collected a large army and came to the places bordering on Bijapur. Between him and Bahlūl K. 'Abdu-l-Karīm a contest and fighting took place. There were many engagements. In the 20th year when the Kokaltāsh was summoned to court, the management of the Deccan was made over to Diler K. The two (Bahlūl and Diler) agreed with one another, as being of the same tribe, and marched against Haidarabad. Seven battles took place between them and the Deccanis who had come on the part of the ruler of Haidarabad. Meanwhile Bahlūl K. fell ill and died, and his son 'Abdu-r-Rauf became the leader. At last in the 29th year Aurangzeb proceeded to the siege of Bijapur. Sikandar[1] 'Ādil K., willing or unwilling, made over the city and submitted. 'Ābdu-r-Rauf also kissed the threshold and received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse and had the title of Diler K. He[2] for a long time discharged the work of the king's service under Khān Fīrūz Jang, and in the 48th year had the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After the death of Aurangzeb he ostensibly sought to join Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and went and settled in the estates of his own faujdārī of Sānwar and Bankāpūr—which is a Sarkār in Bijapur. After his death his brother 'Abdu-l-Ghafār K. obtained the faujdārī and fief of the said Sarkār, and after him, his son 'Abdu-l-Majīd K., who, during the government of the martyred Nāṣir Jang received the title of Saṭwat Jang (power of war), succeeded to the estates by inheritance. When the Mahrattas became supreme in the Deccan several *parganas* of the property came into their hands in lieu of *chauth* (exaction of ¼th). A little remained. At the time of writing, his son, 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm, lives by these. The second son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Mīāna was 'Abdu-n-nabī K., who held Cuddapa, etc. in Haidarabad as his fief and faujdārī. After his death his son 'Abdu-n-nabī Kor (the blind?) got the property. After him his brother 'Abu-l-Muḥsin K., alias Mūca Mīān—who afterwards got the hereditary title—obtained the appointment and was for a long time manager of affairs. 'Abdu-l-Majīd K., the son

[1] Khāfī K. II. 322. He surrendered in the beginning of the 30th year.
[2] Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī 481.

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of 'Abdu-n-nabī Kor, put him under restraint, and himself took charge. He fought with the Mahrattas and was killed. His son 'Abdu-l-Ḥalīm took his father's position, but the Mahrattas prevailed and took possession of half of the property under the claim of *chauth*. At the time of writing, which is 1193 (1779), Ḥaidar 'Alī K. overran his *t'alūq* and made him prisoner. He took possession of the entire estates, and whatever else he possessed.

Ikẖlāṣ K. 'Abu-l-Muḥammad s. 'Abdu-l-Qādir s. Bahlūl K., the elder, was cousin of Bahlūl K. 'Abdu-l-Karīm. He in the 7th year[1] of Aurangzeb joined the imperial army and received the rank of 5,000 and the title of Ikẖlāṣ K. In the 11th year when Dāūd K. Qoreshī pursued Siva, he with a few men joined in the battle and was in the vanguard. He was wounded and fell to the ground. It appears from the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī that he was alive[2] up to the 21st year.

(SAIYID) DILER KẖĀN BĀRHA.

One of the officers of the time of Jahāngīr. He held the faujdārī of Baroda When in the 18th year there arose the cloud of dissension between father and son, and Shah Jahan appointed 'Abdullah K. to the government of Gujarat, and his eunuch[3] entered the city of Aḥmadabad, Saif K. *alias* Ṣafī K.—who had partial charge of the city—showed courage and took the city from the eunuch's possession, and induced Diler K. to take the side of loyalty. After the king's death, when Shah Jahan marched from Junair and crossed the Narbada, he came before all the auxiliary officers of the province, and did homage. In attendance on the royal stirrup he came to the capital, in the first year of the reign had the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a robe of

1 Kẖāfī K. II, 191-192, where he is called Abu-l-Majid. See p. 191, two lines from foot. But see also p. 196 where Abu-l Muḥammad is spoken of as in the imperial army. According to the Maaṣir A. Abu-l-Muḥammad got the title of Ikẖlāṣ K. and the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse in the 12th year, p. 81.

2 Abu-l-Muḥammad Bijapuri is mentioned in the Maaṣir A. 171 as being made faujdār of Oudh in the 22nd year. He is mentioned again in the 36th year *id.* 351.

3 Wafādār by name, Tūzuk J., 362. Ṣafī K. was married to a sister of Mamtāz Maḥal.

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honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a drum, and an elephant. He was allowed to go to his t'alūqs. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan, he came from Gujarat to court, and received an increase of 500 horse. Together with Khwāja Abu-l-ḥasan of Turbat he was sent off to take the country of Sangamnīr.[1] In the 4th year he was appointed from there to serve in the contingent of 'Āẓim K., who was in the neighbourhood of Parenda. Afterwards he was given leave to go to his old taluqs, and in the 6th year, corresponding to 1042, 1632-33, he died. Saiyid Ḥasan, his son, came to court, and had an audience, and received a rank suitable to his position and was treated with favour. Up to the 30th year his rank was 1,500 horse. Another son, Saiyid Khalīl, had the rank of 500 with 200 horse. It was Diler K. who sent the white[2] elephant which was placed in the royal stables in the 2nd year of the reign. Khwāja Niẓām, a merchant, who was a trustworthy trader and known for the largeness of his traffickings, had received from his agents a small elephant aged about 15 or 16 years. On account of leanness and immaturity it had no decided colour. When he went off in some direction for the purpose of trade, he left this elephant on the Khān's fief, as there was friendship between them. After twelve years, when it had come to maturity, its colour became white with a tinge of red. The Khān sent it for the king, who approved of it and gave it the name of Gajpatī (elephant-lord). This is Ṭālib Kalīm's quatrain about it.

Verse.

May his white elephant sustain no injury.
Whoever beholds it is enraptured with it.
When the world's lord goes out upon it, you'd say
"'Tis the sun emerging from a white dawn."

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[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 300. Elliot VII. 10. Sangamnīr is the same as Sangameshwar.

[2] This account, including the quatrain, is taken from the Pādshāhnāma I. 267. For Ṭālib Kalīm see Beale s.v. Abu Ṭālib Kalīm, and Rieu II, 686 a. He was a native of Hamadān and was Shah Jahan's poet-laureate. The allusion in the first line of the quatrain is to the evil eye. The place that Khwāja Niẓām went to, after leaving the elephant with Diler, was Pegū, whither Jahāngīr had sent him to purchase rubies.

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After Diler K.'s death his son Saiyid Ḥasan came to court and received a suitable *manṣab*. In the 28th year he was made faujdār and fiefholder of the Sarkār of Godrah[1] in Aḥmadabad (Gujarat). In the 30th year his rank was 1,500 with 1,500 horse. After the expiration of the 31st year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh, who, at a suggestion from Aurangzeb, had started from Aḥmadabad. When Murād Bakhsh was imprisoned, Saiyid Ḥasan received the title of Khān and was sent off to Gujarat. Another son, Saiyid Khalīl, held a *manṣab* of 500 with 200 horse.

DILER KHAN DAŪDZAI.[2]

His name was Jalāl K., and he was younger brother of Bahādur K. Rohilla. When in the 21st year Shah Jahan became disappointed with Bahādur K., in spite of his good services and achievements in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, because of his negligence and delay in the pursuit of Naẓr Muḥammad K., and of his indifference and slackness[3] in rendering assistance to S'aīd K. in the seven days' fight with the Uzbegs, he confiscated Sarkārs Qanauj and Kālpī,—which were in his fief,—and were fertile throughout the whole year. Shah Jahan confiscated them in satisfaction of the government demands against him—which amounted to nearly thirty lacs of rupees—and gave the faujdāri of them to Jalāl K. His rank was 1,000 with 1,000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and the present of an elephant. He gradually rose in consideration and in the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with M'uazzam K. Mīr Jumla in order that he might, in attendance on Prince Aurangzeb, devastate the territory of 'Ādil Shah.

One day during the seige of the fort of Kalyān the prince drew up his forces and marched out to engage the enemy. The sons of Bahlūl K. Miāna who were in the hostile vanguard engaged the imperial vanguard. Diler K. who was at the head of that force joined in the fight, and though he received sword-blows yet

1 J. II. 257, the Godhrah of Bayley's Gujarat.
2 The text and several MSS. have Dād or Dāozai.
3 See Pādshahnāma II. 692, and Khāfī K. I. 686, etc

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as he had armour and a cuirass,[1] he suffered no harm. After that, when the armies were sent for (by Shah Jahan at Dārā's instigation) he also appeared at court, and in the 31st year received the favour of drums. He went with Sulaimān Shikoh to oppose Prince Muḥammad Shujā' who had foolishly become disobedient to his father and had advanced from Bengal and had laid hands on many of the imperial properties. When the two forces came near one another in the vicinity of Benares, Shujā', who was always subject to sensual pleasures, and was exceedingly careless, and knew nothing about planning and reflection, was terrified and fled. Without attempting to fight he behaved in a childish manner and got on board a boat and fled towards Patna. Sulaimān Shikoh pursued him, and Diler K. in honour of this victory received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and had the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. Afterwards, when Sulaimān Shikoh at the summons of his grandfather and father proceeded to return from Patna, as rapidly as possible, he in the village of Karra received the news of the defeat of Dārā Shikoh and his flight towards Lahore. This disconcerted him, and Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh—who had been made his guardian and manager of the army—separated from him. Sulaimān Shikoh in his distress summoned Diler K. and asked his advice. He made his companionship conditional on proceeding to Shahjāhānpūr—which Bahādur (his elder brother) had settled, and was the native country of the Afghans—and engaged that there Afghans and other soldiers would be collected and that then anything that was advisable would be done. Sulaimān Shikoh agreed. When Rajah Jai Singh heard of this and perceived that Diler K. from rawness and inexperience had not distinguished between his loss and gain and had made a wrong throw, he, out of friendship and the love he had for him, gave him good advice and withheld him from a wrong intention which could only have the result of injuring his home and clan. He made him join him in the design of going to Aurangzeb. When next day Sulaimān Shikoh, in

[1] *Opcī.* Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me that this is a Mongolian word and apparently should be *obcīn.* It is given in P. de Courteille's Dict. as *opcīn.* The original meaning is the complete skin of an animal. The word is used by Bābur, e.g. Hydarabad MS. f. 113b.

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accordance with the arrangement, prepared to return to Allahabad, Diler K.[1] made an excuse and remained at the stage with Rajah Jai Singh. On this account the royal servants ceased to accompany Sulaimān Shikoh. Diler K., three or four days before the Mīrzā Rajah waited[2] upon Aurangzeb between Selīmpūr and Mathura, received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, so that his rank became 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Hence it appears that after the defeat of Shujā', when his rank was 3,000, he had received another 1,000.

In short, Diler K , together with Shaikh Mīr, was sent off from Multan to pursue Dārā Shikoh. In the battle of Ajmere[3] when Dārā Shikoh made a wall from side to side of the defile, and made a strong bulwark in front of him, and placed on it here and there guns and muskets, etc., the troops of Aurangzeb could not make an impression on the entrenchments until success showed itself from a hidden quarter. Dārā Shikoh sent some men to repulse the men of Rajah Rājrūp towards the Kokila[4] hill.

This body of men (Dārā's) boldly advanced beyond the entrenchment and engaged the enemy. Diler K. mounted his horse and on the right wing took the artillery and his troops and made an advance. After him Shaikh Mīr mounted his horse on the left wing and joined him. The two leaders together attacked the entrenchments of Shāh Newāz K., and there was a hot engagement. These two brave men entered the entrenchment and drew the sword of vengeance. Shaikh Mīr was killed and Diler K. made great efforts and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. Meanwhile other troops came up and Dārā Shikoh lost courage and fled. After that Diler K. was appointed to assist Muāzzam K. Mīr Jumla who made splendid efforts in driving out Shujā' from Bengal. In that contest—which was a testing-ground of bravery—Diler performed such feats as obliterated the memory of Rustum and Isfandyār.

When in Sh'abān (April 1659) of the 2nd year Mūazzam K.

1 Compare Manucci I. 284, and 'Ālūmgīrnāma, 170, etc.

2 'Ālamgīrnāma 130-31.

3 There is a full account of the three days' fighting near Ajmere in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, 318, etc.

4 Kokilapahārī, cuckoo hill? See Ā'lamgīrnāma, 320.

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brought his army to the bank of the river from Mahmūdābād with the intention of crossing the Mahanadī which is two *kos* from there, and it was found that there was a better crossing below at Bagla[1] Ghāt—the enemy, who had made batteries on the other side, proceeded to discharge cannon, etc. Diler K., in the first place, entered the river along with other leaders on elephants and they were fired upon by the enemy in that position. Some of the brave men were killed and many were wounded, and a number turned back. As there was deep water on each side of the ford, stakes had been put down on each side to mark the ford. At this time, owing to the crossing of the army, the water became troubled, and the sandy bottom shifted so that some were carried into the deep water. The stakes too did not remain in their place. On this account many of the infantry and cavalry were drowned. Fatḥ K., the son of Diler K., was one of these. When the Khān had crossed, he drove off the enemy and got possession of all their guns. After Shujā' was driven away, Diler was in M'uazzam K.'s vanguard in his conquest of Assam and did great deeds in chastising the worthless Assamese. In every place he was an associate of victory. When the royal forces crossed the Brahmaputra, which is one of the famous rivers of that country, they came to the fort of Shamlagarha.[2] That is a strong and sky-high fort. To besiege it was beyond the powers of the masters of lofty designs. Those who

[1] 'Ālamgīrnāma, 544, 549 and Khāfī K. II. 95. The Mahanadī of the text is the Mahānanda of the I.G. XVI. 433. It is a tributary of the Padma or Ganges. Baglaghāt is frequently mentioned in the 'Ālamgīrnāma which gives a most detailed account of Mīr Jumla's campaign against Shujā'. At p. 544 it states that Baglaghāt is five *kos* from Malda (i.e. old Malda). It was on the Mahānanda. Mahmūdabad is mentioned in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 547 and 548, and is stated there to be three *kos* from Baglaghāt. It therefore cannot be the Maḥmūdābad which was the head-quarters of the Maḥmūdābād Sarkār and was on the Madhūmatī and the eastern frontier of Jessore. R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 188. Looking at the original, viz. the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 548, it does not appear that the Mahananda was two *kos* from Maḥmūdābād, but that Baglaghāt was two *kos* below Maḥmūdābād.

[2] This is the fort called Bhīmgar in Khāfī K. II. 444. It is Simlagarh in the 'Ālamgīrnamā, p. 704. The description in text of the fort is taken either from the same work, p. 705, etc., or from the Tārīkh Ashām, i.e. Fatḥiyah 'Ibratīyah by Shihābu-d-dīn Ṭālish. Simlagarh is the proper name of the fort, A.S.B.J. for 1872, pp. 71, 72 of vol. 41. It was taken on February 26, 1662.

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inhabited it were safe from the stone-throwing of the calamities of fortune and the catapults of the heavens! On both sides of the fort there were broad and high walls. On the south side these extended for four *kos* and ended at a hill which raised its head to the sky. On the north side the wall extended for three *kos* as far as the raging river already mentioned (the Brahmaputra). Both walls were provided on the inside with bastions and battlements, and without there was a deep moat. Every place had been fortified with guns, *bādlīj*,[1] and muskets, etc. In that area were nearly 300,000 warlike Assamese ready to resist. As the beleaguering of the whole fort was impossible, Diler K., in accordance with the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, established a battery opposite the largest bastion, and fighting went on inside and outside. Every cannon-ball that reached the bastion and wall, on account of the strength of the fort, only made a little dust of it rise up, and no sign appeared of the wall's being broken or of the battlements falling. The country too was rugged[2] and terrible, for in former times great Indian armies which had set out to conquer this country had been overthrown and slain by the treachery of this tribe, and not one of them had escaped from the whirlpool. The Commander-in-chief nevertheless directed an attack against

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1 A kind of cannon. See Irvine A. of M. 129 and Bahār-i-'ajam s.v. where a stanza of Mullā Ṭughrā (Rieu 742a) is quoted. See also Ghiaṣu-l-loghāt s.v. and Pādshāhnāma I. 506 where it is said to be the synonym for a *gajnāl* or elephant-gun. It is there spelt *badālīca*. The Ghiāṣu-l-loghāt says it is a Turkish word. The word also occurs in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 705. According to Meninski the word is commonly written as patlanghaj پتلنغج and means a pop-gun or reed-trumpet. "Tubulus ex sambucino ligno, quo pueri strepitum cient." See also Barbier de Meynard's Turkish-French Dict., who says it comes from pātlamāq, "to explode." The statement about the nearly three lacs of Assamese comes from the same source, but the text wrongly has *asāmī* instead of *ashāmī*.

2 Text *qalb u khaṭirnāk*, "rugged and fearsome," but the original, in the 'Ālamgīrnāma 707, has *qalb khaṭirnāk* "terrifying to the heart." It also specifies the fact that Indian armies had been *twice* lost there. The treachery consisted in the night attacks of the Assamese. The account of the treacherous Assamese camp-followers is taken from the 'Ālamgīrnāma 708. Ḥusain Shah and Sulaimān Kararānī had previously attempted to conquer Assam and there was also an unsuccessful attempt by 'Ābdu-s-salīm in Shāh Jahan's reign. See also Mr. Gait's paper A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 280, and his history of Assam, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 41 and 88.

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one of the walls, and Diler K., with some valiant men, was appointed to the task.

By chance one of that tribe who had lived for a long time in the imperial territory and at this time was numbered among the units (*aḥad*) of the camp, in his craftiness became full of malice. He under the guise of loyalty represented that he knew the nature of the ground and its real condition. If they would accept his guidance, he would bring the royal troops to a place whence an attack could easily be made. At the same time he sent a message to the besieged that they should collect in a certain place, which was the most difficult of all. Diler K. proceeded at night according to the guidance of this rascal. At dawn he reached a place where was a moat full of water, and which was difficult and where there was a large collection of the enemy. At once the discharge of many thousand guns darkened the air, and there was a shower of powder-pots (*ḥuqqahā-bārūt*) from the battlements so that the earth trembled. Diler K., in his great courage, never thought of turning back, but drove his elephant into the water of the moat, and when his followers beheld such bravery on the part of their chief they also pressed on. A hot engagement took place, a great many of the armies of Islam were wounded, and a number lost their lives. Five bullets reached Diler, but on account of his armour he was not wounded. Many bullets were stopped in his elephant and his howdah.[1] The brave Khān and some others reached the foot of the fort and got to the top of the wall, and fought with the enemy. Afterwards his men got in by the gate and in other places and unfurled the flag of victory. The infidels were overcome and fled out. After the death of Mīr Jumla the Khān came to court. In the 17th year[2] he was sent off with Rajah Jai Singh to extirpate Sīvā Bhonsla who had established himself in the Deccan and was making a disturbance by brigandage. When the Rajah in the 8th year set himself to take the forts of Sīvā and went off from Poonah to take the forts of Pūrandhar and Rūrmāl (Rūdar-

[1] *Hauẓa.* The 'Ālamgīrnāma 711 has khauẓa, "wading," evidently a misprint.

[2] Khāfī K., II. 178. Elliot VII. 271.

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māl), Diler K., who was in the vanguard, passed through the defile of Sānwar[1] and was about to encamp near those places, when suddenly a hostile army made its appearance and there was a fight. The enemy could not stand the shock of the horses and fled to a hill on the top of which the two forts were. Diler K. fought on and came to the hill, and killed many and set fire to the town which was in the waist of the hill and was called Māchī,[2] and then proceeded to besiege the forts.

When the garrisons of the two forts discharged cannon and muskets, the Khān did not withdraw but bravely came near the fort of Pūrandhar and hastily erected a battery. When some time had passed in besieging the two forts, one bastion of the fort of Rūrmāl (Rūdarmāl) was thrown down[3] by the repeated blows of cannon-balls, and Diler K. urged on his men and got to the top of this bastion. The besieged asked for quarter, and Sīvā who perceived that the energy of the assailants would soon result in the taking of Pūrandhar, where many of his relatives and officers were shut up, made acquaintance with the Rajah and had an interview with him, and presented the forts as tribute. As Diler K. was still at the foot of the fort, the Rajah sent Sīvā to him, and he after the interview presented him with two[4] horses with gold trappings, and decorated accoutrements, and two sets of nine pieces (*tūqūz*) of silks. After this work had been completed Diler K. acted in the vanguard of the Rajah in devastating the territory of Bijapur and so punished the 'Ādil Shah. When he finished that work he and many other leaders were summoned[5] to court on account of the affair of Shah 'Abbās the 2nd who was meditating the despatch of an army to the borders of India. The Khān went off rapidly and had crossed the Narbada when by the decree of fate the ruler of Persia died, and the flames of disturbance were extinguished. Diler K., on receipt of an order, pro-

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1 Should be Sāsūr or Saswad. 'Ālamgīrnāma 889.

2 'Ālamgīrnāma 890.

3 'Ālamgīrnāma 892.

4 See 'Ālamgīrnāma 904. The text has 200 but the real number of horses was only two, *du sir* having been wrongly read as *du ṣad*. See also Khāfi K. II. 182. The two horses, or at least one of them, were Arabs. All the MSS. however seem to have 200.

5 Do. 974, 975.

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ceeded with a number of officers to Canda and Deogarha. Mānjī Mullār,[1] the landowner of Cānda, came before him in humble fashion and promised[2] a kror of rupees as a fine, in cash and goods, and presented to Diler K. as a thank-offering five lacs of rupees. He also agreed that he would pay every year two lacs of rupees as tribute and that he would dismantle the fort of Mānikdrug which was one of the strong forts on his borders.

When in the course of two months 77 lacs of rupees had been realized as tribute, and the arrival of eight lacs more in the course of two months more, and twenty lacs of arrears had been promised within three years, the zamindar, who was ill and infirm and whose estate was in a bad condition, was allowed to depart with Rām Singh, his younger son and representative. As Kaukab[3] Singh, the zamindar of Deogarh, who was debited with fifteen lacs of rupees for past years, also became submissive, three lacs of rupees were imposed upon him as fine and one lac was fixed as his annual tribute. At this time an order came to Diler K., stating that it was desired that the Bijapur territory should once more be devastated, and that he should repair to Aurangabad and place himself under the orders of Prince Muḥammad Mʿuazzaṃ so that whenever the signal was given he might be ready for the work. His deeds in the Deccan are on the lips of high and low. In the battle which Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh fought with the Bijapur troops on the other side of the Bhīmra, Diler K. was in the vanguard and did great deeds, and was applauded by friend and foe.

They say that there was such a market of contention on that battlefield that for some *kos* the trunks of elephants and the heads of men served for polo-sticks and balls!

Verse.[4]

From the trunks of elephants and the heads of warriors
The whole plain was strewn with sticks and balls.

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[1] Ālamgīrnāma 1025, last line.

[2] Do. 1025. The five lacs were perhaps a present to Diler in gratitude for his mediation.

[3] Kok Singh in ʿĀlamgīrnāma 1027, and in Maaṣir A. 60.

[4] These lines and two more are quoted in Khāfī K. II. 236. See ac-

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Afterwards when the day became disastrous for the royal troops they retired in good order, but the march which in advancing on the Bijapur troops had occupied four or five days on the back of elephants and horses, occupied three weeks in the retreat. As the fort of Sālher which belonged to Baglāna had fallen into the hands of the enemy Diler proceeded[1] to take it, but in spite of his efforts he did not succeed, and the bad climate of that district caused many deaths. He was obliged, by orders of H.M., to return without effecting his purpose. In the 18th year he presented himself at court, and in succession to ʿĀbid K., he was made governor of Multan. In the 19th year that province was given in fief to Muḥammad Aʾẓim Shāh. The Khān came to court and was sent off to the Deccan campaign. When in the 20th year the Khān-Khānān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, was censured, the charge[2] of the country was made over to Diler in order that he might carry on the duties till the arrival of the governor. In the 21st year a severe engagement took place with the Haidarabad troops. A servant[3] who was sitting behind on the elephant was killed by a rocket and the fire of the rocket fell into the Khān's collar and had to be extinguished by the water in a goat-skin. Many on both sides were killed on that day. In the 23rd year he by his excellent efforts took the fort of Mangalsirpa[4] (?) from the possession of Sīvā Bhonsla. In the 26th year[5] when Aurangzeb came to Aurangabad, Diler was appointed, along with others, to the Bijapur campaign, but remained at court till the arrival of Muḥammad Āʾẓim Shāh. At this time he fell very ill and in the beginning of the 27th year 1094, 1683, he died.[6]

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count of fight, Elliot VII. 293. Khāfī K. puts the battle into the 16th year 1083. Apparently the verse refers to the explosion, which according to Khāfī K. destroyed many of the royal magazines. The battle was really a great defeat for the Imperialists. Islām K., Rūmī, whom Fryer calls the Bassa of Mesopotamia, was killed, and according to Fryer his head and that of his son were stuck up on the walls of Bijapur.

1 Khāfī K., 248, 249.

2 Do., II. 247.

3 Maaṣir ʿĀlamgīrī 165. The engagement was with the Golconda troops.

4 Mangalbīda in Maaṣir A.

5 Do., 228.

6 Khāfī K. II. 279 and Maaṣir A. 237. Khāfī K. puts the occurrence into the 25th year, and the Maaṣir A. puts it into the end of the 27th year, 1094.

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Although it is commonly reported that Aurangzeb perceived in him some indications of presumption and arrogance, and ordered him to be poisoned, yet it appears on investigation that this statement is not true.

Some reliable[1] authorities say that his brother's son put an end to him by changing the pills (of opium) that he was accustomed to. But Aurangzeb had a higher opinion of Diler's courage, etc. than he had of the military qualities of any other person. They say that when he was with Shah 'Ālam in the Deccan, the latter wished him to join him and to raise the flag of rebellion. Diler K. refused. The dissatisfaction on both sides ended in displeasure and Diler K. went off rapidly to court. The prince hastened after him. When Diler had represented that the prince had vain thoughts, and that he had left him and come on a pilgrimage to H.M., just then the prince's representation arrived, to the effect that this turbulent Afghan wanted to rebel, and that he had gone after him to punish him. Aurangzeb was much troubled on receiving these two statements, and went several times to the privy (*matawazzā*). As Himmat K. had been brought up with Aurangzeb from early years and was very intimate with him (*dosh u kinār bādshāhi būd*) and used to speak very freely to him, he said to the king, "All this is not true, why is your Majesty so agitated?" The king got angry and said, "I'm not troubled about Shāh 'Ālam; the difficulty is lest they have colluded together. If there be an army with Diler K. at the head of it, I do not see any one who can oppose it but myself, so if ever I have to deal with him, the battle will be a double-headed[2] one"?

In short, the Khān was a man of great physical strength, and they tell wonderful stories of his strength and appetites. He had

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[1] Khāfī K. says, II. 280, that it was reported that 'Aẓam Shah came secretly at night to visit Diler, and that Bahādur Shah reported this to Aurangzeb, and that Diler thereupon took poison. The Maasir says, Diler never was defeated, but surely the battle with the Bijapurīs mentioned in the biography was a great defeat. He, however, was not in supreme command then. As recorded in text *supra*, Fatḥ K., who apparently is different from Fatḥ M'amūr, was drowned in the Assam campaign.

[2] *Dū sir dūrad*, a phrase meaning doubt, and treachery. Bahar 'Ajam.

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great sway[1] over his tribe and was always victorious. By the favour of time and the might of his star, from the beginning to the end of his life, he was at the top of fortune. He never received any buffet from fate, nor suffered any disgrace or contempt. His sons were Kamālu-d-dīn and Fatḥ M'amūr. The latter was killed in the battle of the batteries at Bijapur.

DĪNDĀR KHĀN OF BOKHARA.

His name was Saiyid Bahwa,[2] and he was connected with Murtaẓa K. of Bokhara. After Mahābat K. had become guilty of presumption and had fled from the Presence, Dīndār was appointed to the pursuing army, which halted at Ajmere. At this time Jahāngīr died, and Shah Jahan's retinue came to Ajmere. Dīndār had the bliss of doing homage, and in the first year had a *manṣab* of 2000 with 1200 horse and the title of Dīndār K. and the gift of a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a horse, and was made faujdār of the Mīyān Dūāb. In the 8th year, when the king returned from Lahore to the capital and Islām K. was sent to chastise the rebels of the Mīyān Dūāb, Dīndār was directed to accompany him. Afterwards, in the same year, he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīlā. After some time he died in 1045, 1635-36.

(RAI) DURGĀ[3] SĪSODIA.

He was a Candrāwat, and his native country was pargana Rāmpūr,[4] a dependency of Chitor. In the 26th year of Akbar's reign he was sent with Sultan Murād against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 28th year, when M. Khān was appointed to put down the Gujarat rebels, he went with him and did good service. In the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Khān

[1] Maasir A. 237.

[2] Text Bahūda, but this is a mistake as shown by Maasir III. 451, and by the Tūzuk J. 281 and 282. Dīndār was governor of Delhi in the 14th year of Jahāngīr.

[3] B. 417.

[4] J. II. 273 where it is called Islāmpūr, otherwise Rāmpur. It is on the Chambal and is also called Bhānpūra (city of the Sun). See Tod's Annals of Mewar. Rai Durgā is mentioned in Price's Jahangir, page 34, and in the Tūzuk J. 63.

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'Ā'ẓim Koka. In the 36th year, when Sultan Murād was appointed to the government of Malwa, he had an honoured place in his retinue. Afterwards, he went with the prince to the Deccan and did good service. In the 45th year Akbar sent him with a force to search for Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. Khwāja Waisī had arrested the Mīrzā and brought him to Sultānpūr. Rai Durgā came there and took him to court. In the same year he was appointed along with S. Abu-l-faẓl to Nāsik. At the same time he heard of a disturbance in his home and took leave and went off there. In the beginning of the 46th year he rejoined. After a month and a half he, without obtaining leave, went off home. Up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign he held the rank of 1500, and he died in 1016, 1608, in the second year of Jahāngīr's reign.

It is mentioned[1] in the Jahāngīrnāma, written by the king himself, that he was one of the confidential servants of Rānā Pratāp. He served Akbar for more than forty years and obtained the rank of 4000. He lived to the age of eighty-two. His son Canda had, in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, the rank of 700. Gradually he attained to high rank and had the title of Rāo. Rāo Daudā, his grandchild, was appointed, in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign, to accompany Āẓim K. in the affair of Khān Jahān Lodī, and in the same year he had an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so had the rank of 2000 with 1500 troopers and the gift of a flag. But when the brunt of battle fell upon the rearguard, he gave way. After that, he was appointed with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise 'Ādil K., and afterwards he was included in the contingent of Mahābat K. Khān-Khānān who had been appointed to the government of the Deccan. In the 6th year, during the siege of Daulatabad, when Mūrārī of Bijapur came to the assistance of the garrison, and there was fighting on every side, and several of his relatives were killed, he attempted, in spite of the general's prohibition, to bring away the dead bodies. The enemy saw their

[1] Tūzuk J. 63. But the statement there is that he had been a confidential servant of Rānā Udai Singh (Pratāp's father) and that he died in his ninth decade, i.e. between eighty and ninety. The 19th in Tūzuk must be a mistake for 9th.

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opportunity and surrounded him. As he could not escape, he dismounted and fell bravely along with some others. The king, in appreciation of his services, sent his son—who was at home—a robe of honour and conferred on him the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse and the title of Rāo. He took part for some years in the Deccan campaigns along with Khān Zamān Bahādur. When he died of illness and left no son, his place was taken by his father's uncle's son Rūp Singh, the son of Rūp Mukund, son of Rāo Cānda who had come to court in the 17th year in the hopes of favour. He received the rank of 900 *zāt* and horse and the title of Rāo, and the *pargana* of Rāmpūr which was called Islāmpūr and was in the sarkār of Chitor, was assigned to him in fief. In the 19th year he was sent off along with Sultan Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh campaign. In the battle which took place in the 20th year with Naẓr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, under the command of Bahadūr K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K., he was in the vanguard. After struggle and striving, when Naẓr Muḥammad K. was defeated and fled, Rūp Singh was raised to the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse.

Inasmuch as the prince was distressed by the coldness of the climate, and the large numbers of Uzbegs and warlike Almānān who fled in battle and then immediately returned and fought, he begged of his father that he might come to court, and that another servant might be appointed to that country. Some of the Rajpūts returned without orders from Balkh and Badakhshan and came to Peshawar, and among them was Rāo Rūp Singh. When this was reported to Shah Jahan, he was displeased and sent an order to the officials at Atak not to let them cross the river. Afterwards, when Sultan Aurangzeb was sent off to that quarter, Rūp Singh returned along with him and in battles with the Uzbegs fought in the van and distinguished himself. Afterwards he returned to India with the prince, who had been ordered to come back. In the 22nd year, he accompanied the prince to Qandahar, and according to the old practice he was placed in the van, and distinguished himself in the battle which Rustum K. and Qulīj K. fought with the Persians. His rank was raised to 2000 with 1200 horse. In the 24th year he died. As he had no

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son, Amr Singh and other grandchildren of Rāo Cānda came to court with Rāo Rūp Singh's contingent, and Amr Singh, who was a fitting representative, received from the king the rank of 1000 with 900 horse, the title of Rāo, and the gift of a saddle with silver mountings, while his brother received a suitable rank, and Rāmpūr—the ancestral home—was made his and his brother's fief. In the 25th year he received an increase of 100 horse and went off with Sultan Aurangzeb who had been appointed to Qandahar for the second time.

In the 26th year he was attached to Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to this same expedition. In the 27th year, at the request of this prince, his rank was made 1500 with 1000 horse. In the 28th year he was appointed to the Deccan. In the 31st year he was summoned to court and was appointed to Mālwa along with Maharaja Jaswant Singh, in order that he might obstruct the advance of the Deccan army. When Aurangzeb's army arrived and the forces were drawn up, Amr Singh was in the vanguard. At the time of fighting, his heart gave way and he fled to his native country. After that he acknowledged Aurangzeb and was appointed along with Prince Muḥammad Sultan to pursue Shujā'. Out of folly he did not stand firm, and on hearing contradictory news from court, turned back on the march without receiving leave from the prince. After that he was appointed to the Deccan and in company with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh was energetic in service. In the 11th year he was killed at the foot of Sālher fort, when the enemy fell upon the royal troops, and his son, Muḥakam Singh, was made prisoner. After some time he paid a ransom and was released. He came to Bahādur K. Koka, who in that year was governor of the Deccan, and received increase of rank and the title of Rāo. He served for a long time. In the 33rd year, Gopāl Singh, the son of Muḥakam Singh, came from his home of Rāmpūr and energetically entered upon his hereditary service. He had sent his son Ratan Singh to his home to make arrangements (about supplies), but the latter behaved with self-will and did not send money for his father's expenditure. Gopāl Singh complained to the king, but it was of no avail. In the 42nd year Ratan Singh by means of Mukhtār K., the governor of Mālwa,

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embraced Muhammadanism and received the title of Muslim K.[1] and was made ruler of his native country. Gopāl Singh separated from the prince Bīdār Bakht and took refuge in the Rānā's country. His fortune did not advance in his native country. In the 46th year Gopāl Singh Candrāwat came to court and was made governor of the fort of Kaulās.[2] In the 48th year he was removed and joined the Mahrattas. But Muslim K., in the beginning of the reign of Jahāndār Shah, together with Amānat K., Khwāja Muḥammad—who had been made governor of Mālwa and had arrived at Sārangpur—prevented him from entering on his property and opposed him in battle. As his companions were displeased with his acts and words they abandoned him, and he was killed by a bullet.

EKATĀZ[3] KHĀN 'ABDULLAH BEG.

S. Manṣūr Ḥājī of Balkh who was an able and experienced man, and one of the officers of Naẓr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. The Khān (Naẓr M.) sent him in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan's reign, 1050—1640) with some presents on an embassy to Shah Jahan. Manṣūr received from the latter a present of Rs. 50,000[4] and other gifts and obtained permission to return. His sons (Muḥsin and 'Abdullah) accompanied him, and received suitable gifts and returned home. When by the exertions of Prince Murād Bakhsh, Badakhshān and Balkh came into the king's possession, and Naẓr Muḥammad became a vagabond, the Ḥājī had charge of the government and port of Termiẓ. From soundness of judgment he sent his sons Muḥammad Muḥsin[5] and 'Abdullah Beg to wait upon the Prince, and expressed his devotion to the court. At the same time a comforting letter and a robe of honour arrived from the Prince, being conveyed by one

1 See Tod's Rajasthan, Annals of Mewar, Vol. I, C. XIV, pp. 421 and 424 of Calcutta reprint. See also id. note to p. 280.

2 The Kowlass of the maps. It is N.N.W. Haiderabad.

3 Or Yakatāz. One who fights singly, a monomachus.

4 It is 25,000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 153. Shah Jahan received the embassy in Kabul. The sons also got Rs. 5,000.

5 Manṣūr in text, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 545.

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of the confidential servants, and S'aādat K., the grandson of Zain K. Kokaltāsh, was sent to take charge of Termiz. Manṣūr made[1] over the fort to the Khān (S'aādat) and joined the Prince. By proxy[2] the rank of 2,000, 1,000 horse was conferred on him and he was made Ṣadr of Balkh. His sons too received suitable rank. At the same time his eldest son Muḥammad Muḥsin paid his respects. (Afterwards) in the 21st year he received the rank of 1,000, 400 horse, and the title of Khān and was appointed to Bengal. There he died in the 23rd year from long-continued drinking. 'Abdullah Beg came from Balkh in the 21st year and received a robe of honour and a present of Rs. 5,000. In the 24th year his rank was raised to 1,500 with 500 horse. In the 27th year he was made Mīr Tūzuk and had the title of Mukhliṣ K. and had the rank of 2,000, 800 horse. In the end of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed to Mālwa along with Maharajah Jeswant. As the Rajah had been told by Dārā Shikoh not to permit the governors (Aurangzeb and Murād) of the Deccan and of Gujarat to advance, if they were marching to court, the Rajah blocked the way seven *kos* from Ujjain, when Aurangzeb had crossed the Nerbada and was advancing to the capital. A great battle took place. Mukhliṣ K., with a number of Tūrānī soldiers, was in the vanguard. When the Rajput leaders were slain, the Rajah accepted the disgrace of flight and retired with his wounded men, and many of the imperial officers saved their lives by flight. Mukhhliṣ with another body of men separated himself from the others, and by the guidance of good fortune joined Aurangzeb.

As before this, and at the time of starting the victorious standards, the title of Mukhliṣ K. had been conferred on Qāẓī Niẓāmāī Kararūdī[3](?), 'Abdullah received the title of Ekatāz K. and the rank of 3,000, 1,500 horse, and a present of Rs 20,000. After the battle of Kahjwāha—when Shujā' was defeated, and

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[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 545.

[2] *Ghaibāna*. Meaning that the recipient was not present when the increase was conferred. Pādshāhnāma II. 555. At this time Muḥsin received the rank of 500 with 200 horse.

[3] Karirūdī in Pādshāhnāma II. 540. Is Karārūd the Karā Sū or Black river of Armenia which is one of the sources of the Euphrates? If so, it should be spelt Qarā.

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went off to Bengal—Ekatāz accompanied Prince Sultan Muḥammad in pursuit of him. When Prince Sultan K. in a shortsighted manner joined Shujā', M'uazzam K., who was the commander of the expedition, after the end of the rains, encamped at Belghatta,[1] 24 *kos* from Akbarnagar (Rajmaḥal) behind a deep stream, and built two bridges at a distance from one another of half a *kos*. On the further side of the bridges he erected batteries and provided them with cannon. Shujā'[2] in the month of Rabīu-l-ākhir of the 2nd year, December 1658, came to oppose, and there was a hot engagement of cannon and muskets. When he saw that the bridge opposite M'uazzam K.'s camp was plentifully supplied with artillery he set off with Sultan Muḥammad in the van to the other bridge.[3] Ekatāz K. and his companions with the intention of repulsing him came to the battery[4] on this side of the river. M'uazzam K., on hearing this, sent Ẕulfiqār K. with a body of Aghuzān[5] and Rūzbahānīs to their assistance. On the side of Shujā', Maqṣūd Beg called Qidrāndāz (fateful marksman) and Sarmast Afghan were killed, and on the other side Ekatāz K.[6] and his younger brother were killed. A number more were slain and many were wounded.

1 'Ālamgīrnāma 519, etc.

2 Do. 520, top line, "beginning of month."

3 It was higher up the tributary of the Ganges (Bhagirathī) and on Mūazzam K.'s right, 'Ālamgīrnāma 520.

4 *Id.* where the word is *bamūrcāl*, "to the battery" and not merely *mūrcāl* as in text.

5 Text اعزان 'A'zān, but a variant gives اغران and this agrees with the Ālamgīrnāma 521, top line. I believe the proper spelling is Aghuzān or Oghuzān after the eponymous Turanian hero and ancestor Oghuz The Rūzbahānīs are presumably followers of the saint Rūzbahān the elder, of Egypt, Khazīna Aṣfīyā II. 12, and who died in 584 A.H., 1188. There is another saint of the name, known as Rūzbahān the younger, or Rūzbahān Shīrāzī, who died in 606 A.H., 1209-10. See Khazīna Aṣfiya, II. 253, but if the Aghuzān were Turanians, it is not likely that Persians would be sent with them, especially as Ekatāz was a Turanian. See Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 197, note 1, and the Safīna Auliyā 176 and Ethe I.O. Cat., p. 307. The Shirāzī Rūzbahānī is described in Nafḥatatū-l-Uns, Newāl Kishore lith., p. 162.

6 According to the 'Ālamgīrnāma 821, *two* full brothers of Ekatāz were killed along with him. The Maasir 'Ālamgīrī mentions two other Ekatāzes, father and son, several times. The elder of these two went on a mission to Bokhara and Balkh and returned after four years, p. 149. He died in 1091, 1680, pp. 194—95.

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FAIẒ ULLAH KẖĀN.

S. Zāhid K. Koka. At his father's death he was ten years old. Shah Jahan out of regard to his position and from appreciation gave him the rank of 1000 with 400 horse. Though ostensibly he was entrusted to his paternal grandmother Ḥūrī Kẖānim,[1] yet in reality it was the Nawab Begam Ṣāḥib who looked after him. In the 24th year he had the title of Kẖān, and he gradually had increase of rank and held the office of 2000 with 1000 horse. In the 28th year he married a daughter of the Amīru-l-Umarā ('Alī Mardān K.). The king in his kindness ordered the Jumla-ul-Mulk S'aad Ullah K. to bind on his head a chaplet of pearls. In the 31st year he became Master of the Horse in succession to Sirbuland K. After the defeat of Dārā Shikoh he joined Aurangzeb and had an increase of 1000 with 500 horse. At the same time, in succession to Nawāzish K., he was made Qarāwal Beg (Chief Huntsman), and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse. In the 7th year his rank was 4000 with 2000 horse, and in the 9th year he resigned and went into retirement. Afterwards, he again desired to enter service and was made Qūshbegī (Chief Falconer). In the 13th year he was made faujdār of Sambal Moradabad, and for a long time served in that capacity. He came to court every year, and received much favour and then went to his fief after taking the permission of the king. Aurangzeb was especially fond of him, apart from the fact that he was a *kẖānazād* (belonging to the household). He, too, was much attached to Aurangzeb and waited upon the Begam Ṣāḥib. At last he got elephantiasis, and was carried about by an elephant. Whenever he came to court, he was unable[2] to enter the Darbār. He paid his respects from the equipage. In the 24th year, 1092, 1681, he died at Moradabad. He[3] was a good and independent man, and did not concern himself about worldly affairs, nor did he

[1] The Ḥūrī Jān of Pādshāhnāma, II. 434. She was the nurse of Jahānārā Begam, *alias* Begam Ṣāḥib.

[2] Probably because there was a prohibition of Jahāngīr's against diseased persons being admitted to the Presence.

[3] Taken from Maaṣir A. 210. Faiẓ Ullah was ten when his father died in 1055, or 1645, so that he was about 46 when he died.

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pay court to anybody. He only kept company with birds and strange beasts and reptiles, of which specimens were brought to him from countries and ports. They say there were few animals, wild or tame, known or unknown, which were not in his collection. Even fleas, mosquitoes, moths, and lice were kept by him in wooden and copper vessels and cherished by him. In spite of these peculiarities, he was esteemed by persons of merit. None of his sons was distinguished.

FAIẒĪ FIYĀẒĪ (SHAIKH ABU-L-FAIẒ).

Elder son of S. Mubārik of Nāgor who was distinguished among the erudite of the time for austerity and piety. One of his ancestors came out of Yemen (Arabia) from among the recluses and courageously traversed the world. In the 9th century A.H. (1495–1592) he settled in the town of Rel[1] in Sewistān (Sindh). In the beginning of the 10th century Mubārik's father came to Hindustan and settled in the city of Nāgor. As he had no living child, when the Shaikh came into being in 911, 1505-6, he called him Mubārik. When Mubārik came to years of discretion, he proceeded to Gujarat and became a disciple of the preacher Abu-l-faẓl of Kāzarūn and of Maulānā' Imād of Lār, and acquired much knowledge from the learned men and the great Shāikhs of that country. In 950, 1543-44, he came to Agra and lived there for fifty years, and devoted himself to learning and spent his days in poverty and contentment. He was distinguished for his reliance upon God. In the beginning of his career he was so zealous[2] against forbidden things that he would not pass by a street where music was going on. But at last he became so fond of it that he himself practised music and ecstatics. Many contradictory dispositions have been ascribed to him. In the time of Selīm Shāh he associated himself with Shaikh 'Ālāī the Mahdavī, and was charged with Mahdī-ism. What censures did he not receive from the learned! In the beginning of Akbar's reign—when the Caghatai officers were most in-

[1] See B.'s biography of A.F. The text has *īl* ایل. It was S. Mūsā who came there. Mubārik's father was S. Khiẓr. See J. III. 418. Apparently the family removed to Agra on account of Sher Shāh's warfare with Māldeo. J. III. 421 note.

[2] B. XIX. and 490.

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fluential—he showed himself as connected with the Naqshbandīs. Afterwards he joined the Hamadānī Shaikhs. When afterwards the Persians thronged the court, he adopted their views. Accordingly he was reported to be a Sh'iā. He wrote a commentary (on the Koran) called the Manba'u Nafāīs-ul-'Uyūn (the source of the fountains of excellence), and resembling the Tafsīr Kabīr [1] (the Great Commentary), in four volumes. He also wrote the Jawāmi'-ul-Kilam (the collection of significations). The document about Akbar's *Ijtihād*—which was attested by the learned of the time—was drafted by him, and he wrote below it: "This is a matter of which I had been in hopes for several years." They say that at last he by the exertions of his children obtained a *manṣab* (office), though Abu-l-faẓl has written that in the end of his life he suffered from weakness of sight. He died [2] in Lahore in 1001, 1593. The chronogram was Shaikh Kāmil! "The perfect Shaikh" (1001).

S. Faiẓī was born in 954, 1547. By his acuteness of intellect he acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences. He was especially skilled in philosophy (*ḥikmat*) and Arabic, and he had mastered medicine and treated the sick gratuitously. At first he was hampered by straitened circumstances. One day he went with his father to S. 'Abdu-n-nabī Akbar's Ṣadr, and represented their condition and asked for a hundred *bīghas* of land, for their support. The Shaikh on account of his bigotry found fault with him and his father for being Shī'as and contemptuously turned them out of the assembly. Upon this Faiẓī had the courage to seek to introduce himself to the reigning sovereign. Several times those who had the right of audience had mentioned to the king his learning and eloquence. In the 12th year, when Akbar proceeded to take Chitor, he signified [3] a desire for the production of the Shaikh. As his contemporaries, especially the teachers, had

[1] The Tafsīru-l-Kabīr is stated in Hughes's Dict. of Islām, p. 522b, to be an authority among the Shī'ahs, and to have been composed in thirty volumes by Saiyid Muhammadu-r-Rāzī in 606 A.H. He also says it is of authority among the Sunnīs. D'Herbelot says the most esteemed commentary is that by Thālebī.

[2] He died in the end of 1001, and on August 5, 1593. He was 88 years old, having been born in 1505. I do not find that Mubārik ever held any office. Nor do I find A.F.'s making any allusion to his loss of sight. It is Badayūnī who mentions the fact. Blochmann XIX.

[3] A.N. II. 304.

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an ill will against his family, they represented that this call of favour was one of censure, and impressed on the governor of Agra that perchance his father would hide him. He sent some Moghuls to suddenly surround the house. It chanced that Faiẓī was at that time not at home. In consequence there was alarm. When he came, he accepted the summons and set about leaving. As the gates of income were closed, there was a difficulty, but at last the pupils made matters easy. After an interview, he was made the recipient of favours and was exalted by intimacy and companionship. Vengeance was taken upon 'Abdu-n-nabī who was deprived of his office and rank and exiled to the Ḥijāz. At last he was ruined in property and life.

As the Shaikh was an excellent poet, he in the 30th year received the title of Maliku-sh-sh'uarā, and in the 33rd year he wished to make the arena of the Quintet (Niẓāmī's) the field of his abilities. In competition with the Makhzan Asrār he wrote the Markiz Adwār (Centre of Circles) in 3,000 couplets, and, in competition with Khusrau and Shīrīn, Sulaimān and Bilqīs, and in the place of the Laila and Majnūn, the Nal Daman, which is one of the old Indian stories. Each of these consisted of 4,000 couplets. In the metre of the Haft Paikār he wrote the Haft Kishwar, and in the metre of the Sikandarnāma the Akbarnāma. Each had 5,000 couplets. In a short time he commenced five poems but could not bring himself to finish them. He would say it was time to erase life's record, not to beautify the lofty portico of fame.

In the 39th year Akbar urged him to complete his poems, and an order was given that he should finish the Nal Daman. In the same year he finished it and presented it. But as for a long time he was fond of solitude and had taken the road of silence, in spite of the king's efforts he did not finish the Quintet. In the beginning of his illness—asthma—he had said :

Verse.

See what cruel sorcery Heaven hath wrought !
The bird of my heart twittered [1] from its cage,

[1] *Shabāhangī kard*, "Behaved like a nightingale"? Perhaps we should render "sounded the dawn."

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That bosom which could contain an universe
Is straitened to emit half a breath.

And in the time of illness he often said this:

Verse.

Should the whole world come into one's grasp
'Twere not good that an ant's leg should grow lame.

On 10th Ṣafr 1004, 5th October 1595, and the 40th year of the reign, he died Fayāẓ 'Ajam (wondrous bounty) is the chronogram. For years he used the pen-name of Faiẓī. Afterwards he called himself Fayyāẓī. He himself said:

Verse.[1]

Before this, when I coined words
Faiẓī was written on my signet,
Now that I am an expert in Love
I'm Fayyāẓī from the ocean of Bounty (Fayyāẓ).

The Shaikh composed[2] 101 books. One strong witness to his talents is the commentary called the Sawāṭṭā-ul-Ilhām, "Rays of Inspiration," which is without dotted letters. Mīr Ḥaidar, the riddle-maker, found the date of completion (1002) in the contents of the Sūrah Ikhlāṣ,[3] and received Rs. 10,000 as a reward for this (chronogram). Faiẓī also wrote the Mawāridu-l-kilam, "Stages of Words," without using any dotted letters. The learned

[1] B. 549 and Badayūnī III. 307, who gives the lines as part of a palinode which Faiẓī composed in praise of the Prophet in 1003. Abu-l-Faẓl states they occur in the Nal Daman, and this is correct. See the conclusion to that poem.

[2] This statement is apparently taken from the Mirātu-l-'Ālam, but if the latter's authority was Badayūnī, it seems to me that Badayūnī's words are capable of another interpretation. See Badayūnī III. 306 and editor's note. See also Darbār Akbarī, pp. 368 and 377 (top line). Apparently what Badayūnī says is that in Faiẓi's library there were 101 copies of the Nal Daman. Abu-l-Faẓl has an account of his brother's works in the third volume of his letters, and what he says is that his brother had written 40,000 lines (*bait*) in prose and verse.

[3] The Sūrah Ikhlāṣ is a famous chapter of the Koran and is No. 112. It begins, "Say God is one God." There are only three verses and the *abjad* value of the words in them is 1002, 1593-94. The Darbār Akbari remarks, p. 376, that the bismillah has to be omitted. But then this is not part of the three verses.

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men of the age objected that up to the present day no one of the eminent writers had—however great was their devotion (*walū'* "Love or Devotion")—written a commentary (on the Koran) without dotted letters. The *Shaikh* said that when the holy creed (*Kalima-i-ṭayiba*[1])—which was the foundation of the Faith—was without dots, what other proof did they want?

They say that among the property left by the Shaikh were 4,300[2] choice books. They were confiscated by the government. The Shaikh by his learning and excellencies became prominent at court. He was appointed to teach the king's sons. He was also sent on an embassy to the rulers of the Deccan. He never had more than a 400 manṣab. S. Abu-l-faẓl, though he was the younger brother, rose to become an Amīr. While Faiẓī was alive, Abu-l-faẓl attained the rank of 2,500. In the end he arrived at the highest rank. Many adduce the following verse as evidence that Faiẓī led Akbar to become a non-worshipper:—

Verse.

Observe how appropriate gifts are distributed by Fate to each—
The mirror to Alexander, the sun[3] to Akbar;
The former showed his own face in the mirror,
The latter displays God (Ḥaqq) in the sun.

Though there is no doubt that the great luminary and glory of the world is one of the greatest marks of God's power, and that the arrangement of the evil world depends on it, yet the mode of glorification—which is not the way of the followers of Islām—and the words of Abul-l-faẓl imply such a view (as is alleged against him).

His brilliant verses and odes are universally known. He wrote a couplet about wine.

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1 The creed *Lā Ilaha* etc.

2 4,600 according to Badayūnī III. 305.

3 By manipulating the letters in a certain way, Faizī showed by *abjad* that the letters of *Aftāb*, the sun, and *Akbar* yielded the same number, viz. 223. See A.N. translation I. 65.

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Verse.[1]

Why, O sword of Love, cut the *hands*: if you'r just.
Better cut the *tongues* of the reprovers of Zulaikha.

FĀKHIR KHĀN.

S. Bāqir K. Najm Ṣānī. In the third year of Shah Jahan, at the time the latter was in the Deccan, he presented a decorated *pardala*[2] (a belt ?) and some jewels as the tribute of his father who was governor of Orissa. He received a suitable rank. After his father's death he got an increase and had the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. For some time he was, on account of a fault, without an office or fief. In the 21st year he was confirmed in his old rank, and got the title of Khān and the office of Mīr Tūzuk in succession to Nawāzish K. On account of some improper acts he was for a time excluded from doing homage. In the 27th year, at the request of Dārā Shhikoh, he was restored to his rank. In the 29th year he received an increase of 500. In the battle of Samogara he commanded[3] Dārā Shikoh's left wing, and afterwards fled to Lahore. When the standards of Aurangzeb adorned Agra he paid his respects. He was deprived of his *mansab* but lived[4] in the capital on a pension. He was alive up to

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1 Compare the verse in B. 558, text I. 240, top of page and the note. There is an elaborate notice of Faiẓī in the Darbār Akbari, p. 359, etc. Apparently the verse was intended as an answer to Faiẓī's critics. Abu-l-Faẓl's preface to Faiẓī's works is in vol. III. of his letters. There is a biography of Faiẓī in Blochmann's Ain translation, p. 490. See also A.S.B.J. for 1869, p. 137 note.

On referring to the passage again I am not sure that what the author of the Maaṣīr says is that Faiẓī wrote a poem about wine (*bar mai*), and think the allusion may be to the verses translated by B. at p. 559. These are in praise of spiritual or mental wine, and perhaps the couplet about Zulaikha is quoted by the author to indicate that Faiẓī is not speaking of material wine, and therefore should not be censured. But the passage is, to me, obscure.

2 Pādshāhnāma I. 315. *Parda la* does not occur in our dictionaries. From Kāmgār Ḥusaini's Maaṣir Jahāngīrī B.M. MS. Or. 171, p. 163a, Rieu's Cat., 257a, it is clear "that *pardala* is something connected with a sword, for there we have the expression pardala-i-shamsher. See also id., pp. 98 and 108a. I believe that pardala is a belt and variant of the Hindustani word partal, a belt or strap. In Khāfī K. I. 337, the sword is spelt partala, the expression being *partala-i-almās*, "a diamond belt." It was a present from Shah Jahan to his father.

3 'Ālamgīrnama 96.

4 id. 236.

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the 23rd year of the reign and then died. His son, Iftikhār by name, held up to the 30th year of Shah Jahan the rank of 700 with 120 horse. When Aurangzeb succeeded, he in the 5th year got the title of Mafākhir K. In the 9th year his rank was 1,000 with 450 horse. He was the son-in-law of Asad K.

FARḤAT KHĀN.[1]

His name was Mihtar Sakāī and he was one of the special attendants of Humāyūn. When in the battle with M. Kāmrān, the treacherous officers joined with the latter, Beg Bābāī of Kulāb came from behind and struck Humāyūn with a sword. He stumbled, and Farhat K. came up and put him to flight. When Humāyūn marched from Lahore to Sirhind to encounter Sikandar Sūr, Farhat was made Shiqdār of Lahore. When Shah Abu-l-M'aālī was appointed to the province, he, without any orders, removed Farḥat, and appointed his own men. Afterwards when Prince Akbar was sent there, Farhat joined him and was received with favour. During the reign of Akbar he was made fiefholder of the township of Kūrā.[2] When H. M. was returning from the eastern districts, he halted at Farhat's house and was entertained at a banquet. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. near Aḥmadabad he did good service. When M. Muhammad was made prisoner and asked for water, Farhat became indignant and struck him on the head with his hands, saying "According to what law should a rebel like you get water?" The king blamed him and gave the Mīrzā drink out of his own flask. In the 19th year he was sent to take Rohtās. This is a strong fort and has cultivation and springs on the top of the hill sufficient to supply the garrison. When some days had elapsed an order was issued to Moẓaffar K., who at that time had been appointed subordinate to Farhat in order that his pride might be broken, to chastise the Afghans who were making a disturbance in Bihar, and he (Moẓaffar) was made an object of favour. Farhat commanded the left wing in

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1 B. 441.

2 This is Corah of the old Regulations. See J. 167 where it is spelt Korarah. It is in the Allahabad district, and is the Karā of the I. G. XIV. 416.

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Mozaffar's battles with the Afghans. When[1] Gajpatī Rajah made a disturbance in Arrah, which was Farhat's fief, Farhat did not judge it proper to encounter him and took refuge in the fort (of Arrah). When his son Farhang K. heard of his being besieged, he went off to help him. Active swordsmen hamstrung his horse. He dismounted and fell, fighting bravely. Farhat's fatherly affection was moved on hearing of this; he came out of the fort and was killed like a loyalist. This occurred in the 21st year, 984, 1576-77.

(IḤTIŠHĀM K. IKHLĀṢ K. ŠHAIKH) FARĪD FATḤPŪRĪ.

Second s. of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān Shaikh Khūbān.[2] By the end of Jahangir's reign he had attained the rank of 1,400 with 400 horse. In the first year of Shah Jahan he had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, in the 4th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 5th year he had the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 8th year he had the rank of 2,500 with 500 horse and was attached to Aurangzeb's army which was appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 9th year at the time that the king was in the Deccan, he was sent off with Shaista K. to take the forts of Junair and Sangamnīr. After the taking of Sangamnīr he remained there as *thānadār*. In the 11th year he went off with Aṣālat K. to subdue the rebels of pargana Candwār.[3] In the 15th year he distinguished himself at the taking of Mau and afterwards went with Prince Dārā Shikoh to Kabul. At the time of leaving he was presented with a flag. In the 18th year he was appointed to the charge of the province of the capital and had the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 19th[4] year he went with Prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. When the Prince returned from there, and Bahādur K. Rohilla had set out

[1] A. N. III. 169. The biography does not notice that Farhat was one of the two men who threw Adham K. over the terrace. A. N. II. 175.

[2] Jahangir's foster brother killed by Nūr Jahan's first husband. (Beale). Maasir III. 66.

[3] Pādshāhnāma II. 21, and Khāfī K. I. 552, have Jadwār and it is so also in the Ain J. II. 290. It is in Sarkār Sambhal.

[4] Khāfī K. I. 619.

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from Balkh to punish the Almānān, Iḥtishām was left in charge of the city.

In the 22nd[1] year when it was reported that he on account of excessive jealousy had delayed to join Rajah Bethal Dās who had been appointed to Kabul, he was deprived of his rank and jagir and placed among the pensioners (*lashkar-i-d'uā*). In the 31st year he received favours and obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was appointed to serve under Prince Sulaimān Shikoh who had been ordered to encounter Muḥammad Shujā.' He was appointed to the governorship of Patna and received the title of Ikhlāṣ K. In the first year of Aurangzeb he was appointed among the auxiliaries of Khān Daurān who had been appointed to take Allahabad. As the title of Ikhlāṣ K. had been bestowed on Aḥmad Khweshgī, he got the title of Iḥtishām K. After the battle with and flight of Shujā', Iḥtishām was with (Prince) Muḥammad Sultan and displayed bravery in the Bengal campaign. In the end of the 6th year he came to the presence, and did homage. In the 7th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh. After the taking of Poonah he took up his abode there as thānadār. In the 8th year corresponding to 1075, 1664-65, he died. Shaikh Niẓām his son, after the first battle with Dārā Shikoh, was raised by Aurangzeb to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

(SHAIKH) FARĪD MURTAẒA KHĀN BOKHĀRĪ.

It is said in the Iqbālnāma[2] that the Shaikh was a Musavī Saiyid. This is somewhat strange, for the Bokhara Saiyids are descended from Jalāl Bokhārī (Makhdūm Jahānīān)—may his grave be holy; and he was seventh in descent from Imām Hamān 'Alī Naqī Alhādī—may Peace be upon him. They say[3] that his fourth ancestor Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ghaffār of Delhi left his descendants the injunction to give up subsistence lands (*madad m'aāsh*) and to adopt the military profession. In fact, the Shaikh early entered Akbar's service, and by his excellent loyalty and service became a

[1] In Khāfī K. I. 683-84, there is an allusion to his punishment. He was made a day-pensioner (rozīnadār).

[2] Kāmgār Ḥusainī also says so.

[3] Price's Jahangir, p. 23.

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favourite and grew intimate and trusted. His ability, address and courage made him famous. In the 28th year, when the Khān 'Āẓam returned from Bengal on account of the uncongenial climate and came to Bihar, and the military dispositions were made by Wazīr K., Qutlū Lohānī had prevailed over Orissa and was practising insubordination and oppression; and had added to his possessions some Bengal estates. It was arranged that Shaikh Farīd should interview him in a certain place, and settle conditions of peace. The deceiver did not appear at the appointed interview. The Shaikh,[1] from his good intentions and simplicity, listended to some glozing tongues and proceeded towards his quarters. Qutlū came forward with fawning and meditated that as soon as the men had gone to their repose he would seize the Shaikh and conceal him and make use of him as a hostage for his own designs. The Shaikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night sought to return.

There were no horses left in the *jilaukhāna* (stables) and the road had been blocked in some places. A hot fight ensued, and the Shaikh got upon his own elephant. By a wonderful fate the elephant became unruly and went off on the wrong road. The Shaikh came to a stream and was seeking for a ford, when suddenly a number of men arrived and shot arrows and wounded him. The Shaikh flung himself down and went off, while they thought he was still in the howda. Meanwhile a servant came and put him on his horse and brought him to the camp.[2] The proposed peace failed and Qutlū had the disgrace of fraud, and in successive fights had to traverse the desert of unsuccess.

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[1] A.N. III. 406.

[2] The story is told here as in A.N. 406, but Niẓāmu-dīn, Elliot V. 429, and Badayūnī, Lowe 333, tell it differently. According to them Qutlū did not behave badly. It was Bahādur who did so. See also Stewart's Bengal 177. The story is also told in Nūru-l Ḥaq's Zabdu-t-tawārīkh which is specially devoted to the glorification of S. Farid. But the account there, p. 215b and 216a of B.M. MS. Add. 10, 580, makes no mention of Bahādur. It says that Farīd took 300 horse with him, that many of the horses were removed and that 5,000 or 6,000 Afghans lay in ambush. Saiyids Shāhū and Abdullah Laṭīf were killed. The affair took place in the Burdwan district. Qutlū was defeated afterwards and went off to Jhārkand.

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In the 30th year the Shaikh attained the rank of 700, and by the 40th year he had arrived at the rank of 1,500. He became Mīr Bakhshī. Having become a bakhshī he acted like a Vizier and for some years he on account of the incompetence of the diwan drew to himself the charge of the *diwān-i-tan* which is part of the diwan's office, and distributed jagirs to those who sought for assignments (tankhwāh). After[1] the death of Akbar, two good services were performed by the Shaikh which raised him above his peers, or rather above all the officers and pillars of the empire.

The first was that when Jahangir at the time he was Prince behaved independently in Allahabad and conferred titles and *manṣabs* and distributed fiefs, Akbar increased the dignity of Jahangir's son Khusrau so that men thought he was the heir-apparent. After the Prince (Jahangir) came to the Presence, he was not devoid of turbulence (*shorish dimāgh*). The Emperor delayed and dissembled. As the Prince's (Selīm's) men had gone off to Gujarat—which had recently been[2] assigned to him as his fief (*tiyūl*)—the Emperor intimated to him in his illness that he should confine himself to his house, outside of the fort, lest the party of the opposition should make a disturbance. Mīrzā Azīz Koka and Rajah Mān Singh were, on account of their relationship with Sultan Khusrau, plotting to make him ruler, and placed the gates of the fort in charge of their own men. The Khiẓrī gate they made over to Shaikh Farīd in co-partnership with their own men. Farīd—who had the control of the army—was annoyed and came out of the fort and saluted the Prince, and congratulated him as Emperor. The Amīrs heard of this and crowded in from every side. Akbar was still breathing when Rajah Mān Singh was won over by being confirmed in the government of Bengal. Jahangir

[1] The Maasir does not refer to Farīd's victories in Kashmīr, for which see the Akbarnāma and Zubdu-t-tawārīkh, MS. 235, etc.

[2] It is stated in A.S.B.J. Numismatic Supplement for 1904, p. 68, that Selīm never was governor of Gujarat. Perhaps this is technically correct, but the passage in text shows that he had connections with the province. The Mirāt Aḥmadī, lith. ed., p. 193, also states that Selīm received in the last year of Akbar a grant of a lac of rupees out of the collections of the port of Cambay. He may therefore have had sufficient influence in Gujarat to issue Selīmī coins at Aḥmadabad in the last year of his father's reign.

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came into the fort and ascended the throne and the Shaikh received the title of Ṣāḥibu-s-saif-u-al qalm (master of sword and pen) and received the rank of 5,000 and the high office of Mir Bakshi.

The second was when flatterers and foolish talkers put thoughts of empire into Sultan Khusrau's head. In the first year of his father's reign, 1014, 1606, he on 8 Zī-l-ḥajia, 6th April, fled by night and went plundering from Agra to Lahore. The Shaikh pursued him with a number of officers, and Jahangir himself followed close at his heels. The Amiru-l-Umarā Sharīf K. and Mahābat K —who had enmity with the Shaikh—represented that the Shaikh was intentionally delaying. He did not intend to seize Khusrau. Accordingly Mahābat K. came from the king, and spoke idle words. The Shaikh did not move from his place and gave an answer corresponding to his loyalty. Sultan Khusrau heard of the arrival of the Shaikh at the Sultanpur river and withdrew from the siege of Lahore. With 12,000 troopers whom in these few days he had gathered together he turned to encounter[1] Farīd. The Shaikh with an inferior force went to meet him and crossed the Beas and engaged. A severe battle took place. The Saiyids of Bārha and Bokhara distinguished themselves and devoted their lives. Sultan Khusrau after many had been killed fled to the desert and the Shaikh went on a plain beyond the battlefield and encamped.

On the same day two or three hours after night Jahangir came up on the wings of swiftness and embraced the Shaikh. He passed the night in his tent, and he, at the request of the Shaikh, made that spot, which belonged to pargana Bhaironwāl, a pargana, and gave it the name of Fatḥābād and presented it to the Shaikh. He also gave the Shaikh the title of Murtaẓa K. and gave him the government of Gujarat. In the 2nd year the Shaikh sent from Gujarat a ruby of Badakhshān—of which the stone and the ring and the setting were all out from one piece of ruby and which weighed one misqāl,[2] (15 *surkhs*) and was of very fine water and

[1] Gladwin calls the battlefield Gowind wal.

[2] See Tūzuk J., p. 63. A misqāl is said to be one-sixth of an ounce. A *surkh* is the same as a *ratī*, viz. the seed of the Abrus precatorius. For the complaints of the Gujarat people against Farīd, see Tūzuk J., 73.

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colour—as a present. It was valued at Rs. 25,000. As the people of Gujarat were tormented by his brother's ways and manners, they complained, and he was summoned to the presence and in the 5th year was made governor of the Panjab. In the year 1021, 1610, he was appointed to the affair of Kāngra which belongs to that Province. In the town of Pathān in 1025, 1616, and the 11th year of Jahangir, he died. His tomb is in Delhi in the cemetery of his ancestors. In accordance with his will a building was erected. The chronogram is *Dād, khūrd burd* (1025, 1616): "He gave;[1] he took little." All he left came to one thousand ashrafīs.

The Shaikh was adorned with outward and inward excellencies. Bravery and bounty (*shujā'at ba sakhāwat*) were united in him. His universal liberality opened the door of abundance in the face of mankind. No one who approached him saw the face of disappointment in the mirror of his thoughts. On his way to the darbar he distributed garments (*qabā*), blankets, sheets, and shoes to the poor passers-by. He distributed small gold and silver coins with his own hand. One day a dervish received alms from him seven times. The 8th time he whispered to him, "Hide what you have taken seven times so that other dervishes do not take it from you." Monastic persons (*ahl khānqāh*), pious persons, needy persons and widows received fixed allowances daily or yearly, both in his presence and privately, without *sanads* or *parwānas*. There were many subsistence-tenures in his fiefs. The children of those who had been in his service had all fixed monthly allowances and they sported, as if they were his own children, in his arms. He appointed masters to teach them In Gujarat he had the names of the Saiyids—male and female—written down, and gave from his own establishment wedding-clothes for their children. He even put money in deposit for those who were in the womb. Accordingly, whoever after that came into existence, got wedding expenses from that money. But he gave nothing to panegyrists or singers. He founded many hostels and serais. In Aḥmadabad he established a quarter called Bokhara. He built the mosque and cemetery (Rauẓa) of Shāh Wajhīu-d-dīn, and in Delhi he left

[1] B. 415.

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Farīdābād[1] with buildings and a tank. In Lahore too he established a quarter, and a great bath in the market-place there is his. The Shaikh three times a year gave grand dresses to the king's servants with whom he had to do, and to some he gave nine things (tuqūz). To his own servants he gave yearly a khilāt, to the footmen a blanket, and to the sweepers (*ḥalālkhūr*) a pair of shoes. This was his custom all his life, as long as he lived he did not grudge it. To some of his companions who also had jagirs he gave a lac of rupees a year. He kept 3,000 selected and well-horsed troopers as his contingent. From the time of Akbar to the reign of Jahangir he never entered a dwelling-house (of his own). He was always in the advance-camp[2] (*peshkhāna*). There were three watches and every day 1,000 (?) persons (troopers?) were fed. Five hundred were entertained and to another 500 portions were sent. He paid his soldiers with his own hands. He did not grumble at the crowd of men and the noise and confusion.

They say that an Afghan named Sher Khān was one of his best servants. He took leave from Gujarat and went to his home and stayed there five or six years. When the Shaikh was appointed to the Kāngra campaign, he came to the town of Kalānūr and paid his respects. The Shaikh told his bakhshi Dwarkā Dās to give him the man's account in order that he might send the money to his family The bakhshī wrote out his account[3] and gave it to the Shaikh for the insertion of the date. The Shaikh got angry and said, "He is an old servant. If for some reason he has come late, how has our work suffered?" He made out his account from the date that his salary had been entered on the establishment and paid him Rs. 7,000!

Good God! Though there is the same interchange of night and day, the same movements of the planets and revolutions of

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[1] The Zabdu-t-tawārīkh speaks of Farīdabād as being four *farsakhs* from Delhi. MS. 249b. Farīdābād is S. Delhi. See Proceedings A.S.B. for 1873, p. 197. The inscription there given shows that Farīd was s. Saiyid Aḥmad of Bokhara. See Blochmann, 620, and I. G. XII. 51.

[2] On referring to the MSS. the reading *peshkhāna* is doubtful.

[3] Text *fard kharj-i-ao*. But B.M. MS. Add. 65-6 has *fard chihrah*, "the statement of his appearance," i.e. his descriptive roll, and this is probably the true reading. See Irvine A. of M., 47.

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the spheres, yet at this portion of Time this land is without such men. Perhaps they have gone to some other country!

The Shaikh had no son. He had one daughter, and she died childless. Muḥammad S'aīd and Mīr Khān were his adopted sons and they spent their days in pomp and pride, and lived extravagantly. In their presumption they paid no regard to the imperial dignity. Not to speak of their conduct to Amīrs, they would even pass before the *jharoka* (emperor's window) of the palace on the Jumna with many torches and lamps. They were often forbidden, but it had no effect. At last Jahangir signified something to Mahābat K. He told Rājī Saiyid Mubārik of Mānikpūr—who was his confidential servant—to get rid of them quietly. One night Mīr K. was returning from the Darbār when Saiyid killed him, and was himself wounded by him. The Shaikh (Farīd) brought a charge of murder against Mahābat K. He in the presence of the emperor brought forward positive proof (baiyīna) by trustworthy (?) witnesses that Muḥammad S'aīd (the other adopted) had killed Mīr Khān, and that he should exact retaliation from him. The Shaikh from the nature of the assembly understood what was the real object[1] of the allegation and said nothing but withdrew from the prosecution.

(MĪRZĀ) FARĪDŪN[2] KHĀN BĀRLĀS.

S. M. Muḥammad Qulī K. Barlās. On his father's death he was graciously treated by Akbar and received a suitable rank. In the 35th year of the reign he accompanied the Khān-Khanān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm on the Tatta campaign and distinguished himself. When the country of Tatta (Sind) was conquered he in the 38th year accompanied Jānī Beg to court. In the 40th year his rank was 500. When Jahangir came to the throne he, in the second year, received a fief in the province of Allahabad and had the rank of 1,000 *zāt u sawār* (personality and horse). In the 3rd year his rank was 1,500 with 1,300 horse, and afterwards it was increased

[1] *Aṣl muddʻaā*. The real meaning of the allegation that Muḥammad S'āid was the murderer. Perhaps *aṣl* here means root and refers to Jahangir.

[2] B. 342 and 478.

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to 2,000[1] horse. In the 8th year he was attached to Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) and employed in the campaign against Rānā Amr Singh. Afterwards he died.[2] The appreciative sovereign gave his son Mihr 'Alī the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

FATḤ JANG KHĀN MĪYĀNA.

His name was Ḥusain K. and he was one of the leading officers of the 'Ādil S. dynasty. Though he was not nearly related to Bahlūl K. Mīyāna, yet he by birth and ability was one of the distinguished men of Bījāpūr. As the household servants of the 'Ādil Shah dynasty did not consider their king, but were independent and squabbled with one another, the affairs of the kingdom fell into decay and hostile desires increased. Aurangzeb had long ago determined upon uprooting the Quṭb Shah and 'Ādil Shāh dynasties, and when he was obliged to visit the Deccan as king, his old designs were confirmed. Fatḥ Jang from foreseeing the end of things, and by his good fortune came to the royal threshold and in the 26th year did homage in the citadel of Aurangabad. By the king's order, Ātish K. Rūzbahānī received him at the door of the *Ghuslkhāna*, and Ashraf K. Mīr Bakhshī advanced as far as the terrace. He received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, a flag and a drum, and the title of Fatḥ Jang K. and a present of Rs. 40,000 and so became the envy of his contemporaries. His brother and other relatives received suitable robes of honour and offices.

At the same time a wonderful occurrence[3] took place. Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓim Shāh—who had taken leave to go to Bījāpūr—was summoned to the presence from the bank of the river Nīrā.[4] One day when he came near the city on horseback, suddenly Fatḥ Jang's elephant got violent and rushed at the head of the party (*fauj*) and came near the Shah. He (the Prince) discharged an

[1] In the 5th year his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Tūzuk J. 83. In the 7th year he was raised to 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Tūzuk 112.

[2] He died in the 9th year at Udaipūr. Tūzuk 131.

[3] Maasir A. 230.

[4] River in the Poonah district. Lat. 18.4 N. Lon., 74.13 E. It now feeds a Canal.

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arrow at him, but he came nearer, and the Prince's horse became unmanageable. The Prince dismounted and faced the elephant and struck it on the trunk with his sword. Meanwhile the men of the escort who had been dispersed, killed the elephant by fatal wounds. When the Prince was appointed to the Bījāpūr expedition, Fatḥ Jang became one of those attached to him. In the battle of the batteries there he distinguished himself and became decorated with wounds. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Rāherī, and served there for a long time. He had several engagements with the banditti (the Mahrattas), and in one he was made prisoner. Sambhā treated him with respect and brought him to Rāherī. There he died. He was a quiet man, devoted to his duties. Among his sons—most of whom died during his lifetime—Qudrat Ullah was faujdār of Tālīkoth. In the 50th year Tālīkoth (Talikot I.G. XXIII, 214) together with the government of Bījāpūr was made over to Ḥusain Qulīj K. Bahādur. The said Khān (Qudrat Ullah) was made faujdār of Mahkar, in the Berar Bālāghāt. In his time the enemy (the Mahrattas) fell upon the town and plundered it. Among his brothers, Yasīn K. was thānadār of Karar[1] (also known as Māndgāon, in Berar) and held *faujdārīs* in that quarter. In the time of Bahādur Shah, Purdil K. Afghan superseded him. Quarrels arose between them about the collections and ended in battle, and Yasīn K. was killed.

FATḤ JANG K. ROHILLA.

His father was Zechariah K., the brother of Uṣmān K. Rohilla, who for a long time was one of the Deccan auxiliaries. Though his rank was small, he was much trusted and respected. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made faujdār of Khāndes, and distinguished himself in that office by the introduction of approved regulations, and by looking after the Rohillas. In the 30th year he (Uṣmān) died a natural death. His rank was 1,000 with 800 horse. Zechariah K. also was distinguished for courage. Fatḥ K. surpassed his father and uncle, and by his energy and courage he, in the time of Shah Jahan, obtained his uncle's rank. In the 26th

[1] Jarrett II. 233.

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year he was made faujdār of Tūndāpūr in Khāndes—which is the mouth of the Bālāghāt—and after that was made faujdār of Copra[1] in the same province. His rank became 1,000 with 800 horse. They say that he had very pleasant manners and that in spite of the smallness of his rank he was an eminent Amir, and that his establishment was on a greater scale than his position. He was a man of an open brow and one who had a liberal hand. Though he was not without eloquence and knowledge, his gentleness and humility were such that if he happened to fall in with a low person (*pācī*, qu. *pājī*) he would go to his house and show such amiability as surprised people. He was unrivalled for the way he looked after his clan, and as a commanding officer (*dar tumandārī*). He bore the burden of assisting his brother and nephews—who were all distinguished for courage—and he served well Prince Aurangzeb when he was governor of the Deccan. In the campaign when the fort of Badrū[2] Kalyān was taken by the imperial officers, the Prince sent him and Mīr Malik Ḥusain Koka against Nīlanga which they quickly took. When the Prince proceeded to Upper India to take the sovereignty, Fatḥ K. with his brothers and sons-in-law accompanied him, and after leaving Burhānpūr he got the title of Khān. After the battle with Maharajah Jeswant he received the title of Fatḥ K. Jang K. and the gift of a flag and drum and the rank of 2,500 with 2,500 horse. In the battles with the claimants to the sovereignty he and his brothers distinguished themselves. After the battle of Khajwa he was appointed to accompany Muazzam K., the Khān-Khānān, in his pursuit of Shujā' and did good service in that general's vanguard. In the end of the year of the Accession, the Khān-Khānān proceeded from Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) to Sūtī[3]—which is fourteen *kos* further on

[1] J. II. 225. The Chopda of I. G. X. 327.

[2] Perhaps this should be "the forts of Bīdar and Kalyān," and the incident may refer to the 31st year of Shah Jahan. See Elliot VII. 124, etc.

[3] The text has Sūlī, and Jahāngīrnagar instead of Akbarnagar. But a reference to the 'Ālamgīrnāma 406 shows that the place is Sūtī or Sooty in the N. of the Murshidabad district and that it is Akbarnagar, and not Jahāngīrnagar, which was 14 *kos* away. Sooty is on the Bhagirathī, which is mentioned in the Maaṣir III. 542, in connection with Sūtī. See also Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, 271, who speaks of Mīr Jumla crossing at Sooty.

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than Akbarnagar—and he[1] sent some brave men in boats to the other side of the river where the enemies' batteries were. When some had landed, a battle took place, and some war-boats of the enemy fought a naval battle. Many returned unsuccessful. His brother Ḥayāt known as Zabardast K.—who was with a number of his companions in a boat—wounded and killed many, and he got a gunshot-wound[2] and two wounds with arrows and then escaped from the enemies' boats. Shahbāz and Sharīf, brothers of the Khān, and Rustūm and Rasūl, his nephews, and a number of his connections and followers were in another boat. They had not all landed when the enemy attacked them. Shahbāz was killed by an elephant, and Rustūm and Rasūl and others were killed. The others were wounded and made prisoners. Afterwards, when the Khān-Khānan appointed Mukhliṣ K. to the faujdārī of Akbarnagar, he left him there along with Zabardast K. and Fatḥ K. After the business of Shujā' was finished, Fatḥ K. came from Bengal to the presence. As his heart was inclined to service in the Deccan, he became an auxiliary in that country. In the Bījāpūr campaign he in company with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh had command of the left wing.

When he approached Bījāpūr Sherza K. Mahdavī and Sīdī Ma'saūd came into the imperial territory and stirred up commotion. By chance, at that time, Iskandar, who was called Ṣalābat K. and was the brother of Fatḥ Jang, had come to within four kos of Parenda with the intent of joining the Rajah. Sherza K. with 6000 troopers fell upon him. He guarded his honour and did not think it fitting to turn back from them and with 40 troopers of his own followers they acquired fame by sacrificing their lives. Every one of his brothers was distinguished for his courage. He held pargana Jāmeza[3] in Khāndes in fief. He took the

See also 'Ālamgīrnāma 504 where it is stated that Sutī is about 14 *kos* from Akbarnagar on the way to Jahangirnagar and that Mīr Jumla encamped there and erected batteries on the river-bank, etc.

1 'Ālamgīrnāma 505, etc. It was in May 1659. Mīr Jumla's men crossed over the river to take a fort, but were surprised and defeated. From p. 501 of 'Ālamgīrnāma it appears that Shujā's battery was on a *chur* or island in the river.

2 'Ālamgīrnāma 508.

3 The variant Jāmnīya agrees better with J. II. 225 which has Jāmner. I. G. XIV. 50.

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maqaddamī (headship) of most of the districts and made the village Paiparī his residence. It is eight kos from Fardāpūr and on the way to Burhānpūr. He laboured to develop it, and his sons established themselves there. Up to the end of Aurangzeb's reign his son Tāj K. was alive and preserved his authority. After him preeminence ceased. It is about ten years that the village has gone out of the possession of the family as a jagir owing to their want of prudence. But they hold possession as zamindars. His son-in-law Ilāhdād K. took up his residence in the town of Manglaur Shāh Badra-d-dīn. He erected a very lofty gateway to his house. His descendants live there.

FATḤ KHĀN.

Son of the famous Malik 'Ambar, the Abyssinian. During his father's lifetime he was distinguished for courage and generosity. After his death he became the administrator for the Niẓām-shāhī family and left no power to Murtaẓa Niẓām Shah the 2nd. The latter was instigated by turbulent men, and arrested Fatḥ K. and sent him to Junair. They say that by the help of a woman who was a bracelet-maker (*chūrīgar*) he with a file got rid of his fetters and escaped. He joined his army and went off to Aḥmadnagar. The Niẓām Shah appointed an army, and in the battle that ensued Fatḥ K. was wounded and made prisoner. He was imprisoned in Daulatabad. Niẓām Shah after some time ascertained that Muqarib K., a Turkish slave, who was chief swordsman (Mīr Shamsher) and had been made general in the room of Fatḥ K., and Ḥamīd K. Abyssinian, the Vakīl us-sultanat, were not conducting affairs properly, and so he made Fatḥ K. vakil and commander-in-chief as before. They say that Fatḥ K. on this occasion was released by the instrumentality of his sister who was the mother of the Niẓām Shah, and that he from this time adopted the dress of a soldier (?) After the death of Ḥamīd K., he obtained the control of affairs.

In fine, he got a hint from past occurrences, and set about cultivating the 'Ambarī Abyssinians, and made them his friends. As he perceived that his release from prison had been the result of necessity, and that he would be imprisoned again whenever

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that perfidious one had recovered heart, he anticipated matters and in 1041, 1632, imprisoned the Niẓām Shah, giving out that he was insane, in the same manner that his father (Malik 'Ambar) had kept him in confinement.[1] Also on the first day he put to death twenty-five of the old, leading officers. He reported to Shah Jahan that he had imprisoned the Niẓām Shah who from short-sightedness and wickedness was opposing the (imperial) servants. The order in reply was that if this statement was true he should cleanse the world of the Niẓām's presence. Fatḥ K. had him put away[2] and gave out that he died from natural causes. He appointed in his room Ḥusain, a boy of ten years of age. When he again reported what had occurred, Shah Jahan demanded the elephants and jewels, etc. of the Niẓām Shah. Fatḥ K., in spite of his obedience and submissiveness, delayed to send them. Accordingly Wazīr K. was sent off in the fifth year from Burhānpūr to take Daulatabad. Fatḥ K. hurriedly sent his eldest son 'Abdur-r-Rasūl with the jewellery and elephants, which were valued[3] at eight lacs of rupees. J'aafar K received him and brought him to do homage. In this way Fatḥ K. escaped the king's anger. As Fatḥ K. carried on the administration without any partner, 'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr wished to get rid of him and to take possession of Daulatabad. He sent a large army under Farhād K. Fatḥ K. wrote to Mahābat K., the governor of the Deccan, that his father's will stated that the office of sweeping the courtyard of the Timuride Princes was better than the Bījāpūr dominion, and begged him to come before the arrival of the 'Ādil Shah forces. This circumstance has been detailed in the account of Mahābat K. When the latter arrived from Burhānpūr, Fatḥ K., whose words and acts did not agree, was led away by the flatteries of the Bījāpūr leaders and was besieged (by Mahābat).

When provisions ran out, he soon had recourse to supplications and surrendered the fort on conditions. He went off with

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1 Cf. Elliot VII. 29, and Pādshāhnamā I. 395.

2 Khāfī K. I. 461, and Pādshāhnāma I. 402.

3 Khāfī K. I. 467. There were 30 elephants, 9 horses and jewels. See Pādshāhnāma I. 411.

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Mahābat K. along with the boy Niẓām Shah and the dependants of that family which had ruled the country for 145 years. Mahābat without any apparent cause broke the treaty and imprisoned Fatḥ K. in Ẓafarnagar, and confiscated his goods. In accordance with orders, Islām K., who had been removed from the government of Gujarat, came to Burhānpūr and brought the ruined family to the presence. The Niẓāmu-l-Mulk was imprisoned in Gwalior, but Fatḥ K. was treated with favour. The conferring upon him of high office was under consideration when, perhaps in consequence of a wound to his head which had affected his brain, improper expressions were used by him, and he fell out of favour. But his property was restored to him, and he got two lacs of rupees a year as an allowance. He lived in retirement in Lahore for a long time with ease and comfort till at last he died a natural death. They say he held much converse with people of Arabia, and used to give them money. His brother Cingīz entered into service before him in the second year and attained the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse and had the title of *Manṣūr K.* Many of his relatives received suitable offices.

As Malik 'Ambar was not a royal servant, his biography does not come into this work, but as he was one of the leading men of the age, some account of him cannot be avoided. He was a Bījāpur slave. He and other bold Abyssinians became servants of the Niẓām Shah and he became distinguished for courage and ability. When Queen Chānd Sultan was put to death in 1009, July 1600, by the swords of some irreflecting Deccanis, and the fort of Aḥmadnagar came into the possession of the Emperor Akbar, and Bahādur Niẓām Shah was made prisoner and confined in the fort of Gwalior, total weakness fell upon the Niẓām Shah dynasty, which had been declining since the time of Burhān Shah. None of the effective officers remained in authority, and Malik 'Ambar and Rājū Mīyān Deccanī raised the standard of power. The first had control from the boundary of Telang to within four *kos* of Aḥmadnagar, while the second had power from the north of Daulatabad to the boundaries of Gujarat and in the south to within six *kos* of Aḥmadnagar. Murtaẓa Niẓām Shah the 2nd, who was the son of Shah 'Alī, held the fort of Ausa (Owsa of I. G.) and

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some villages for his expenses. As each of these two leaders wished to conquer the other's land, they were constantly contending with one another. In the year 1010, 1601-1602, there was a severe battle[1] in the neighhourhood of Nānder between Malik 'Ambar and M. Īrij, the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, the Khān-Khānān, and Malik 'Ambar was carried off from the field wounded. The Khān-Khānān, who knew his designs, rejoiced and made peace, and Malik 'Ambar too considered this a gain and had an interview, and made a treaty with the Khān-Khānān. As he had been often defeated by Rājū, he now, with the help of the Khān-Khānān, defeated him and brought Murtaẓa Niẓām Shah into his power and kept him under surveillance in Junair. After that he led an army against Rājū and made him prisoner and took possession of his country. As in Upper India the contentions of Prince Sultan Selīm, the death of Akbar and the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau quickly followed one another, Malik 'Ambar was able at his ease to increase his power, and he collected numerous soldiers, and took possession of most of the Imperial estates. The Khān-Khānān on account of the necessity of the times had to submit to this. When the power of Jahangir was consolidated, armies were repeatedly appointed. Malik 'Ambar was sometimes defeated, and sometimes victorious, but did not cease to oppose. Afterwards, when Shah Jahan, the heir-apparent, was sent to the Deccan and all the rulers of the Deccan submitted to him, Malik 'Ambar made over most of what he had acquired to the imperial vakils and stood firm in the path of obedience. He continually carried on disputes with the 'Ādil Shahis and the Quṭb Shāhīs and was repeatedly victorious. He received money as tribute (n'albandī). In 1035, 1626, he died a natural death at the age of eighty. He was buried in the Rauẓa of Daulatabad between the shrines of Shah Muntajibu-d-dīn Zarbakhsh and Shāh Rājūī Qatāl. There is a lofty dome and a wall. In spite of all the revolutions a tract is set apart to the present

[1] This was Irij's first victory over Malik 'Ambar, and occurred in 47th year of Akbar's reign. See Akbarnāma III. 815, and Maaṣir U. II. 645. His second victory was near Khirkī in the 10th year of Jahangīr. See Tūzuk, translation, p. 312, and Elliot VI. 343.

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day as In'ām land which supplies lamps and oil. In military acts and in statesmanship and right judgment he was unique. He had thoroughly mastered the method [1] of *qazāqī* fighting which in the Deccan is called *bargīgiri*, and kept the evil-doers and vagabonds of the country in order. He laboured much in protecting the peasantry and in the advancement of agriculture. In spite of all the commotion and turmoil, for the Moghuls and the Deccanis were always fighting, he developed the village of Khirkī, five kos from Daulatabad, which is now known as Khujastabanyād-Aurangabad, and made tanks, gardens and lofty buildings there. They say that in the distribution of charity and other good works, and in the administration of justice and the relief of the oppressed, he was very strong. He patronized poets. A certain poet has said in praise of him—

Verse.

There was Bilāl,[2] the servant of the Apostle of God;
After 1000 years there came Malik 'Ambar.

FATḤ ULLAH KHWĀJAGĪ.

Son of the Ḥājī Ḥabīb-Ullah Kāshi (of Kāshān) who, on account of his business-capacity and sagacity, was sent [3] to the port of Goa in the 20th year of Akbar to bring the rarities of that place. He returned to court with the curiosities in the 22nd year. Abu-l-Faẓl says [4] in the Akbarnāma that one of the most remarkable things he brought was an organ. The said Ḥājī died in the 39th year. Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah was one of the servants of Akbar, and was an intimate of his. In the year that the king made a rapid expedition to the shrine at Ajmere, he was sent [5] off to bring Quṭbu-d-dīn K. Atga, and an order was given that he should bring him by the Mālwa route in order that by sending skilful men, he might, by exciting hopes and fears, induce the ruler of Khāndes to send Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. He came there

[1] Copied from Iqbālnāma 271. See Elliot VI. 428.

[2] Bilāl, like Malik 'Ambar, was an Abyssinian.

[3] A N. III. 146.

[4] A.N. 228. Hājī Ḥabīb died on 1 Khurdād 1002, May 1594. His son is referred to by Blochmann, 499.

[5] Do. 250.

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and acted according to orders, and dexterously went himself along with the envoys to Burhānpūr. After that he went off to the Ḥijāz without orders. He afterwards repented of this and came back along with the Begams who had gone on a pilgrimage and returned. In the 27th year he was pardoned[1] at their intercession and did homage.

In the 29th year he was appointed[2] to watch the Bengal officers who on account of bad health[3] were neglecting the king's business. In the 30th year when the Khān A'ẓim Koka had been appointed to the Deccan he was made bakhshī of the army and accompanied him. In the 37th year he was sent off with S. Farīd Bakhshī to put down Yādgār, the cousin of M. Yūsuf K., who had tuned up the strain of sedition in Kashmīr. In the 45th year, when the royal standards were at Burhānpūr, he was sent with Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. to take the fort of Lalang. When Moẓaffar, on account of the insanity in his disposition, absconded, he with the troops reached the fortress, and the garrison from want of provisions surrendered the keys. He made an agreement with some of the Khāndes soldiers who were desirous of proving their obedience and brought them to court. At last he in the same year obtained leave to go to Nāsik. When he came near the fort of Gālna, S'aādat K., the talūqdār, who had long entertained the wish to enter service, came and waited upon him, and surrendered the fort. In the 48th year he, at the request of Prince Sultan Selīm, who was living gloriously in Allahabad, obtained[4] the rank of 1,000 and was attached to the Prince. After the accession of Jahangir he was made[5] Bakhshī.

FATḤ ULLAH KHĀN BAHĀDUR 'ĀLAMGĪRSHĀHĪ.

His name was Muḥammad Ṣādiq and he was one of the Saiyids of Khost which is a district in Badakhshān. He was an old, experienced soldier and at the head of distinguished swordsmen.

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1 A. N. III. 386. He came back with Gulbadan Begam's party and suffered on the journey with her.

2 Do. 440.

3 Ṣaḥat but the variant *ṣaḥabat* "companionship" is more likely.

4 A.N. III. 824.

5 Rogers' translation of Tūzuk, [p. 13.

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In the beginning he was in company with Khān Fīrūz Jang and was raised to a *manṣab* under the crown. He became famous for his courage and single-fighting. In the 27th year when Khān Fīrūz Jang, as a reward for his repeated onsets and his hard contests with the Mahrattas, received the name of Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān Bahādur instead of that of Shihābu-d-dīn, Fatḥ Ullah, who had distinguished himself in those battles, received the title of Ṣādiq K. He spent a long time as a follower of Khān Fīrūz Jang and did good service. He received the title of Fatḥ Ullah K. Afterwards he left Fīrūz Jang and became the recipient of royal favours. He was always employed in patrolling the country and in chastising the Mahrattas. In the 43rd year after the king had resided for four years in Islāmpūrī he moved out to take Sambhā's forts. The Khān showed alacrity in taking forts by raising batteries and driving mines. In the siege of Satāra, which is situated on the ridge of a mountain, whose head[1] rises to the Pleiades (Ṣaryā) while its root descends beyond the Earth (Ṣarā), he made under the captaincy of Rūḥ Ullah K. another battery[2] opposite the fort-gate. In his energy and boldness he came near the door of the fort and wished by the blow of an iron fist to destroy it. The awe caused by him, and the fear of other batteries, which had come near, made the fort surrender. He was also a predominant partner in taking the fort of Parlī[3] which was in extent and height the equal of Satāra. When Satāra had been taken, Fatḥ Ullah was appointed to act in the vanguard in taking Parlī. Aurangzeb himself accomplished the journey in three days and pitched his tents in front of the fort-gate. Fatḥ Ullah paid no regard to the strength of the fort, but exerted himself to raise batteries and to place guns on the crest of the hill, and did the work of years in a few days. He placed a battery under a long and broad rock which sloped down opposite the wicket-gate

[1] Maasir A. 413. The allusion to the Pleiades may refer to the popular but apparently erroneous etymology which makes Sātāra mean seven stars. See I. G. XXII. 129.

[2] A.N. III. 415.

[3] Elliot VII. 367. "Six miles south-west of Sattara." The description of the capture is taken from the Maasir A., p. 424, etc. For Parlī see I.G. XX. 5.

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(*darīca*) of the fort, but it was very difficult to get over this rock. If this rock could be gained possession of, the capture of the fort would be very easy. The Khān with a body of men came out upon the rock and in that field which extended up to the *darīca* of the fort he attacked the garrison with the sword. They could not resist and ran to the *darīca*. The Moghuls followed close behind. As the Khān had not determined upon entering the fort, he wished that he should come out upon the rock, and establish his men there, and bring up a gun and demolish the wall. The infidels strengthened the *darīca* and raised a typhoon of musket-fire and threw bombs from the top of wall. They also set fire to a quantity of gunpowder which, in anticipation of such a day, they had laid down in the exit from the fort. Faqīr Ullah K., the grandson of Fatḥ Ullah, and some 67 others[1] were killed. As there was no shelter on the rock the troops could not remain there. They came down and took up their old position. But the tumult of the fight had put fire into the souls of the infidels, and the smoke of their conceit evaporated. They cried for quarter, and in the course of 1½ months in the 44th year the fort was taken. The chronogram[2] was *Hazā Naṣr Ullah*, "This is God's victory." As the fort was one of the works of Ibrahim 'Ādil Shah who had founded it in 1035, 1626 and he made use[3] of the term Nauras to everything which was new, it was now called Nauras Tārā. The Khān received an increase of rank and obtained leave to go to Aurangabad to recruit his followers. He came to the presence at the time of the siege of Parnāla and it was ordered that on one side Tarbīyat K. Mīr Ātish should raise a battery and Fatḥ Ullah on the other under the leadership of Prince Bīdār Bakht, and with the aid of Mun'im K. should make a second approach (*sība*). He in the course of one month cut through the stony ground as if

1 "60 or 70", Maaṣir A., 427.

2 This yields 1112, 1700. The text says nothing about the heavy rains which made the siege difficult and led to a famine.

3 The Maaṣir A. instances the book called Nauras which was a treatise on music by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah to which Zuhūrī wrote a preface (see Rieu Cat. 741), and the city Nauras-i-Ibrāhīm founded by Ibrāhim. See also Garçin de Tassy Litt. Hind. vol. II. 4 and III. 349. Apparently there were nine Ras according to Ibrāhīm, so perhaps Nau stood both for "new" and for "nine."

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it were easier than earth, and made a road to the wall so that road-makers were astonished. The besieged became frightened and asked for quarter. He received the title of Bahādur and his reputation increased.

When the royal army moved from Parnāla towards Kahtāwan[1]—where there was a harvest and abundant (apparently this is the meaning of the name) provisions—to establish a camp, he was sent to take Dardāngarha which is two kos from that village. The garrison out of fear of him left the fort empty and thought themselves lucky to have saved their lives. The fort received the name of Ṣādiqgarha[2] (Maaṣir A., 443) from being associated with him. From Kahtāwan a force was sent to take Nāndgair and Chandan and Mandan, under the leadership of the bakhshiu-l mulk Bahramand K. In a short time the garrisons of all three had no resource except to surrender or flee. The first was called Gīrū, the second Miftāḥ, and the third Maftūḥ. In the 45th year the royal standards moved from Ṣādiqgarha towards the fort of Khelna—which was the head of all the hillforts and surrounded by difficult jungles. In a few days the army arrived there. On account of the stony ground, and the steepness of the paths, and the numerous hollows[3] and ravines, it was difficult for the army to proceed, especially as there was a space of four *kos*, the difficulties of which had frightened people; but by the exertions of Fatḥ Ullah and the labours of hatchet-men and stone-cutters, all the asperities were made easy. The Khān was presented with a special quiver, and under the command of the Amīru-l-Umarā Jumlau-l-mulk (Asad K.) and the companionship of Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K., Mun'im K. and Rajah Jai Singh, he was appointed to the siege. On the same day he took the ridge from the enemy and established a battery[4] there. Next day another ridge came into possession and guns were placed on it. Great efforts were made to extend the batteries and saps. With labours like those of Far-

[1] Apparently this is the Khatao of I.G. XV. 265. For Dardān Garha the Maaṣir A. has Wardān Ghara.

[2] He had also the name Muhammad Ṣādiq, M. A., 443.

[3] *Char*, which is a mistake for *jarr*. See Maaṣir A., 449, line 3.

[4] Text *baljār*, perhaps a mistake for *mūljār*. See III. 363, line 6. But bal or buljar seems to be also in use.

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hād, passages[1] were made in the hill until they reached the waist of the bastion.

Adits were driven in various directions. Gold was scattered all day, and Fatḥ Ullah himself worked along with the labourers As from the fort, stones[2] of 100 and 200 maunds weight were thrown down continually, suddenly a stone came on the broad roof (takḫta) and broke it. The Ḫān was knocked over by the blow, which fell upon his head—and went rolling down to a deep cavity. He held on to a litter[3] (*kajāwa*) which had fallen down. Cries were raised by the men, and the dust of despair covered the face of everyone. They brought him up senseless, and after a long time he recovered. His head and chest were so damaged that he was confined to bed for a month. He then returned to his work, and was considering how he might change[4] his plan and make an attack from the side of another bastion when the taking of the fort was accomplished by the exertions of Prince Bīdār Bakḫt. The Ḫān Bahādur received the present of a *jīgha* (a turban-ornament), and the addition of "'Ālamshāhī" to his titles.

Though the deeds and good services in the taking of forts and the extirpation of foes which the Ḫān Bahādur performed were such as others did not show, yet Aurangzeb on account of policy

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[1] Text *dhābha*. See Maaṣir A. 455, where the expression used is *dhāba bastan*. *Dhāba* is apparently the Hindustani word given in Forbes as meaning a terraced roof.

[2] *Matwāla*, "a drunk man," apparently slang for one of these rolling stones.

[3] Maaṣir A., 455, and Ḫāfī K. II 497. The description in the latter is more minute. Ḫāfī K. had already stated II. p. 496, Elliot VII. 371, that camel-saddles (*kajāwaha*) and baskets were filled with earth and rubbish and even with the heads etc. of men and quadrupeds, and their contents used in raising the earthworks or perhaps the covered approaches. Fatḥ Ullah was in his eagerness working along with the labourers when an enormous stone fell on the top of the work. It struck the *kajāwa* which Fatḥ Ullah had got hold of, and both he and it were hurled down. He was saved by the *kajāwa*, to which he clung, being caught by a tree. He had been struck both on the head and the leg

[4] *ghalat andāz*, "to revolve, as a millstone." The passage is taken from the Maaṣir A., 456, but the word *dīgar*, "another", after *burj* has been omitted. According to the Maaṣir A., 455, the ornament he got was a *sarpech*, and it was given to him on his return to work after his illness. The Maaṣir A. 456 says the credit of taking Khelna was really due to Bīdār Bakḫt. It gives the date of the conquest as 10 Ẓī l-Ḥajja 1113, 27 April 1701.

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and foresight did not reward him in a suitable manner. The king knew him to be a leader full of courage and daring. One day he represented that if 5,000 troopers were given to him, he would undertake to extirpate the Mahrattas from the Deccan. The king said that first he would require to have in readiness another leader like him with 5,000 horse. For these reasons the Khān did not wish to remain at court. He begged several times to be appointed to Kabul which was his native country. In the 47th year he received the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse and went off to Kabul. In the 49th year the thānadārī of Lohgarha in that province was given to him, in succession to Allah Yār K., with an increase of 200 horse. After the death of Aurangzeb—when Bahādur Shah moved from Peshawar with the other auxiliary officers of the province—an order was sent, summoning the Khān, who had gone to his home. Near Lahore it was reported that Fatḥ Ullah K. had withdrawn himself in spite of the order. The Prince remarked that Jān Niṣār K.—who in courage was not inferior to Fatḥ Ullah—would arrive with a large force in Agra, should the Khān not come. He died in the beginning of Bahādur Shah's reign. He was a thorough soldier. He was plainspoken and rough of tongue. One[1] day on account of his having done something which displeased Aurangzeb, the latter sent him a message of reproof by an eunuch. He said in reply that a man of perfect understanding when he came to eighty years of age, lost his reason and sense. "I am a mere soldier and am a hundred leagues off from God, and am become the dregs of creation. I am needlessly lingering on this stage." When the eunuch represented to him the impropriety of his language, he replied in humble and apologetic language.

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[1] Khāfī K. II. 498, where the wording is different. The sting of the remark was that it applied to Aurangzeb who was even older than Fatḥ Ullah. Instead of "a hundred leagues (*farsakh*) from God," Khāfī K. has "a hundred stages from Reason." Apparently Fatḥ Ullah compared himself to a worn-out soldier who had lagged behind the others on the march and was uselessly staying on the abandoned stage (marḥala). Perhaps Khudsiqāhī means *Khudsawār*, a headstrong or obstinate person. Cf. "Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage—" where stage may mean station.

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(AMIR) FATḤ ULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

He was the unique of the age in theoretical and practical sciences. Though he gathered abundance of knowledge in the schools of Ḵẖwāja Jamālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā[1] Kamālu-d-dīn Shirwānī, Maulānā[2] Kard, and Mīr Ġẖiyāṣu-d-dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī, yet the rank of his knowledge rose higher than theirs. 'Allāmī Abu-l-faẓl[3] says, "If the old books of science were lost, he could have laid a new foundation, and would have had no need for those that had gone."

Verse[4]

He was at once at the top of knowledge by the vigour of his intellect
And a glory to intellect by the splendour of his knowledge

'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr by a thousand efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan and made him his prime minister (vakīl-i-matlaq). After 'Ādil Shah's days were ended,[5] Fatḥ Ullah came in the 28th year, 991, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Fatḥpūr. The Ḵẖān-Ḵẖānān and Ḥakīm Abul-l-fatḥ received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favours and in a short time was made an intimate companion. He was appointed to the office of Ṣadr, and received the daughter of Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in marriage. It is stated that he attained to the rank of 3,000, and that at the New Year's feast of the 30th year he was made Amīnu-l-mulk.[6] An order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct financial and political matters in accordance with the Mīr's opinions and should complete the old transactions which had not been scrutinized since the time of Moẓaffar K. The Mīr drew up sundry regulations tending towards the improvement of the finances and the amelioration of the peasantry, and these

1 Text wrongly has Jāmalu.

2 The Akbarnāma III. 401, from which this account is taken, has Maulānā Aḥmad Kard.

3 id., id.

4 This couplet comes from Faiẓī's elegy, A.N. III. 563.

5 'Ādil Shah, who was the husband of Chānd Bībī, was killed by a boy in 988, 1580. The statement in text that Fatḥ Ullah came to court in the 28th year is wrong. He came in the 25th year as stated in the A.N. III. 401.

6 A.N. III. 457.

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were accepted. In the same year he received the title of 'Aẓdu-d-daula (arm of the State) and was sent off to advise Rajah 'Alī K., the ruler of Khāndes. He returned unsuccessful and joined the Khān A'ẓim who had been appointed to attack the Deccan and to chastise the rulers thereof. As he behaved badly to Shihābu-d-din and the other auxiliary officers, affairs did not progress satisfactorily, and the Mīr after receiving much vexation went off in the 31st year to the Khān-Khānān in Gujarat.

They say the Mīr had got leave in order to arrange the affairs of the Deccan. As A'ẓim K. Koka and Shihābu-d-dīn were not on good terms, Rajah 'Alī K., on observing the hypocrisy of the officers, united the Deccan army under himself and prepared for battle. Though the Mīr tried to bring him round, he was not successful. He was helpless and went to the Khān-Khānān in Gujarat in order to get his assistance. That too did not succeed. From there he came to court. In 997, at the time of the return of the king from Kashmīr, he remained behind in the city on account of illness. Ḥakīm 'Alī failed in his treatment of him. Badayūnī says that as he was himself a physician, he did not follow Ḥakīm Miṣrī and tried to cure his fever by *harīsa*,[1] and died. He died in the monastery of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. By the king's orders his body was removed from there and buried on the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimān, which is a delightful spot. The chronogram is *Firishta būd* (he was an angel). Akbar was much grieved at his death and[2] said, "The Mīr was at once our *Vakil*, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Who can comprehend the extent of our sorrow? If he had fallen into the hands of the Franks and they had wanted the whole of my treasures in exchange for him I should have made an excellent profit by such trafficking, and have thought that splendid jewel to be very cheaply purchased."

Verse.[3]

The world-Shāhinshāh's eyes were filled with moisture at his death.

Sikandar shed tears of sorrow when Plato left the world.

[1] B. 33n and 60.

[2] A.N. III. 558.

[3] This couplet is part of the poem on Amīr Fatḥullah's death by Faiẓī.

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Shaikh Faiẓī wrote a splendid ode as an elegy upon him, of which these are some verses.

Verse.

Men of soul die not, nor shall die.
Death is but a name when applied to this caste,
Body is but a vesture over the spirit-frame.
When it grows old, the old-destroying heaven removes it.
'Tis a weight on life[1] and a mist o'er joy,
A clothing of the strong with old garments;
But[2] he (death) is generous in this famine year of liberality
In that he giveth the poor garments not grown old.

It is mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt (Akbarī) that in addition to Amīr Fatḥ Ullah's having no equal in Persia or India, or rather in the habitable world in all the sciences, he was skilful in contrivances and mysteries. He made a mill[3] which worked of itself and ground flour, and a mirror which showed strange figures near at hand and far off; and a wheel which cleaned[4] twelve gun-barrels

See Badayūnī II. 370, 71, but Badayūnī does not quote the other lines given in the Maaṣir. They are however to be found in the A.N. III, 564.

[1] A.N. III, 564 has *ḥubāb* "Love" in place of *ḥayāt* "Life."

[2] The two last lines are obscure. They may refer to death, or to God. The verses form part of Faiẓi's elegy on Fatḥ Ullah and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ. See A.N. I. c. where 200 lines of the elegy are given, and also Badayūni, Lowe, 382. Badayūni also notices Fatḥ Ullah in III. 154.

[3] See Ṭabaqāt A. lith. p. 38*د*, and the translation in B. 275, note 1. "He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn." The Darbārī A. 681 says the mill was moved by wind, but probably this is a wrong guess. The mill was worked by the motion of the wheels, and so A. F. writes, Blochmann 275, "When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn." A. F. ascribes the invention, and also that of the machine for gun-cleaning, to Akbar: see B. 275 and 115.

[4] Text *pur* (or par) *mīshud*. There is the variant *bar*, but the Ṭabaqat reading is *sir*. But probably all these readings are wrong, and we should read burghū or būrghū, a Turkī word meaning a corkscrew, etc. It is evident from Plate XV in the Ain that the machine was a wheel worked by a bullock which caused twelve, or it may be sixteen, brushes to cleanse the gun-barrels. The passage about the mirror is obscure. Possibly the meaning is that Fatḥ Ullah constructed a magical mirror which enabled him to foretell the king's approach, etc. See Badayūnī III. 154. The phrase *jar* isqāl ثقال جر used there

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at once. Badayūnī writes that the Mīr was so worldly that in spite of his high rank he did not withhold himself from teaching children. He would go to the houses of the officers and teach their children elementary knowledge, and did not preserve his dignity. In the royal retinue he would put a gun on his shoulder, and a bag at his waist and run like a footman, and in athletic sports he was a Rustum. It is also notorious that the Mīr in spite of his science and attainments used to say with reference to the king that if he had not entered the service of that adorner of plurality and chooser of unity, he should not have taken the road to a knowledge of God. The Mīr established the Divine Era in the year 992, 1584. For a long time the king had wished to introduce a new year and month into India, for the Hijra era had become impracticable on account of its age, and its commencement was a day of rejoicing to enemies and of sorrow to friends. But on account of the crowd of conventionally learned men's considering that eras are associated with religion, the change did not take effect. The Mīr and others like him who had embraced the Divine Religion made this era their foundation, and orders were issued to the provinces in order to introduce it. It was based upon the new Gūrgānī tables, and Akbar's accession[1] was made the commencement. The year and month were solar and intercalary days were done away with.

FAẒĀIL KHĀN MĪR HĀDĪ.

Eldest son of Wazīr K. Mīr Ḥājī the diwān of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shah. He was possessed of lofty talents and excellent character and had acquired accomplishments and excellencies from Shaikh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Agra. He held a high place in the estimation of the prince. In the beginning of the 27th year

and at II, 315 and which Mr. Lowe translates by "discovering treasures" seems to mean the science of mechanics lit. "the drawing of weights." See Steingass s.v. *jarr* where jarr-i-ṣaqīl is defined as the science of mechanics. In Wollaston's English-Persian Dict. 'ilm-i-jarr-ī-ṣaqīl is given as the translation of "the science of mechanics."

[1] This is not correct. The era began with the New Year, 1 Farwardīn, which followed the accession, there being about a month between the two.

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when Prince Muḥammad ʿAẓam went for the first time to the Bījāpūr campaign, the king became for some reason displeased with the Mīr, and Ātish K. Rūzbihānī was sent[1] to the Prince's camp to bring him to the presence. He was first put in charge of Rūḥ Ullah K. (the 2nd) and afterwards put in charge of Ṣalābat K. On 25 Ramẓān of that year, 7 September 1683, he was in accordance with orders confined in the fort of Daulatabad. After that, he went to Agra by order, and there spent his time in retirement and in instructing pupils. At last his good fortune returned and he was restored to favour. He was summoned to the presence and kissed the threshold. The robe of Mīr Munshīship was given to him and he was made Superintendent of the Library. In the 44th year he was put in charge of the household (Bīyūtāt) in the room of Khudābanda K. and afterwards was in addition made deputy-Khānsāmān. On 6 Ẕī-l-qʿada of the 47th year, 1114, 13 March 1703, he died.

By his ability and extensive learning he was the unique of the age. With reference to himself he used to say,[2] "Here is the man, what is the work (required)," and the king used to say about him that he carried on the duties of deputy Khānsāmān in such a way as to make the house bright. When he was in charge of the secretariat, he one day represented (to the king) that in the Hindī language and Hindī mode of writing there was no letter H, and that although the letter A was included among those letters which had been entirely abandoned in the Hindī language, yet in place of it and of *ʿain* and *hamza* they had a letter which they employed at the beginning, middle, and end of words. But of the twelve vowels which they make use of, and make the foundation of their compounds there is one which they call *kānā* and which they employ at the end of words. This in form and in pronunciation is the letter Alif. At the beginning of Islām (in India), translators and Persian writers, from ignorance, made this alif into an H. For instance, they wrote, for Bangalā and Mālwā, Bangalh

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1 Maaṣir A. 237. He is there called Muḥammad Hādī and the son of Mīr Khān.

2 Maaṣir A. 471.

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(and Mālwh). The king, who was all-knowing, and was acquainted with Hindī, approved and ordered the officials of the department to write such words with *alif*.[1]

Mīr Murtaẓa K., the Khān's daughter's son, was a discreet youth and had a military turn. He was a memorial of the family. For some time he was in company with Mubāriz K., the governor of Haidarabad, and was faujdār of Mīdak in that province. Afterwards, he served Nawab Āṣaf Jāh, and had charge of the collections of Īlkandal and led a force against the zamindar of Shamsī—which is commonly known as Kālā Pahār. He behaved with activity and approached the fort alone. A bullet pierced his breast and he died.[2] They say that as he had embezzled much money of the government, he committed[3] suicide.

FĀẒIL KHĀN.

He is Āqā Afẓal of Ispahan and came from Persia to India. He became connected with Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K. The Shaikh advanced him on account of his knowledge and good judgment, and gave him a fixed allowance of a lac of rupees a year. Indeed the Shaikh, who was an ocean of genius and liberality, and a fountain of appreciation, gave many persons annual allowances of a lac of rupees or of Rs. 80,000. For instance, he gave Rs. 80,000 to Amīr Beg, the brother of Fāẓil K. When the government of the Panjab was made over by Jahangir to the

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Grierson for an explanation of the word kānā. He informs me that "it means the perpendicular stroke of a Devanāgarī consonant and also, specially, the form which long ā takes when non-initial. The word is in common use in reference to handwriting." It is curious that the word does not occur in ordinary dictionaries though it does in Molesworth's Mahratta Dict. The passage in text is taken from Khāfī K. II. 399. Aurangzeb's orders do not seem to have been carried out for we generally find Bengal and Mālwa written with a final h.

[2] *Īka u khabāza gardīd.* Variant *īk dū khiyāra.* B.M. MS. Add. 6566 has *janāza* "a corpse." See the note at the end of the biography of 'Abdu-l-Qawī where the same phrase occurs. The words as given there I. 229 are *ba kadū khiyāra gardīd* "made him like a striped pumpkin (?), reduced him to pulp?" The expression really is taken from the inscription put by Prince Daniel on his favourite fowling piece, and means that he became a corpse.

[3] Literally, gave himself to be killed.

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Shaikh, the latter made Āqā Afẓal his deputy. The latter ably carried on the duties. After the Shaikh's death, the province was assigned to I'timādu-d-daula, and he too left, as before, the deputyship to Fāẓil whose reputation increased more and more. After that he was made diwān of Sultan Parvīz, and he received from court a suitable *manṣab* and the title of Fāẓil K. When Sultan Parvīz, under the guardianship of Mahābat K., was appointed to pursue the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), Fāẓil was made the *bakhshī* and recorder of his army. In the 20th year he received the rank of 1500 with 500 horse, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made diwān of the Deccan. Out of opportunism he became mixed up with Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of that province, and shared in his political and financial schemes. When Jahangir died, Shah Jahan, who at that time was in Junair in the Deccan, sent Jān Niṣār K. with a firmān confirming him in the government of the Deccan to Khān Jahān, and mentioned that he was coming by that route. Fāzil[1] K., whose brother was in the service of Sultan Shahriyār (as diwān), perverted[2] Khān Jahān's judgment, and said, "The officers at the court have placed Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne, and Shahriyār is beating the drum of sovereignty in Lahore, and is giving much gold to the soldiers. Most of the great officers suspect that if Shah Jahan succeed to the throne he will exact vengeance. You are head of a clan and have a large number of adherents, and the cream of the royal army. You can become the servant of whoever ascends the throne of India. Shah Jahan has now regarded your claims as a servant of so many years' standing as non-existent and yesterday appointed Mahābat, in spite of his mountains (*koh-koh*) of crimes, to your post and has given him the title of Commander-in-chief in supersession of you." These words made an impression on Khān Jahān in spite of his wisdom, and he sent[3] away Jān Niṣār K. without even giving

1 Iqbālnāma 299.

2 *Rai dazdīda* "stole the judgment" or robbed Khān Jahan of his judgment.

3 Iqbālnāma 300 where the author speaks of having heard the story from Jān Niṣār.

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him a written answer. Shah Jahan abandoned the Burhānpūr route and proceeded to Agra *viâ* Gujarat.

When Shah Jahan was established on the throne and the more urgent matters had been disposed of, an order was issued summoning Khān Jahān and Fāẓil to court. Fāẓil separated from Khān Jahān at the Handia[1] ghāt of the Narbada and came on ahead of him. At that time the imperial forces had been appointed to act against Jujhār Singh Bandīla, and Shah Jahan proceeded rapidly as far as Gwalior. When the Khān arrived at Narwar he was, according to orders, imprisoned, and his goods confiscated. For some time he remained in strict confinement. At the time when Khān Jahān was admitted to an interview, Fāẓil's release was fixed at a ransom of six lacs of rupees. Many officers assisted him according to their ability, and Khān Jahān gave him a lac of rupees. For a time he remained under censure and was deprived of his office and his dignity. Afterwards he was given the fief of Baroda. In the 9th year when Shah Jahan was returning from Daulatabad to the capital, he summoned Fāẓil, and he set off rapidly from Gujarat and did homage at Burhānpūr. He was again made the subject of favour, and received the title of I'timād K. and the diwānī of the Deccan. In the 15th year he was made diwān of Bengal and of the establishment of Prince Shujā', the governor of that province. He died there in the 21st year. He held the rank of 1500 with 600 horse. His son M. Dārāb was a man of sense, and was always employed in the king's service.

FĀẒIL K. *alias* MULLĀ 'ALĀU-L-MULK TŪNĪ (i.e. OF TŪN).

In physical science and in mathematics he was one of the first of the age, especially in the science of astronomy. In addition to abundant learning and other excellencies his deportment was a model for the wise. In the 7th year of Shah Jahan he came from Persia to India and attached himself to Nawab Āṣaf

[1] In the Hoshangabad district on the left or south side of the Narbada. I.G.V. 309, old edition.

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Jāh (Nūr Jahān's brother) who was a congeries of knowledge. He spent his days in his company, and when that excellent Amīr died, he in the 15th year entered the royal service and received the rank of 500 with 50 horse.

When one of the companions of 'Alī Mardān, who was skilled in excavation-work, brought water from near the source of the Rāvī, a distance of 48½ kos, to Lahore, at the cost of a lac of rupees, but the water did not sufficiently irrigate the gardens of that city, another lac was made over to the engineers. They spent Rs. 50,000 on repairs, but still the work was not right. Mullā 'Alāu-l-Mulk, who understood[1] about hydrostatics as he did about other mathematical sciences, kept five kos of the canal intact and excavated thirty more, and so brought abundant water into Lahore. In the 16th year he was made *diwān-i-tan* and in the 19th he was first made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and afterwards the high post of Khānsāmān was added to this. As before the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān he extracted from astronomy the knowledge of the conquest and reported to H.M., he, after the conquest, received the rank of 2000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year he got the title of Fāẓil K., and in the 28th year received the rank of 3000.

When on 7 Ramẓān 1068, 30 April 1658, and in the 32nd year of the reign, Dārā Shikoh fled from the battle with Aurangzeb, and the victorious prince made two marches from the battlefield and encamped at the Nūr Manzal Garden which is near Agra, Shah Jahan sent Fāẓil K. as an envoy to Aurangzeb and gave him both verbal and written instructions. The gist of them was that "by Divine decree what was hidden had been made manifest. Submission to the Divine decrees is an element of self-knowledge and of knowledge of God. As he had recovered from a severe illness and in fact had had a second life conferred on him, the ardours of affection had risen high and he desired that he might soon be comforted by an interview." Fāẓil K. who in his

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Jāh (Nūr Jahān's brother) who was a congeries of knowledge. He spent his days in his company, and when that excellent Amīr died, he in the 15th year entered the royal service and received the rank of 500 with 50 horse.

When one of the companions of 'Alī Mardān, who was skilled in excavation-work, brought water from near the source of the Rāvī, a distance of 48½ kos, to Lahore, at the cost of a lac of rupees, but the water did not sufficiently irrigate the gardens of that city, another lac was made over to the engineers. They spent Rs. 50,000 on repairs, but still the work was not right. Mullā 'Alāu-l-Mulk, who understood[1] about hydrostatics as he did about other mathematical sciences, kept five kos of the canal intact and excavated thirty more, and so brought abundant water into Lahore. In the 16th year he was made *diwān-i-tan* and in the 19th he was first made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and afterwards the high post of Khānsāmān was added to this. As before the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān he extracted from astronomy the knowledge of the conquest and reported to H.M., he, after the conquest, received the rank of 2000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year he got the title of Fāẓil K., and in the 28th year received the rank of 3000.

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purity of thought and good intentions was a friend of both parties, spoke soothing words and carried back to the king the intelligence that the prince was eager to wait upon his father. But after he had gone, several officers advised the prince otherwise, and when Fāẓil again conveyed cheerful messages to Aurangzeb he found that things had assumed a different complexion, and though he made representations, they were of no effect. As Aurangzeb fully believed in the wisdom and loyalty of Fāẓil he appointed him to look after Shah Jahan and also put him in charge of the buildings. In the 2nd year of his reign he gave him the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and entrusted to him the writing the orders which had concern with the *diwān-i-kull* and the chief vizier. He also sent him with some messages to Shah Jahan. In the 4th year he came to court and produced some jewels and ornamented vessels belonging to Shah Jahan.

In the 5th year he was raised to the rank of 5000, and in the 6th year at the time when the king visited Kashmīr, Ragha Nāth the superintendent of the affairs of the diwānī died. The Khān[1] besides possessing all the sciences, rational and traditional, had good judgment and tact and was worthy of the high office of vizier. On 11 Zī q'ada 1073, 7 June 1663, he was appointed thereto As the heavens are envious of the success of able men, that Khān full of perfections had a disease of the stomach after entering on his duties. In the short time the illness became severe. As his age had passed the sixtieth station by several stages and had reached the boundaries of the seventieth, his old constitution had not strength to resist the disease. Treatment and medicines were of no avail. On 27th of the same month, 24th June, which was the 17th day of his viziership, he died, and his body, in accordance with his will, was conveyed to Lahore and buried in a garden which he had made for the purpose. They say that some days before he became vizier he said "I am arriving at the viziership, but age wont allow me (to continue)."

[1] The text begins a new paragraph here, thereby affecting the sense. The word vizier used in the sentence does not occur in all the MSS. It was to Ragha Nāth, who is called Rajah in the MSS., that Fāẓil succeeded. See Khāfī K. II. 175.

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Verse.

The cherished hope arrived, but of what avail,
There is no hope that past years will return.

They say that most of the judgments (astrological) which Fāẓil K. drew from astrology about Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb came true. They say that he had also predicted the injury which happened to Aurangzeb's[1] foot in Khwāspūr at the close of the 40th year. He did not attach weight to the opinions of anyone in councils and did not consider[2] anyone to be deserving of notice in comparison with his own abilities. They say that one day Shah Jahan went to inspect the canal which was called Bihisht (Paradise) which had been newly dug, and had reached Shah Jahanabad (Delhi). S'aad Ullah K. was with him and in the course of conversation several times used the word nahar (canal) and pronounced it, in the ordinary way, with a middle *fatḥa*. Fāẓil K. by way of correcting him said, "Say *nahr*, with a *sukūn* (rest) in the middle." S'aad Ullah in reply quoted the verse, "Verily[3] God will prove you by the river (ba nahar). Fāẓil K. unjustly and arrogantly said, "I suppose this is a quotation from an Arabian poem." The king observed, "Apparently then, the Qoran is inferior poetry." Fāẓil K. remained silent.

As he had no sons, after his death his brother's son Burhānu-d-dīn,[4] who had just come to his uncle from Persia, was promoted to a suitable rank. A separate account of him will be given.

FĀZIL KHĀN BURHĀNU-D-DĪN.

Brother's son of Fāẓil K. Mullā 'Alau-l-mulk of Tūn. When his uncle was near death, he came fresh from Persia. When the

[1] Khāfī K. II. 476, but it should be the 43rd year. The mistake, however, is Khāfī K.'s. See II. 176. There was also an inundation in the 40th year, Elliott VII. 361, but the one in which Aurangzeb met with an injury to his foot, and got, as Khāfī K. says, the hereditary lameness of Timur (Ṣāḥib Qiran), occurred in the 43rd year. See Elliot VII. 369. The stream was the Mān. The accident occurred 37 years after Fāẓil's death, and in 1698 (1110).

[2] *ba naẓr namī āward.* See this phrase used in Khāfī K. I. 338 I. 12.

[3] Sūra II. v. 257. The point was that Fāẓil was not aware that the quotation was from the Qoran.

[4] Maaṣir A. 47.

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uncle died, as he was sonless, Aurangzeb—who was appreciative of loyalty and a connoisseur of the jewel of devotion—made Burhānu-d-dīn a subject of favour and by giving him a robe of honour divested him of the garments of sadness. He gave him the rank of 800 with 150 horse. Burhānu-d-dīn had many spiritual excellencies and was very reverent and free from vice. He was also able and practical, and trustworthy. The king soon increased his rank and gave him the title of Qābil K. In the 18th year when Muḥammad Sharīf, munshī of the superintendent of the posting office and the Secretariat (dāru-l-inshā), the brother of Abu-l fatḥ Qābil K., the old *munshi Wālā shāhī*, was raised to the title of Qābil K. on account of his connection (with the former Qābil K.), Burhānu-d-dīn received the title of I'timād K. In the 22nd year, when the king decided to go to Ajmere, he was made diwān of Delhi, and after that he became *diwān-i-tan*. In the 32nd year he was made Khān-sāmān (major domo) of the royal establishment in succession to Kāmgār K., and had an increase of 500 with 100 horse so that his rank was 2,000 with 400 horse and he had the gift of a jasper aigrette (*kalgī*). In the same year he had the title of Fāẓil K. Afterwards, he had an addition of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 41st year he resigned the office of Khān-sāmān and in succession to Abū Naṣr K., the son of Shaista K. Amīr-l-Umarā, he was made governor of Kashmīr. In the 44th year it was ordered that he should as deputy of Muḥammad Muāẓẓam have charge of Lahore. He did not agree and petitioned to be allowed to come to court. He was sent for, but when he reached Burhānpūr he died in the year 1112, 1700-01.

His son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm after his father's death came to court, and in the 47th year was put in charge of the household, and had the title of Khān and an increase of rank. The king observed that Fāẓil K. Mullāu-l-mulk and Fāẓil K. Burhānu-d-dīn had many claims on him, and that he would cherish this *Khānāzād* (household-born one). In fact that young man possessed aptitudes, and if life had been granted him he would have risen high, but after a few days he bade adieu to youth and life. As no one remained of the line except Ẓīyāu-d-dīn, the brother's son and

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son-in-law of Fāẓil K. Burhānu-d-dīn, he was sent for from the diwānī of Chīnāpatan[1] and was promoted and had the title of Khān and was put in charge of the household. In truth, the good services of ancestors are, with appreciative masters, not less than an elixir for their descendants! The Khān also served for some time in the household in the reign of Bahādur Shah. Afterwards he became diwān of Bengal.

When in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Mīr Ḥusain 'Alī K., the Amīru-l-Umarā, was made governor of the Deccan and had the power of dismissing and appointing officers, he on arriving at the Deccan appointed his own men and did not give possession to any who came from the court. This increased the king's displeasure. Complaint was made about this to 'Abdullah K., the Quṭbu-lmulk. He apologized and objected (denied the fact[2]?). At last it was arranged that the appointments of Diwān and Bakhshī—which were highest of all—should be made from the court. Accordingly, Ẓīyāu-d-dīn K. was made diwān of the Deccan in succession to Dīānat K., the grandson of Amānat K., deceased, and the bakhshīship, on the death of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān K., the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm K. s. Islām K. Mashhadī, was given to Faẓl Ullah K., the brother of the deceased. Both came together to Aurangabad. The Amīru-l-Umarā in order to remove the bad name and the common report that he did not allow the nominees of the court to act, permitted Ẓīyāu-d-dīn—who had relations with Quṭhu-l-mulk and on account of whom the latter had written strongly—to enter[5] upon his duties. He did not show favour to the other who was not free from turbulence. Afterwards, the said Khān[4] came to Delhi in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā. When Farrukh Siyar fell from power, it appeared that he (Ẓīyau-d-din) carried on correspondence with the emperor. He lost his influence and at the same time died.

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1 This is probably the Chīnāpatan in Mysore, 34 miles from Bangalore.

2 *Inkār namūd.* Perhaps denied that he had any hand in the matter.

3 Khāfī K. II. 790 says he had no real power.

4 Ẓīyāu-d-dīn. See Khāfī K. 797.

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FĀẒIL KHĀN SHAIKH MAKHDŪM ṢADR.

He was originally of Tatta. At first[1] he was secretary to Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah. In the 23rd year of Aurangzeb—when Qābil K. Mīr Munshī, the brother of Abū-l-fatḥ Qābil K. Wālā Shāhī, was for some reason a subject of censure—he was given the service of the *dāru-l-inshā* (the secretariat, lit. house of letters) and the rank of 500 with 30 horse and the gift of a gold-embroidered turban (*chīra*), and a *kamarband*, and a *jāma kamkhāb* (a gold-embroidered vest). On the death of Sharīf K. in the 26th year he was made Ṣadr-i-kull (chancellor). In the 28th year he got the title of Fāẓil K. and was given a jasper inkstand. In the 29th year he was, in succession to Khidmat Khān, made superintendent of petitions in addition to his other employment. In the 32nd year corresponding to 1099, 1688, he died of the plague which was prevalent in the royal camp.

(MĪR) FAẒL ULLAH BOKHĀRĪ.

A Sayyid of Bokhara. After he came to India he by good fortune obtained a suitable office, and became a favourite of Jahangir and was made an Amīr. He became a leading officer and was much regarded by the king. He developed a taste for art, and the wind of alchemy entered his head. Whenever he heard of an alchemist in India or found an inquirer into that, he courted him and spent much money. They say that the *'aml qamarī*[2] came into his hands and that he made silver when he wanted it He coined it in his house, and spent it on the pay of soldiers and for household expenses. On account of his labour and energy he had nearly acquired the 'aml shamsī (the art of making gold) but death did not permit this. He rolled up the goods of existence, but he performed some wonderful things. For instance he exhibited mercury in such a manner that one

[1] Maaṣir A. 191. The office which he obtained is there merely styled *Khidmat-i-insha*. The rank he obtained is said there to have been 500 with 300 horse. He is also said to have received a dagger and rupees 2,000, and to have afterwards risen to the rank of 1,500.

[2] The moon-art, i.e. the art of making silver, the art of making gold being *'aml shamsī*.

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grain[1] of it increased virile power ten times. His son Mīr Asad Ullah *alias* Mīr Mīrān was the son-in-law of Tarbīyat K. Bakhshī. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed for the first time to the government of the Deccan, Asad Ullah was by Shah Jahan's orders made his bakhshī. When the Prince went off on the Balkh expedition, Asad Ullah for some reason remained behind. Afterwards, he was made faujdār and fiefholder of Haringāon and Chopra[2] in Khandes and served there for a long time. He had the rank of 600 with 600 horse.

When the Prince for the second time held the government of the Deccan in the 31st year and marched against 'Abdullah Quṭb Shah, the ruler of Haidarabad, and besieged Golconda, the Mīr was stationed in the southern battery. Afterwards, when there was a proposal of peace by paying a kror of rupees as tribute, and giving the ruler's daughter in marriage to Sultan Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Prince, the men of the battery were forbidden to extend the mines or take other offensive measures. Mīr Asad Ullah came out of his battery in full security, and was walking about when a *zambūrak* (a small cannon) was discharged at him, and he was killed. As he was an old favourite he received the name of Mīr Asad Ullah the martyr, and after the Accession his sons—small and great—all received appropriate favours. One of his descendants was Jalālu-d-dīn K., who was bakhshī of the army of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah, and governor of the fort of Bīdar. He was treading the field of advancement when death did not give him time. Another was Mīr Yaḥīa who married the daughter of Sir Buland K. Mīr Bakhshī. His son Mīr 'Īsā K. was long governor of the forts of Candaur and Sangamnīr. After his death, his daughter's son was the qila'dār. Another of the sons of Mīr Asad Ullah—the one who was borne by the daughter of Tarbīyat K.—was Mīr Nūr Ullah Saiyid Nūr K. known as Bāghamār (the tiger-slayer) who was always faujdār of Thālner and other parganas of Khāndes, and also was a qila'dār. Though he had a small rank he possessed property and fortune and magnifi-

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1 *ek dāna birinjī*, a grain, the size of a rice-grain.

2 Jarrett II. 224, 225. I.G. III. 457 The Chopda of I.G.

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cence. But on account of his audacity he was often censured and degraded. In spite of this, as he was a khānazād (house-born one) whatever he wrote about public matters was approved. Accordingly, when Prince Muḥammad Akbar absconded and having passed near the country[1] of Awās came to Khandes, Khān Jahān Bahādur, who had hastened on to arrest him, when he had got near him, halted until S. Akbar withdrew to the hill-country of Baglāna. No one had the courage to write this except Nūr Ullah. He wrote to the king, and brought Khān Jahān under censure. His full brother Mīr Raḥmat Ullah was married to the granddaughter of Khān Daurān Lang. His son Mīr N'iamat Ullah was married to the daughter of Amānat K. Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn K. There was another son, and many grandsons. Pargana Bīr in Sarkār Gālna was as it were the fief of his sons for a long time. Their residences were there. From the beginning of the sway of Nawab Āṣaf Jāh it was confiscated, and they went off to other towns and villages. If by chance any remain he lives in solitary fashion.

FEDAI KHĀN.

He was Mīr Ẓarīf by name and he was a servant of Shah Jahan. As Shah Jahan had a great fancy for collecting horses, he sent[2] Fedai along with the Persian ambassador to buy Persian horses. As he did not bring a horse which Shah Jahan's critical mind approved of, he represented that if he were allowed to visit the mainland of Arabia and the countries of Rūm, he could buy special horses and so be relieved from his disgrace. Accordingly a friendly letter was sent with him to the Sultan of Turkey along with a decorated dagger of great value, so that if at any time he should meet with the Sultan he might be able to make use of the document. In the 10th year, he left Bandar Laharī (in Scinde) and came to Ḥijāz. After he had visited the holy places, he went to Egypt and from there to Mausul, and saw Sultan Murād Khān who was about to take Bagdad. The Sultan received the letter with respect and asked in the Turkish language why Fedai had

[1] Cf. I. 805, where the country now is spoken of as the hills of Sultanpur. Awas is Avāsgarh, Barwānī, Central India. See I.G. VII. 90. It is N. Khandes and on l. bank Narbada.

[2] Pādshāhnāma II. 184.

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undertaken this long journey. Fedai explained the reason and tendered the decorated dagger as a present. The Sultan was pleased and said that the arrival of an ambassador and a dagger from a great king at this time was an omen of victory. Next day Fedai presented on his own behaif one thousand pieces of cloth. The Sultan inquired about Indian armour ; Fedai had with him a valuable shield, and he said that arrows or bullets could not pierce it. The Sultan was astonished and shot an arrow against the shield with all his force, but it did not traverse it. He gave[1] him 10,000 *qurūsh* (piastres) which are worth Rs. 20,000, and said that he would allow him to depart after the affair of Bagdad had been finished, and that he might now go to Mausul and buy what things he wished. Afterwards, when Sultan Murād had taken by force Bagdad from the Persians, he returned to Mausul and gave Mīr Ẓarīf leave to depart, and sent the reply to the letter by Arslān Āqā along with a well-moving Arab horse with a saddle set with diamonds and a robe sewn with pearls after the fashion of Turkey. Mir Ẓarīf in company with the said ambassador embarked on a ship at Basra (Bussorah) and landed in Scinde.

When in the 13th year he came to Lahore, he proceeded quickly to Kashmīr, where the king was, and did homage. He produced[2] before the king 52 horses which he had purchased and two horses which the Sultan's armour-bearer (his host) had presented him with as among the best in Turkey. He received much praise for his good service, and obtained the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse and the title of Fedai K. He was also made Master of the Horse in succession to Tarbīyat K. At the same time he was appointed[3] to the government of Laharī Bandar. He had reached the first step of fortune's ladder when unkindly time poured the brackish draught of misfortune into his mouth. In the 14th year, and in the beginning of 1051, 1640, the cup of his life was filled.[4]

FEDAI KHĀN.

His name was Hedāyat Ullah. There were four brothers, each of whom by force of ability and courage became during the

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 186.
2 Do. do. 196.
3 Do. do. 201.
4 Do. do. 229. He died at Laharī Bandar.

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reign of Jahangir masters of power and influence and attained positions of trust. The first was M. Muḥammad Taqī who in the beginning of Jahangir's reign was appointed to accompany Mahabāt K. in the affair of Rānā Amr Singh. As his head was full of pride and his tongue abusive, which is the worst of faults, he conducted himself badly with the troopers, and they joined together and at the station of Pūr Māndal assembled [1] at the public hall of audience (?). The second, M. 'Inayat Ullah, who was famed for his skill and prudence, and was unrivalled in the art of accounts, became the diwān of Sultan Parvez, and transacted all the business in a masterly manner. But he disgusted people by his severities, and submitted to no one. In the end he fell from office. They say that when his appointed time (to die) came he went to the prince and begged pardon for his faults and recommended his children. When he came back to his house he died. The third was M. Rūḥ Ullah. He was a distinguished and handsome youth and a first-class polo-player. He was also an excellent huntsman. He was a favourite servant of Jahangir, and had a position. A wonderful thing was that at the time when the king was halting at the fort of Māndū, Rūḥ Ullah was sent with a brave army to chastise the recalcitrants of the neighbourhood. When he came to Jītpūr, the Rajah of that place received him and came out of the city and brought him under a tree, and sent for the materials of an entertainment. Suddenly a black snake came out of the tree and the Mīrzā called out *Mār mār* (strike the snake). One of his companions thought he was ordering the Rajah to be killed, and so wounded the Rajah. The Rajah on seeing this quickly and dexterously struck [2] the Mīrzā and with one blow put an [3] end to him (lit. made him the same as a bier). The army

[1] Māndal was a place in the Sarkār of Chitor, J. II. 274. The text has *sir diwān gushtand*. Perhaps we should read *siyah* for *sir* as diwān siyah kardan mean "to rebel or resist." See Vullers s.v. and Behar 'Ajam. Perhaps, however, *sir diwan* may mean "maddened." *Sir-diwān* also means "the open diwan" and may mean that the troopers flocked to the court-house or diwān to complain.

[2] The story of Rūḥ Ullah's death is told very differently in the Tūzuk J., pp. 193-94. The occurrence belonged to the 12th year. See Rogers' translation, p. 391.

[3] Text *īka u khibāza sākht*? There

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being without a leader fled and the Rajah appropriated the goods and withdrew into the mountains. Afterwards his country was overrun by the imperial forces and he was punished. The fourth was M. Hedāyat Ullah who was the youngest of all. At first he was Mīr Baḥr and had charge of the flotilla. He became the vakil of the famous Mahābat K. and was for a long time attached to the court and a recipient of royal favours.

As Mahābat K. patronized him, he in a short time became an Amīr. But on the occasion of Mahābat's disturbance he on account of fidelity to his salt and his devotion (fedāwat) did not fail to expose his life. The account of this is that when Jahangir was encamped on the bank of the Jhilam, and the officers from neglect and perfunctoriness had crossed over the bridge with the whole of the camp, nothing remained on the other side of the river except the royal quarters. Mahābat, who was watching his opportunity, took possession of the royal quarters. Fedai K. heard of the disturbance, and as the bridge had been burnt, he devotedly flung himself into the river opposite the royal quarters. Some of his companions were carried downstream by the force of the current and drowned, and others escaped [1] half-alive to the shore of safety. He himself with seven troopers emerged and made manful efforts. Four of his companions were killed, and he saw that the thing would not succeed, and that on account of the pressure of the enemy he could not reach the emperor. Like a stone which has struck against an iron wall and rebounds, he with the same activity turned round and recrossed the river. Next day when the Amīrs in conjunction with Nūr Jahān Begam plunged into the river in order to subdue the rebel (Mahābat) they could not

is the variant *ckdū khiyāra sakht*, "made him into two half cucumbers"? The phrase is evidently the same as that used at I. 229 in the account of the killing of I'timād K. alias 'Abdu-l-Qawī. As there, it cannot mean that the victim was cut in two. Evidently, I think, the words are taken from Prince Daniel's verse about his favourite gun which he called *janāza* or the bier. Jetpūr or Jītpūr seems to be the place of that name in Kathiwar and which is still the seat of a Rajah. See Jarrett II. 258, where it is placed in Sarkār Sorāth.

[1] Elliot VI. 425 has "through the coldness of the water were unable to proceed." But the time was April and the original speaks of the force of the stream's overturning the men, not of its coldness.

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advance on account of the attacks of the Rajputs, and retired. Fedai K. with a body of men crossed an arrow-flight further down the stream and drove off the enemy. He came to the quarters of Sultan Shahriyār, where the king was. As there was a tumult of horse and foot within the enclosure he stood at the entrance, and shot arrows so that his arrows were coming near the royal throne. Mukhlaṣ K. stood in front of the king and made himself a shield against the arrow of fate. At last Fedai K. after making efforts for a long time gave Ātā Ullah, his son-in-law and two or three manṣabdārs, to be killed, but could not reach the king. He hastened to Rohtās and took his family and went to Girjhāk Nandana[1] which is near the hill of Kāngra, and obtained security (for his family). As Badr bakhsh Janūha (Janjūa) the zamindar of that pargana was loyal, Fedai left his belongings (i.e. his family, etc.) there and hastened to India (Hindustan in text).

When in the 22nd year of the reign Mukarram K., the governor of Bengal, was drowned in his boat, Fedai K. was appointed[2] governor (in 1627), and it was fixed that he should pay into the general treasury five lacs of rupees as *peshkash* to the emperor and five lacs as a present to the Begam (Nūr Jahan), or altogether ten lacs. From that time the *peshkash* of the governors of Bengal was fixed. After the accession of Shah Jahan he was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the 5th year, he had a flag and a drum, and in the same year he received the fief of Jaunpūr. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Gorakhpūr. When 'Abdullah K., the governor of Behar, addressed himself to subdue Pertāb the Ujjainyī, Fedai K., in his zeal, hastened to assist him though he was not ordered to do so, and took part in the capture of Bhojpūr which was Pertāb's capital. They say he was a lover of soldiers and had Afghan servants. Nor was he without haughti-

[1] Iqbālnāma 265 and Tūzuk J. 406. It is Band in text. Girjhāk was in the Sind Sāgar Dūāb, J. II. 324. It is the Jalālpūr village of I. G. XIV. 15. Cf. De Laet who says, p. 266, that Fedai went to Rhokestan (qu. Registan) in the deserts of Thombal (qu. Jambhal) to Rajah Ghomanaw.

[2] Tūzuk 419 and Iqbālnāma 291. The notice does not mention that he was removed from Bengal on the accession of Shah Jahan. See Stewart's Bengal, 239.

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ness which was part of the character of the brothers. They say that when he was removed from Bengal, and came to court a crowd of people complained against him that he had taken large sums from them rightly or wrongly. As they made a claim for redress to the court, the clerks sent him a message that the case had been instituted and that he should answer it. He took his dagger in his hand and said that the answer to the complaints was the point of his dagger, and that it was an absurd notion that he would come there. They should be careful of imagining such a thing. When this was reported to Shah Jahan he passed it over and favoured him more than ever. In the 13th year when Ẓarīf got the title of Fedai K., he received that of Jān Niṣār K. In the 14th year he sent two elephants from his fief to the presence. When Ẓarīf K. died in that year, he received again his old title. In the 15th year he came from his fief and did homage, and in the same year he joined Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to Kabul on there being a probability that the ruler of Persia would attack Qandahar. After his return he was allowed to go to his fief of Gorakhpūr. In the 19th year he again came and did homage, and when after the death of Rajah Jagat Singh, intimation was given to Murshid Qulī that he should take the fort of Tārāgarh (near Ajmere). Fedai K. was also appointed to execute this undertaking. Though Murshid Qūli had taken the fort before Fedai K.'s arrival, yet he made it over to Fedai when he came. After a petition came from Fedai K. the fort was made over to Bahādur Kambū. Fedai died in the same year, some time afterwards.[1]

FEDAI KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ.

He and Ṣafdar K. Jamālu-d-dīn were sons of A'ẓim K. Koka. In the 21st year of the reign of Aurangzeb when A'ẓim K. after being removed from the government of Bengal came[2] to Dacca and died (in May 1678) the king sent mourning dresses to each of

1 A note to text at p. 17 mentions several entries about Fedai in the history called 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, but they are not important.

2 Dacca was his residence as governor of Bengal and probably he died before leaving it. See Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 302. He was on his way to Bihar. Maaṣir A., p. 168

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them. The first attained a suitable rank in the lifetime of his father, and got the title of Khān In the 23rd year he succeeded Ṣalābat K. as superintendent of the elephant-stables. In the 26th year he was made *Bakhshī* of the Aḥadīs in succession to Shihābu-d-dīn K. In the 28th year he was made *faujdār* and diwān of Bareilly, and afterwards had the faujdāri of Gwalior. In the 38th year he had his father's title of Fedai K. and on the death of Shaista K. he was made faujdār of Agra. After that he was for some time governor of Bihar. In the 44th year he was made *faujdār* of Tirhut and Darbhangha and had the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. The second son obtained distinction by becoming the son-in-law[1] of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh and had a good rank and the title of Khān. In the 27th year he had the title of Ṣafdar K., and afterwards he became faujdār of Gwalior. In the 33rd year he attacked a fort belonging thereto and was killed by a bullet.

FĪRŪZ K., the eunuch.

One of the trusted servants of Jahangir. After that monarch had departed to the other world, and when Āṣaf K. Abu-l-ḥasan had raised Bulāqī, the son of Khusrau, to the throne and had fought with Shahriyār, and Shahriyar—bereft of sense—had come to the capital and crept into the palace, Fīrūz, at the instance of Āṣaf, entered the palace and brought out Shahriyār with violence and made him over to Āṣaf. In the first year of Shah Jahan's reign Fīrūz entered into his service and was promoted to his former rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the 4th year he had an increase of 300 horse, and in the 8th year his rank was 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 12th year his rank was 2,500 with 1,200 horse. In the 13th year he had an increase of 500, and in the 18th year, at the feast for the recovery of Begam Ṣāḥiba, the Emperor's eldest daughter—who had been burnt by a spark from a lamp falling on her dress, and had for a time lain on the bed of sickness—his rank became 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 21st year, 18 Ramẓān

[1] He was also his nephew. His death is mentioned in the Maaṣir A., p. 335.

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1057, 7th October 1647, he died. He had charge of the palace,[1] and he was respected and honoured in Shah Jahan's service. A garden which he made on the bank of the Jhilam is famous for its beauty.

(MĪRZA) FŪLDĀ.[2]

S. Khudādād Barlās. The meaning of the word *barlās*[3] is "courageous and of gentle birth." The whole clan of Barlās is derived from Iradam-cī[4] who is the first person who bore the title of Barlās. He was son of Qācūlī Bahādur, who was the eighth ancestor of Amīr Timur Ṣāḥib Qirān and the twin brother of Qabal K., the third ancestor of Cingez K.

The Mīrzā's ancestors had served the Timurid family, generation after generation. When 'Abdullah K., the ruler of Tūrān, by bestowal of presents upon Akbar pulled the chain of friendship, he wrote in terms of amity and suggested an expedition against Persia and that they should join together and take Khurāsān and Fārs from the dynasty ruling there. Akbar out of generosity and gentleness sent in the 22nd year M. Fūlād—a young man adorned with talents and tact—as an ambassador, together with some of the rarities of India. In reply to the letter he said[5] that the Ṣafavī family was related to the Prophet, and should be respected, and that he did not consider a difference in customs or religion a reason for attacking a country. He also said that old associations with the family withheld him from attacking it. And as 'Abdullah had not mentioned the Shah of Persia with respect Akbar wrote rebuking him and gave him good advice.

Verse.

The wise do not call him great
Who speaks contemptuously of the great.

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1 Presumably this is the Nāzir or chief eunuch referred to by Manucci I. 220. But Manucci seems to misrepresent what Bernier said. See Bernier's first chapter. The words describing his office are *niẓārat mashkūī* and mean specially the superintendence of the female apartments.

2 B. 206.

3 B. 341, note 1. A.N. translation I. 178 and 190 n. 1. Barlās is said to be also the name of a province near Samarkand.

4 Text Barūmjī, or Barū Maḥī. There is the variant Irād Maḥī.

5 A.N. III. 211.

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The Mīrzā after performing his embassy returned to India, and did good service under Akbar. As in this tribe the Turk-like[1] ignorance and turbulence which are innate in them exist even after mixing with the world, and the receiving of education, especially in the matter of religion, for they call bigotry and obstinacy the defending of Faith, M. Fūlād[2] in the 32nd year and beginning of 996, January 1588, killed Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta—who was one of the erudite of the age—by inflicting on him a fatal wound, and through Akbar's justice, brought upon himself capital punishment.

The brief account of this is as follows. When Akbar had reached the elevation of "Peace with all" and had proclaimed universal toleration in the matter of religion, every sect indulged its tenets without any apprehension, and every one worshipped God according to his own principles without molestation. Mullā Aḥmad, like many other learned men, was a firm believer in the Imāmī religion, and loudly inculcated it. Owing to his idiosyncrasy he treated of it in an immoderate manner. M. Fūlād was a bigoted Sunnī and nourished hatred in his heart for Mullā Ahmad and watched for an opportunity to kill him. One midnight he and one of his companions lay in wait in a dark lane and sent off a man disguised as a royal servitor (chāwash) to summon Mullā Aḥmad. On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off half his arm (from the elbow). The assailants thought they had cut his head off and went[3] off, by a lane. The Mullā, in spite of so severe a wound, took up his arm and came to the house of Ḥakīm Ḥasan. The chronogram of the catastrophe is *Zihe* khanjar-i-Fūlād "Bravo, the dagger of Fūlād (or, of steel, 996)." The night patrol found out the two assailants, but though they bore marks of the murder they did not confess. Akbar sent the Khān-Khānān, Āṣaf K., and S. Abu-l-faẓl to the Mullā to inquire into the matter. He described what had happened. Akbar stripped M. Fūlād and his companion of the robe of life and had

1 *Sharārat turkāna.*

2 A.N. III. 527 and Badayūnī, Lowe 376.

3 *pai gam kanān*, lit. "losing their feet." It is a phrase for doing something without reckoning the cost of it. Vullers I. 88a. The attack took place in the end of December 1587 or beginning of January 1588. Mullā A. was on horseback.

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them tied to the foot of an elephant and taken through the whole city of Lahore. Though the chief persons of the Sultanate sought to have the murderers released, it was of no avail. The Mullā too after three or four days rolled up the carpet of life. They say that S. Faiẓī and S. Abu-l-faẓl set a guard over the Mullā's tomb, but that as at the same[1] time the royal camp was moving to Kashmīr, the city-rabble took out the body and burnt it.

As the story[2] of the Mullā is not without strangeness, a short account of it is added. His ancestors were Fārūqī Hanīfīs in religion and his father was Qāẓī of Tatta and a Reis of Scinde. In his youth an Arab, a pious wanderer, came from 'Irāq to Tatta and stayed for some days in the neighbourhood of the Mullā. In conversation with him the Mullā became acquainted with the principles of the Imāmīya religion and took an affection for that creed. This became notorious. Though in his youth he withdrew from ordinary branches of knowledge and gave himself up to teaching, yet, as it was not possible to acquire certain sciences in Tatta, he in his 22nd year became a Calendar and went off on his travels. When he came to Holy Mashhad he studied the Qoran and the Imāmīya traditions and the rules of asceticism under Maulānā Afẓal of Qāīn. He also went to Yezd and Shiraz and studied under Mullā Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Ṭabīb and Mullā Mīrzā Jān, and learned all the rules and the Sharḥ Tajrīd with the commentaries (rules of asceticism). In Qazwin he had the good fortune to enter the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp. When Ism'aīl the 2nd became sovereign and proclaimed Sunnism, the Mullā hastened off to Arabian 'Irāq and the holy places (Mecca and Medina). He made the acquaintance of many learned men, and profited thereby. After that he came by sea to the Deccan and entered the service of

1 Akbar did not go to Kashmīr till the 34th year.

2 As pointed out by Rieu I. 118 there is an account of Mullā Aḥmad's career in the Majālisu-l-Mūminīn. The passage may be found in Hājī Ibrāhīm of Tabriz's lith. edition of that work, p. 245. Aḥmad is there called the son of Naṣr Ullah. Aḥmad himself told his story to the author of the Majālis and ascribed his conversion mainly to one M. Ḥasan who came to him from Ormuz in consequence of a dream. According to the Majālis it was Naqīb K. who read from day to day to Akbar what had been written of the T. Alfī. The Majālis, p. 246, says, Akbar smiled on receiving the Mullā's reply, the point of which was the innuendo that the killing of Uṣmān was a good thing as it cleared the way for 'Alī's becoming Caliph.

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Quṭb Shah the ruler of Golconda. In the 27th year, he came to Fatḥpūr Sikrī and got admission to the court of Akbar. He was employed in writing the Tārīkh Alfī which is a history of a thousand years of Islām. He wrote with acumen the account of events up to the time of Cingez K., and comprised them in two volumes. When he was killed, Āṣaf K. Ja'afar continued the work up to 997. They say that Mullā Aḥmad read to Akbar what he had written, and that when he came to the history of the third Caliph (Uṣmān) he went into details about his murder and the causes thereof. Akbar was fatigued by the length of the narrative and asked why the Maulavī had made the story so long. Without hesitation and in the presence of the Tūrān officers and magnates, Mullā Aḥmad represented that his story was the "Martyrs' Garden" of the Sunnīs, and could not be shortened. On account of these words it was widely reported that he (Aḥmad) was a Shī'a. S. 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī has related in his history that he once saw the *Shaikh* in the bazaar, and that some 'Irāqīs spoke in his (Badayūni's) praise. Mullā Aḥmad said "The light of heresy (tarafẓ) is manifest in his forehead." Badayuni answered "Just as the light of Sunnism is visible in your countenance."[1]

(SHAIKH) GADĀĪ[2] KAMBŪ.

S. Shaikh Jamālī of Delhi who was disciple and successor of S. Samāu-d-dīn Saharwardī. His (Jamāl's) name was Jalāl and his pen name was Jalālī, but at his Pīr's suggestion he took the pen name of Jamālī. In the begginning of his career he was a companion of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, and he held a high position on account of his knowledge and excellences. He was also a poet. His verses are very tasteful. This is one of them.

Verse.[3]

The dust of thy street is the garment on my body
That too has a hundred cracks down to the skirt from my tears.

1 Badayūnī, Lowe 327.
2 Badayūnī III. 76, do. I. Ranking 429 and 455; also Darbār A. 770.
3 See Badayūnī, Ranking 429. The Darbār Akbarī 771 says that Jamālī quoted these lines at his introduction

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As the Shaikh was not devoid of faqīrship and dervishship he went off to the Ḥijāz. After that he came to Herat in the time of Sultan Ḥusain M. He had interviews with Mīr 'Alī Sher, and associated with 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī—may his grave be holy; when he returned to India he made acquaintance with Bābur and was much appreciated by Humāyūn. The latter visited his dervish-cell several times. In the year 942, 1535–36, he died. The chronogram is Khusrau-i-Hind *būda*, "He was the sun[1] of India" (or "he was the Khusrau of India). The Siyāru-l-'Ārifīn[2] was written by him.

He was buried in old Delhi in the Zainī[3] tomb which is by the side of the mosque which his son Gadāī built. They say he composed an ode in praise of the Prophet and that several pious people have received from His Highness (Muḥammad) the good news of his acceptance of this verse.

Verse.[4]

Moses fainted at one ray of thy glory,
Thou beholdest with a smile the Almighty Himself.

S. Gadāī also had a pleasant wit and acquired excellences and the possession of the current sciences. He also composed and recited Hindī songs. He lived with comfort and good fortune in Gujarat. When in the time of the predominance of Sher K., Bairām chose exile and went to that province, the Shaikh treated him well and was generous to him. When the fates had put the control of India into Bairām's hands, the Shaikh, in the year of Akbar's accession, came from Gujarat and by means of Bairām

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to Jāmī. The point of them was that he appeared before Jāmī almost naked and covered with dust. After repeating the lines, he shed a flood of tears, and as they coursed down his body they made fissures in his garment of dust. There is a notice of Jamālī in the Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 84, and one of his *pīr* Samāu-d-dīn at p. 74. Jamālī died when accompanying Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujarat.

[1] Amīr Khusrau was a famous poet, but as he too was of India, the Khusrāu of the chronogram would seem to mean the sun.

[2] See Rieu's Cat. I. 354.

[3] Perhaps the tomb where one Zainu-d-dīn was buried. The tomb and mosque are described in the Aṣār Sanādīd Nos. 58 and 59.

[4] The verse is quoted in the Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 84, and it is stated there that Muḥammad appeared to Jamālī and expressed his approval of the above verse.

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entered into the King's service and was made[1] Ṣadr (chief ecclesiastical officer—chancellor). He managed so well with Bairām that the latter transacted no political or financial business without taking his opinion. The Shaikh used to put his seal on the back of ordinances.

He was let[2] off the salutation (*taslīm*) and in assemblies took precedence of all the well-born Saiyids. His greatness was such that he paid his respects to Akbar without dismounting. But the man-throwing wine of worldliness soon cast him down, and pride which destroys[3] old fortunes, quickly destroyed this new one. When Bairām's power decayed, Gadāī separated from him at Mewāt and waited on the King. As high and low were convinced that the Shaikh was the source of all the mischief, and that he had led astray Bairām K., the pillars of the empire adjudged him to be deserving of condign punishment and did not fail to accuse him. But Akbar in his perfect kindness was gracious to him and treated him with favour. But the old honour and position did not remain. In 976, 1568-1569, he died[4] in Delhi.

(RAJAH) GAJ SINGH.

S. Rajah Sūraj Singh Rāthor. In the 10th year of Jahangir he did homage along with his father, and on the latter's death he in the 14th year attained the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. His rank gradually increased, and in the 18th year when there was a marshalling of armies between Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and Sultan Parvīz was appointed to the Deccan along with Mahābat K. and others, Rajah Gaj Singh was also appointed to accompany the prince. In the end of Jahangir's reign he with Khān Jahān Lodī,—who had crossed the Nerbudda and taken possession of some of the estates of Mālwa—came to Mālwa. When the renown of Shah Jahan filled the world, he separated from Khān Jahān and went to his own country. After the arrival

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1 Badayūnī, Lowe, 22.

2 See Akbar's Firmān, trans. A.N. II. 161.

3 A.N. III. trans. 132.

4 Badayūnī, Lowe, 124. The chronogram yields 976. Badayūnī, III. 76, says Gadāī left Bairām near Bīkānīr. He adds that Gadāī after his return to Delhi continued to be honoured.

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of the royal retinue at Agra, he in the first year of the reign did homage. As his father was the King's maternal uncle[1] he was presented with a special khilat, a decorated jamdhar (dagger), a *phūlkatāra* (a kind of dagger), an adorned scimetar, and was confirmed in the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse—which he had held in Jahangir's time—, and had the gift of a flag and drums, a horse from the special stable, with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year as Shah Jahan had determined upon punishing Khān Jahān Lodī—who had raised the standard of rebellion and had fled and gone to Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥri (i.e. falconer) and there made himself secure—and upon chastising the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk and on plundering his *t'alūqs*, he left the capital for the Deccan. He chose three armies under three distinguished leaders, and gave the command of one of them to the Rajah and sent him off along with A'ẓim K., the governor of the Deccan. He was to go and trample down the Niẓām's territory and not slacken in chastising Khān Jahān. Afterwards, in the 4th year, when Yemenu-d-daula was sent off to waken up 'Ādil Shah, he was appointed to the vanguard. After returning from there, he went to his native country, and in the 6th year came to the imperial threshold. He again had the present of a horse with a gilded saddle and of a *khilat*. In the 10th year, he was allowed to go home. In the 11th year, he came to court with his son Jaswant Singh and performed the *kornish*. In the end of the same year on 2 Muḥarram, 1048, 6th May, 1638, he died. He was distinguished from the other Rajahs by his connection with royalty and his numerous troops, etc. The customs of the Rāthors are different from those of the other Rajputs, for that child succeeds whose mother the father has loved most, though he may be younger. At first the head of the Rāthors had the title of Rāo, but afterwards when Udai Singh by entering the service of Akbar had the title of Rajah, it was arranged that the other members of the family should have the name of Rāo. (From the above-mentioned family custom) it happened that on the death of Udai Singh,

1 Shah Jahan's mother was Jodh Bai, daughter of the "Fat Rajah," Udai Singh. Sūraj Singh was her brother.

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Sūraj Singh, though he was younger than his brothers, succeeded to the title of Rajah. Similarly the emperor presented Jaswant Singh with a khilat, a jamdhar (dagger), a manṣab of 4000 with 4000 horse, and the title of Rajah in accordance with his father's will, and gave him a flag, and drums, a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant. Amr Singh, the elder brother of Jaswant, who had been sent to Kabul along with Prince Sultan Shujā', had an increase of 1000 horse and a manṣab of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Rāo. A separate account has been given of both.

GANJ 'ALĪ KHĀN 'ABDULLAH BEG.

Elder son of 'Alī Mardān K. the Amīru-l-Umarā. In the 26th year of Shah Jahan he received the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 28th year he had the increase of 500, and in the 29th year he had the increase of 100 horse. In the 30th year his rank was 1500 with 800 horse. In the 31st year when his father died, his rank was 2500 with 1500 horse. Afterwards he accompanied Sulaimān Shikoh against Prince Shujā'. When there was a change of affairs, and the heavens advanced Aurangzeb, he came[1] to the court and entered into service. In the 1st year he had the gift of drums and went with Khalīl Ullah in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards the title of Ganj 'Alī was conferred on him and he took part in the battle with Shujā' and in the second[2] battle with Dārā Shikoh. In the 9th year his rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he was entered among the auxiliaries of Kabul. He was prominent in battle against the Afghans of the Khaibar,[3] but further particulars of him are not known.[4]

(RAI) GAUR DHAN SŪRAJ[5] DHWAJ.

He was an inhabitant of Khārī on the Ganges, and they say

1 Khāfī K. II. 33.

2 Do. do. 65.

3 Apparently the battle of 6 May, 1672, in which Muḥammad Amīn K. was defeated.

4 He was named after his grandfather who was Governor of Qandahar, and was accidentally killed there. See note to 'Alī Mardān. There was a garden at Qandahar known as Ganj 'Alī.

5 Sūraj Dhwaj "The Sun-standard" is a subdivision of the Kayasth caste (Irvine). See also Elliot, Supp.

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that in the beginning of his career he sate at the door of the Cutcherry and copied out papers, thereby making three or four pice (*tankas*) a day. He wanted to acquire a brass inkstand, but could not manage it. After some time he, during the diwanship of Khwāja[1] Abu-l-Ḥasan Turbatī, came to the Khwāja in company with Harkarn[2] an inhabitant of Kampilā Batalī (or Patali) with the desire to get service at court. The Khwājah looked at them and said, "Harkarn knows book-keeping, but he appears to be a thief, and Gaur Dhan is a fool." He signed a paper giving the first rs. 30 a month, and the second rs. 25. When the diwanship came to I'timādu-d-daula, Gaur Dhan got rs. 50 a month and was made bakshi of the menial servants (*shāgird pesha*). Afterwards he got the title of Rai, and the diwānī of I'timādu-d-daulah was followed by his being enrolled in the royal establishment. Every day his influence increased, and gradually he became the centre of affairs for all India.

Even the Khan-Khānān Commander-in-chief became an applicant[3] at his house.

In the expedition to Gujarat, when[4] Jahangir went upon the sea, Rai Gaur Dhan was one day going to his house from the darbār, when at the instigation of Sharīfu-l-Mulk the bakhshī of I'timādu-d-daula's establishment, a person struck him on the arm with a sword. It produced no effect, and from that day his reputation rose higher. Though 'Asmat Begam, the wife (mother of Nūr Jahān) of I'timādu-d-daula, disliked him, he did not sustain

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Gloss. I. 305. There are 12 branches of the Kayasths. See also Crooke's "Tribes of the N.W.P." III. 191. It seems that Khārī, otherwise Gordhannagar, is in the district of Etah and in the *tahsil* of Aliganj. West of Patālī there is a village called Duvānnagar, which may be that founded by Gaur Dhan. (Information given by Maqbūl Aḥmad through Mr. Irvine).

1 Maaṣir I. 737. Abu-l-Ḥasan was Diwān of the Deccan in Akbar's time. He was afterwards a high officer under Jahangir. See Maaṣir I. 737.

2 Apparently the author of the work mentioned in Rieu 530 and translated by F. Belfour. Kampilā, properly Kāmpilā, was in Sarkār Kanauj, J. II. 185. It is famous in connection with the Kūrūs and Pāndūs, See I.G. XIV. 328. It is in the Farrukhabad district. It is also mentioned in Jarrett II. 282, though wrongly spelt Rampilā.

3 See biography of 'Azīzkok[illegible] 691.

4 In the 12th year of his [illegible] 1617. T. Jahangir 208, Iqb[illegible] 106, and Elliot VI. 354. The [illegible] of the wounding is not men[illegible] the current histories.

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any diminution of rank. After the death of I'timādu-d-daulah he became manager for Nūr Jahān Begam. In the disturbance of Mahābat K. who was an enemy of this family, Gaur Dhan out of opportunism sided with him. Mahābat made over to him all affairs, in gross or detail, and he, out of wickedness and ingratitude, shared in wishing ill to and in slandering his benefactors and disclosed their wealth and hidden treasures. He thereby disgraced himself before the world. Afterwards when the commotion subsided, Āṣaf K. imprisoned him, and after a while he died. His wife performed *sati* along with his body. He had no children. He made his birthplace of Khārī like a city by making *pucka* enclosures, lofty buildings, roads and bazaars, and gave it the name of Gaur Dhannagar. He also rebuilt and put in order the dwelling houses there. He also signed over the rents thereof as endowments to the craftsmen there. He established there every kind of artizan, and formed studs of cows, buffaloes, mares, camels, goats, and sheep near his home on the bank of the Ganges, like the studs (īlkhīhā) in foreign countries (*Wilayat*, Persia?). Much milk, curds and butter were produced; and on the road to Lahore he established serais and spacious tanks.

In Mathura, on this side of the river (i.e. the side opposite the town of Mathurā), he built a large temple in a place called Gaur Dhannagar. In Ujjain too he constructed a tank and a temple. In fine he, in search of a good name, introduced several usages, and left good rules that they might be a memorial of him in this old staging-house (the world). In punishment for his ingratitude his goods were confiscated to the Āṣaf Jāh[1] establishment. The water in his tanks dried up, his serais became deserted, and his home, Khārī, was assigned to Shujā'at K. Bārha as a fief. No trace[2] remained of his wealth or herds.

Verse.

No sign of wine-jar (*kham*) or of wine tavern (khamkhāna).

1 K
2 Do
3 Apl

1672, in
was defeatps this means "the imperial
4 He waent."
father who wnd no notice of this interesting man in Keval Rām, and apparently he is not remembered in his native town.

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(MIR) GESŪ OF KHURĀSĀN.

One of the Saiyids of that country. At Akbar's Court he became an object of trust on account of his good services and was made Bakāwal Beg (superintendent of the kitchen)—an office only conferred on trustworthy men. When Muḥibb 'Alī K. the son of the Mīr Khalīfa addressed himself to the siege of Bhakar, and the garrison became hard-pressed,—as has been stated in Muḥibb 'Alī's biography,—Sultan Maḥmūd, the ruler there, represented to Akbar that what had passed, had passed, and that now he was willing to surrender the fort, but that there was enmity between him and Muḥibb 'Alī, and that he had no confidence in him. He begged therefore that one of Akbar's servants might be deputed. Akbar deputed Mīr Gesū. When he came there, Muḥibb 'Alī's men blocked his path, and he was nearly being made prisoner. Khwāja Muqīm of Herat, the father of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Bakhshī (author of the Ṭabaqāt)—who had gone there as Amīn—by his sound counsels restrained Muḥibb 'Alī from improper contention. The garrison, who had been waiting for the Mīr, surrendered the keys in accordance with Sultan Maḥmūd's agreement—who had died before the Mīr's arrival—in the 19th year, 982, 1574-75. Such a cultivated country came into his possession. But Muḥibb 'Alī K. in his foolish covetousness did not withdraw his affections from the country, and things between them ended in dispute and contest.

When Akbar heard of this, he sent Tarson K. as governor of the country, and when his brethren came there, Mīr Gesū—who had tasted the sweets of rule—became presumptuous and wanted to strengthen the fort. But a consideration of the final end of things restrained him from this wrong notion. He withdrew and went off to kiss the threshold. Afterwards he held the faujdā[illegible] of Mirtha [1] and of the Delhi districts which are the best in [illegible] Dūāb.

As he always had disputes with his servants about their [illegible] and both parties had only regard to their own interests, [illegible] arose a quarrel between him and the soldiery in the 28th[illegible]

[1] A.N. III. 414. But Delhi is not mentioned there.

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991, 1583, in Mirtha. He turned some ignominiously out of their quarters, and in the morning, which was the ʿĪd of Shawwāl 8th October, 1583, he came, flown with wine, to the ʿĪdgāh. Some of the hypocrites approached him with a petition, and he abandoned discretion and abused them. They broke out into rebellion, and the Mīr in his wrath set fire to their houses. They rose up against him, and his companions behaved with cowardice. His[1] days came to an end and the rebels wickedly reduced his body to ashes. Akbar was angry on hearing of this, and capitally punished many of them. His son Mīr Jalālul-d-dīn Masʿaūd—who held a suitable rank—died in the third year of Jahangir, and his mother, when he was dying and his case was hopeless, took opium and died one or two hours after her son. It is common in India for wives to enter the fire when their husbands have died, but that a mother should sacrifice her life on account of her son is something unusual. But, in fact, the conditions in the two cases (" Jalāl's mother and the Hindu widows) are not the same. For it often happens that the widows sacrifice themselves on account of the custom without being moved by love. Hence it is that on the deaths of Rajahs ten or twenty men and women cast themselves into the fire.

GHAIRAT KHĀN.

He is Khwāja Kāmgār, brother's son of ʿAbdullah K. Bahādur Fīrūz Jang. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan his rank was 1000 with 400 horse, and when in the 4th year Khān Jāhan Lodī came from the Deccan with intent to make a disturbance and, after the killing of Daryā K., his sole desire was to obtain safety and to get away even with ignonimy, ʿAbdullah K. was in the vanguard of Saiyid Moẓafar K. Bārha and did not cease from following him. Khān Jahān was helpless, and fought and lost some his relatives and then fled. On this occasion, Kāmgār in com-

1 K.
2 Do
3 Mīr Gesū is noticed in Blochmann
Apr His end is described in A.N. III.
1672, in The son's death and the
was defeat suicide are recorded in the
4 He was p. 67, Roger's translation,
father who was the occurrence is there
described as having happened in the beginning of 1014, i.e. the first year. The Iqbālnāma 33 mentions another case where a daughter took poison on the death of her father.

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pany with his uncle distinguished himself. When Khān Jahān got away from Kālinjar, he went 20 *kos* further and stopped at the bank of the Sahinda[1] pond. As he had no hope of escape, and was tired of life he faced the vanguard of the royal army in the beginning of Rajab 1040, 24 January, 1631, dismounted, and with a few followers engaged in fight. Before Saiyid Mozaffar arrived, the Saiyids with a few brave men cut him and his followers to pieces. Afterwards, 'Abdullah K. came up, cut off the heads of Khān Jahān and his son 'Azīz and of Īmal K. and sent them to court with Khwāja Kāmgār. (Here part of Khān Jahān's biography is repeated). Khwāja Kāmgār was rewarded with a robe of honour, a horse, an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and the title of Ghairat K. In the 10th year, he got an increase of 1000 and 1200 horse and his rank became 2500 with 2000 horse and he was made governor of the province of Delhi in succession to Asalat K. In the 12th year the building of Shahjahanabad was entrusted to him. In 1048 he made the necessary excavations and in 1049, 9 Muharram, 2nd May, 1639, he laid the foundations.

For four months more he laboured strenuously at the work and then he was appointed to Scinde. He proceeded thither and died in the 14th year there in 1050, 1640-41. The Jahāngīrnāma[2] —distinct from the Iqbālnāma of Mua'tmad K.—is by him. He has written many things which Mua'tmad K. has passed over on account of his sycophancy. Especially he has described at length Jahangir's rebellion in the time when he was prince.

GHAIRAT KHĀN MUHAMMAD IBRĀHĪM.

S. Najābat K. and a distinguished servant of Shah Jahan. He received the rank of 800 with 400 horse, and when Aurangzeb proceeded from the Deccan to visit his father, and Najābat accompanied him, he (Ghairat) gradually rose to the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and received the title of Shujā'at K. After battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh and the first battle Dārā Shikoh his rank became 5000 with 5000 horse, and the title of Khān 'Ālam. When the king pursued Dārā Sh

[1] See Maasir, I. 729. [2] Rieu. 257a.

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far as Multan and then returned, the charge of Multan was given to Lashkar K., but as he was in Kashmīr, Ghairat remained there in charge till his arrival. Afterwards he was removed from there, and in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh was attached to the royal stirrup. After that, he was for some reason removed from office, but in the end of the second year, he was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse. In the third year, he got the title of Ghairat K. and returned to his old position. In the 9th year, he was sent along with Muḥammad M'ūaẓẓam to Kabul on account of reports about the movements of the Persian king, and he received an increase of 500 horse. In the 10th year he, along with the above-mentioned prince, waited on the king, and when the prince went to his own government of the Deccan, Ghairat K. went with him. Afterwards he was faujdār[1] of Jaunpūr and in the 23rd year he was removed and came to court. Along with Sultan Muḥammad Akbar (Aurangzeb's son) he went against the Sīsodia and Rāthor tribes who were becoming turbulent in that year.

When the prince at the instance of the Rajputs became rebellious and came forward to contend with his father, Ghairat was his associate. When the prince fled, Ghairat went off to Shah 'Ālam who sent him to court. On this account, he became an object of anger and was put in charge of Ihtimām K., in order that he might look after him in the Akbarī[2] buildings (?). He was imprisoned there for a long time, and in the 43rd year, he was released[3] and received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and the faujdārī of Jaunpūr. A brother of his, Muḥammad Qulī by name, in the 26th year of Shah Jahan had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and went with Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar. In the 28th year he was made superintendent of the elephant stables, and in the 30th year he was made Mīr Tūzuk and had the title of M'ata-

1 K... Maaṣir A. 170. He was struck ...htning and injured in the leg.

2 Do... ...ple were killed.

3 Ap... Halāt-Akbarī. Maaṣir A. 205. 1672, in ... phrase mean Agra ? was defeat... A. 405. The text has

4 He wa... ahāi yāfta, as if he were father who w... ased. But in the Maaṣir A. from which the account is taken the word *ghaibāna* qualifies the appointment, i.e. *manṣab*, and means that he received the appointment without coming to court. The Maaṣir A. says his father Najābat had the title of Khān 'Ālam.

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qad K. In the 31st year he had the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse, of which 800 were two and three horse. He also had the faujdārī and the fief of Bahraich in Oudh. In the 10th year of Aurangzeb he had the faujdārī of Sultanpur Bilehri.[1] Afterwards he was for some reason censured and removed from his rank. In the 12th year he was given the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the office of superintendent of the *jilau* (retinue, or grooms). Another brother, Muḥammad Ism'aīl K., before Aurangzeb's time, had the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 2nd year had the title of Khān.

One of Najābat K.'s grandchildren was called Bahrawar K. In the 29th year of Aurangzeb he was made deputy of Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah in the province of Mālwa on the death of the Rai Raiān Mulūk Cand. Afterwards he had the title of Najābat K. and was made governor of Burhānpūr and faujdār of Baglāna. In the 47th year he had the rank of 2000 with 500 horse, and in the time of the power of A'ẓim Shah he was made governor of Mālwa. In the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā when near his end[2] (?) confined him in the fort of Mulher to which he had been appointed. Two sons of his remained. One was Fatḥyāb K. who for a long time was the hereditary governor of Auranggarha *alias* Mulher. In 1156, 1743, he went with 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. Bahādur—who had received a grant of the government of Gujarat from Muḥammad Shah—to that province. On the way a battle took place with the Mahrattas and he was martyred. His son had his title and for a time held a fief. At the time of writing he serves this man and that man. The second, Faiẓyāb K., was a dissolute man (yārbāsh).[3] He is dead.

GHĀLIB KHĀN BĪJĀPŪRĪ.

At first he was a servant of 'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr, and w[illegible] governor of the fort of Parenda which belonged to the provi[nce]

1 Text Malharī, but there is the variant Bilehrī and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrnāma 1057 and with Jarrett II. 174. It was in Sarkār Audh.

2 *Bar sir dādān 'amal.*

3 See Forbes' dictionary, s[illegible]

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of Aurangabad which was then subject to 'Ādil Shah. In the 3rd year of Aurangzeb he became suspicious of 'Ādil Shah and addressed himself to Shaista K., the Amīru-l-Umarā, and made[1] over the fort to the imperial government. As a reward he received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and the title of Khān, and became one of the officers of the Deccan. In the 9th year he in company with the Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh set about chastising the Bījāpūrīs and did good service in taking Kadhī[2] in the village of Dhūkī belonging to Bījāpūr. Nothing more is known of him.

GHAẒANFAR KHĀN.

S. Ilawardī K. He was long separated from his father and served at the court of Shah Jahan. He obtained more honour than his brothers—with the exception of his elder brother M. J'aafar. He was first appointed to the post of Tūzuk. In the 16th year he was made superintendent of the artillery, and the Kotwāl of the camp. In the Balkh expedition Prince Murād Bakhsh sent Khalīl Ullah K.—who had been appointed to the charge of the left wing of the reserve—from Chārīkār to take the forts of Kahmard and Ghorī. The Khān sent Ghaẓanfar with a force as advance-guard against Ghorī. He along with Qubād K. Mīr Akhor attacked the fort and bravely dismounted and set himself to take it. Meanwhile the rest of the army came up and the governor had to surrender. In the 22nd year he was made superintendent of the elephant-stables and received the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and the title of Khān. Afterwards he was deprived of his rank on account of delay in his proceeding to Bengal. In the 27th year he was made an officer of 1000 with [illegible]00 horse and the faujdār of the Duab. Suddenly a great and [illegible]ked elephant came from the slopes of the northern hills to [illegible]gana Chaurāsī[3] in the Sarkār of Saharanpūr. The Khān re[illegible]ed the circumstance, and huntsmen and elephants, etc., were [illegible]here. The Khān caught the elephant and produced it before

1 K[illegible]
2 Do[illegible]
3 Ap[illegible]
1672, in [illegible] Tasir A. 33, 'Ālamgīrnāma 596.
was defeat[illegible]
4 He wa[illegible]mgīrnāma 1007 where the fort is called Galīnī and the village
father who w[illegible]hālib is also mentioned at p. 1009.
[illegible]aurāsī of Jarrett II. 292 and Elliot Supp. Glossary II. 128.

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the king and received the title of Khāṣ Shikār. In the 28th year the above service and the looking after the buildings of Mukhlaṣpūr were taken from him and given to Ḥusain Beg K. It happened that in the 30th year Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the son of Aṣālat K. was appointed to inspect the buildings of Mukhlaṣpūr,[1] and reported that the work was not being carried on according to the original plan. Accordingly the Khān was again appointd to the faujdārī of the Duab and had an increase of 200 horse and was sent off quickly in order that he might complete the buildings in a proper manner.

Let it not be concealed that on the bank of the Jumna near the foot of the northern hills which are near the hills of Sirmūr, at a distance of 47 *kos* from Delhi, there is a village known as Mukhlaṣpūr[1] and which is a dependency of Saharanpur. It has a good climate and many other advantages. It can be reached from the capital by boat in seven days. In the 28th year an order was given to erect lofty buildings there, and in the 30th year these were completed at a cost of five lacs. The king (Shah Jahan) visited the place and gave it the name of Faiẓābād. The villages of the pargana yielding a revenue of 30 lacs of dāms were annexed to it. In the battle with Dārā Shikoh the Khān was on the right wing. When Aurangzeb became victorious, most of the sons of Ilahwardī were treated with favour either on account of their ability, or in order to conciliate their father who was with Shujā'. Ghaẓanfar in the beginning of the reign was made faujdār of the Duab, and in the end of the 2nd year he was made in succession to Mukarram K. Ṣafavi, faujdār of Jaunpūr. In the 7th year he was made governor of Tatta (Scinde) in succession to Qubād K. and had an increase of 500 with 1000 horse and so had the rank of 3000 with 3000 horse, of which 1000 were two horse and the horse. In the 10th year in the end of 1077, 1667, he died a natural death at Tatta. His brother[2] Ḥasan 'Alī K., who

1 See 'Ālamgīrnāma 849 for an account of Mukhlaṣpūr.

2 This seems taken from 'Ālamgīrnāma 1048, but does not quite agree with the original. There it is Ilahwardī the elder brother of G... who is described as faujdārbut... dabad, while the younger ... B... called Arslān K. and not I...

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faujdār of Moradabad, and Islām K., his younger brother, who was faujdār of Siwistan, and also his sons and other relatives, received (mourning) robes of honour.

(MĪRZĀ) GHĀZĪ BEG (TARKHĀN).

S. M. Jānī Beg Tarkhān the ruler of Scinde. When M. Jānī died in Burhānpūr in attendance on Akbar, the latter encompassed M. Ghāzī, in his absence, with favours and restored the country to him, and he sate upon the masnad of his ancestors and enjoyed much prosperity. Khusrau K., the Circassian, who had for a century been the vakil of the family, and was a master of contrivance, had another idea in his head. Akbar sent S'aīd K with his son S'aīd Ullah K. to arrange the affairs of the province, and the Mīrzā had the good sense to come to Bhakar and wait upon S'aīd K. In company with him he at the age of 17 paid his respects to the emperor. Scinde remained as before. When Jahangir came to the throne, M. Ghāzī's horoscope was fortunate, and the province of Multan was added to his possessions. He had the title of son (farzand) and the rank of 7000. When Ḥusain K. Shāmlū, the governor of Herat, besieged Qandahar, the Mīrzā was appointed with suitable force. Afterwards he was made governor of Qandahar. There he behaved well against the strife-mongers of Persia, and carried on a correspondence with Shāh 'Abbās. They say that the Shah sent him robes of honour several times. In the year 1018,[1] 1609, he died in his 25th year after a few days' illness. The chronogram is Ghāzī (1018). Men suspected Laṭīf Ullah Bahāī K.—who was the Mīrzā's companion and vakil, and whose father Khusrau K. the Circassian was disliked by the Mīrzā (Ghāzī Beg). M. Ghāzī was very fond of the society of literary men, and himself composed poetry. Waqārī (steadi-[illegible]) was his *takhallaṣ*.

They say that there was a poet in Qandahar who had this

1 K[illegible]

2 Do[illegible]

3 Ap[illegible] see note 3. The alleged 1672, in [illegible] is referred to in the T. was defeat[illegible] here Laṭīf Ullah is called

4 He wa[illegible] Bai Khān. De Laet, father who [illegible] was published in 1631, tells the story of how Akbar wanted to poison M. Ghāzī, but inadvertently took the poisoned pill himself. The story is no doubt untrue.

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sobriquet, and that the Mīrzā bought the title from him by giving him Rs. 1000, a robe of honour and a horse, on account of its association with his father's takhallaṣ, which was Ḥalīmī (mildness). The Mīrzā was unequalled as a singer, and player on the tamboūr. He could play all instruments. Mullā Murshid wrote about this.

(*Verse*).

They say that in Qandahar the Mirza's assemblies were full of distinguished men such as Mullā Murshid Yazdjardī, Ṭālib Āmalī, Mīr Ni'amat Ullah Aṣilī and Mullā Asad the story-teller. They say that when Faghfūrī[1] Gīlānī resolved to come from Persia to India and come to Qandahar, the Mīrzā treated him with great favour. Other distinguished men, especially Mullā Murshid and Asadī, inserted verses (*dakhlhā*) in his poems. He was annoyed and went off to Lahore without taking leave. The Mīrzā was vexed and wrote him a letter. He also caused Mullā Murshid and Asadī to write excuses, and he begged him to return. Faghfūr wrote excellently in reply.

(*Verse*).[2]

The Mīrzā, like his father, was much addicted to wine. He spent days and nights in drinking. And he had made an arrangement with procuresses that they should bring him a virgin every night. He never saw their faces again. Hence it was that for a long time every bad woman in Tatta claimed to have had dealings with the Mīrzā.[3]

GHĀZĪ KHĀN BADAKHSHĪ.

His name was Qāẓī Niẓām. He studied the sciences under Mullā 'Iṣām, and was the unique of the age in traditional and

1 See Taẓkira Ḥusainī, and Sprenger's Cat. 391. He was in the service of Prince Parvez. Mullā Murshid is mentioned in id. 508.

2 The lines are very satirical. The Mīrza is compared to a carcass contended for by two vultures, etc.

3 B. 363. Rieu I. 292b. Tūzuk J. 109 and Iqbālnāma, 67. As pointed out by Blochmann, the Tūzuk, p. 109, puts M. Ghāzi's death into the 7th year, 1021. If so, the chronogr Ghazī must be wrong. See also Id 950a where the date given is H 1021, 3rd April, 1612 The T Ṭāhirī has a good deal to say Ghāzī Beg. It says he was his father died, i.e. in 1008, The Akbarnāma puts the dout January 1601, 13 Bahman 16 B III. 783. M. Ghazī died at and must have been abou

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rational knowledge. He was also a pupil of Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārazm. He acquired a thorougher knowledge of Ṣufism. As he was possessed of great ability he became an Amīr. At first, he was an intimate companion of M. Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, and was one of his chief officers. He received the title of Qāẓī Khān. In the year when Humāyūn died, and M. Sulaimān took advantage of his opportunity and besieged Kabul, Mun'im K. defended it. He sent off messengers to India to obtain help, and when the siege had lasted a long time the Mīrzā sent Qāẓī K. to him with a deceitful message. The Khan kept the Qāzī for some days, and every day entertained him sumptuously, and produced many fruits such as the Badakhshānīs were unacquainted with. The Qāẓī was convinced that the taking of Kabul was an impossibility, and came out and told M. Sulaimān that the attempt to take Kabul was like hammering cold iron. The Mīrzā was compelled to make peace and to return to Badakhshān. After that the Qāẓī left Sulaimān and came to Kabul where he was respectfully treated by M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who made him a companion. In the 19th year (of Akbar) he went off to India and paid his respects to Akbar at Khānpūr[1] when the latter was returning from Jaunpur. He received a waist-dagger, a decorated sword, a robe of honour, and a present of ps. 5000, and was made Parwāncī (writer of orders).

As he had great tact he soon was encompassed with royal favours, and obtained much influence, and was raised to the rank of 1000. When he had distinguished himself in battles, he received the title of Ghāzī K. In the 21st year he accompanied Rajah Mān Singh and in the battle with the Rānā (at Goganda) he commanded the left wing. When the enemy made an onset and many of the imperialists gave way, Ghāzī K. turned back and joined the vanguard, and fought manfully.[2] Afterwards he was in the [illegible]f of Oudh and distinguished[3] himself in putting down the Bihar

1 K[illegible]

2 Do[illegible]ty. See Rogers' translation of [illegible] p. 223. The Beglārnāma, 1672, in [illegible] 291, also gives 1021 as date was defeat[illegible].

3 Ap[illegible]

4 He wa[illegible] [illegible]llage in Jaunpūr Sarkār, J. father who w[illegible] According to A.F. III. 108, Ghāzī K. joined Akbar at Gūna or Kūna But see Badayūnī, Lowe 185.

2 Badayūnī, Lowe 237, A.N. III. 174.

3 A.N. III. 324.

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rebels. In the 29th year, 992,[1] 1584, he died in Ayūdya (Faiẓābād) at the age of seventy. He was the author of important books. Shaikh 'Allāmī[2] (Abu-l-faẓl) has written that his courage made illustrious his wisdom and that his sword exalted the dignity of his pen. Though sunk in the field of ordinary learning, he worshipped along with the pure Ṣufīs, and so, though outwardly fettered, he achieved liberation. He always had a weeping-eye and a burning heart. They say that he was the first person who introduced the *sijdah* (prostration) in the presence of Akbar. There is a joke about this to the effect that Mullā 'Ālam Kabulī—who was one of the learned men of the time—said, "Alas that I did not invent this."

It appears from the authors of books that in the old religions the practice was to lay the forehead in the dust before the chosen ones of faith and the forerunners on the path of certainty, not out of worship but from submission and humility. Thus the angels performed the *sijdah* to Adam, and the father and brothers of Joseph did so to him. This method became current in former times under the guise of salām. When the lamp of other religions was extinguished by the effulgence of the sun of Islām, the *salām* and the joining of hands were substituted for this. Akbar—who was the founder of sovereignty and world-rule, and the author of many regulations and customs—introduced various kinds of homage. He ordained[3] the placing of the palm of the hand on the top of the forehead and the lowering of the head, and gave that the name of *kornish*; i.e. the head, which is the life of sensation and reason, was taken by the hand and made supplication, and made itself prepared for obedience. Also the palm[4] of the hand was laid on the ground and slowly raised, and then the man stood up and laid the palm of the hand on the top of the head. This Akbar called the *taslīm*. Upon[5] taking leave, d

[1] Text wrongly has 990. The day of his death was 15th July, 1584.

[2] A.N. III. 436. See also Badayūnī III. 153 who mentions the books he wrote.

[3] B. 158.

[4] The Ain has "the back of the right hand." B. 158.

[5] Taken from the Ain. B. 158 translates "but only one on al occasions, when salaries are p presents are made." For prohibition of the *sijdah* out darbār see B. 159 and note.

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presentation, or upon receiving a *manṣab*, a *jagir*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule was to make three *taslīms*; on other occasions of liberality, or of distribution of favours, he was satisfied with one *taslīm*. Afterwards, at the instigation of worldly men and flatterers, he introduced the *sijdah*, but apprehending the public censure he stopped the practice in the public darbār, and made it only to be performed in private and by his special intimates. For whenever an order was given in private for an officer to sit down, he performed the *sijdah*. And in the time of Jahangir, from carelessness and want of thought, this evil custom continued. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne—God be praised for his energy!—the first[1] order that he gave was the prohibition of the *sijdah*, as it was unfit for any but Deity. Mahābat K. the commander-in-chief represented that it was necessary for the distinction of ranks that the reverence to the king should be different from that practised towards the other servants of God. If for the *sijdah* the *zamīnbos* were substitued, the positions of servant and master and of sovereign and subject would be fixed. Accordingly, it was ordered that both hands should be placed on the ground and that salutation should be made with the back of the hand. As the *zamīnbos* resembled the *sijdah*, the emperor abolished it in the 10th year, and ordered a fourth *taslīm* in lieu thereof. In return for favours which were granted in the Presence, or in absence, four obeisances were to be made. For Saiyids, Ulamā and great Shaikhs, they were to pay the authorised salām at the time of giving homage, and to recite the *fātiḥa* at departure.

Mīr Ḥusāmu-d-dīn was the brilliant son and representative of [illegible] Ghāzi K. It is well known that he was one of the great Shaikhs. [illegible] the time of Akbar he attained the rank of 1000 and was appointed to the Deccan. There he became intimate with the Khān-[illegible] of Khān. Suddenly, in his youth, the tumult of the Divine compa-[illegible]ne ship seized him, and he was drawn away by attraction (*jazba*). [illegible]f o[illegible]aid to the Khān-Khānān, "A desire to forsake the world [illegible]ken possession of my soul. If you'll not let me go, I shall

1 K[illegible]
2 Do[illegible]y.
3 Apl[illegible]
1672, in [illegible]. 2 was defeat[illegible]e. 3 N. Mahābat K.'s long father who w[illegible]y A[illegible]

4 He wa[illegible] till the orders thereupon are given in the Pādshāhnāma I. III. *et seq.*

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become mad. Write to H.M. and send me to Delhi in order that I may spend to rest of my life at the shrine of the Sultan of great Shaikhs." Though the Khān-Khānān was urgent with him to give up the mad idea, he would not be forbidden. Next day he stripped himself naked, and smeared mud and clay on his body, and went about in the streets and lanes. When the thing was reported to the king, he gave him leave to retire to Delhi. For thirty years he lived in complete abstinence and observance of the law. Though he had acquired all the sciences, he laid them all aside. He occupied himself in meditating on the Qoran and in the practice of Ṣufism. From Khwājah Bāqī Billah of Samarkand, who was born in Kabul and died in Delhi, he received permission to guide travellers (on the path of piety). He died in 1043, 1633-34. His wife was a sister of Abu-l-faẓl. By order of her husband she gave to the poor such gold and jewels as she had and cleansed her skirt from the defilement of worldliness. They say that every year she sent Rs. 2,000 for the expenses of Shah Ḥusāmu-d-dīn's monastery.

GHĀZĪU-D-DĪN K. BAHĀDUR FĪRŪZ JĀNG.

His name was Mīr Shihābu-d-dīn and he was the son of Qilīj K. Khwāja 'Ābid. In the 12th year he came from Tūrān, and entered the service of Aurangzeb and received the rank of 300 with 1
70 horse. They say that one day Subḥān Qulī K. the ruler of the p
country (Tūrān) came to see the melon fields and that Mīr Shihābu- ay
d-dīn said to Khwāja Y'aqūb Jūībārī and Rustum Beg Atālīq, var
"My father has called me to India, but the Khan does not give bee
me leave." As a suitable time had occurred these two good merbili
went to the Khān and procured leave for him. The Khān sent fod t
him, and pronounced the *fātiḥa*, and said, "Go to India, you wl c
become a great man." It happened that such good fortid d
attended him that the might and dominion of the princes of Pnds
and Bokhara were nothing in comparison to it. In the 23rd
when the royal standards were displayed in order to chast—
Rānā of Udaipūr, no news was forthcoming about Ḥasan out
Bahādur 'Ālamgirshāhī who had gone into the hill-countr' B
suit of the Rānā. At midnight the king sent for Mīr S

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dīn—who was on guard then—and sent him off to get news. He went off at once without making inquiries about the nature of the country or regarding the dangers of the road, etc., and after two days brought and presented a report from the Khān. This good service was the cause of his promotion and he received the title of Khān and other favours. After that he was sent off to Sirohī to put down Durgā Dās and Sotak[1] and other turbulent Rāthors. As they had leagued with Prince Muḥammad Akbar and were leading him astray, the prince sent Mīrak Khān—who was a servant known to the king—to the Khān and made promises and requests that the latter would join him. The faithful Khān travelled[2] 60 *kos* with Mīrak in two days and came before H.M. and was approved of. He was made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and when the king came to the Deccan in the 26th year, the Khān was appointed to punish the rebels near Junair. In his absence he was made superintendent of the mace-bearers in succession to Mukarram K., and Saiyid Ughlān was made his deputy. As he in hard conflicts defeated the Mahrattas, he in the 27th year received the title of Ghāzīu-d-dīn K. Bahādur. In the 28th year, he was sent off to take the fort of Rāhīrī—which was the abode of Sambhā—and he at once (*bārī*) set fire to it and killed many of the infidels. He received the title of Fīrūz Jang and the gift of drums. When, during the siege of Bījāpūr, there was scarcity and famine in the camp of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah so that to stay there seemed impossible, Khān Fīrūz Jang received[3] the dignity of the Fish and was sent there with abundant stores. Suddenly he fell upon 6000 infantry. Paidabā[4] Nāīk the zamindar of Sakriya[5] (?) had secretly sent stores for the relief of Bījāpūr, and put them to the sword, and brought tranquillity to the camp [illegible] the prince. Aurangzeb set down the taking of Bījāpūr to him. [illegible] chronogram was Sadd Sikandar girift, "He took Sikandar's[6] [illegible]art." (1098—1687). With his own hand Aurangzeb wrote[7]

1 K[illegible]iant Sonk and so in Maaṣir A.

2 Do[illegible]y.

3 Ap[illegible]ir A. 199.
1672, in [illegible] A. 265.
was defeat[illegible]he.

4 He wa[illegible] A. 265 Paid Nāīk. See father who w[illegible] A 377.

5 The real name is Sāgar, 15 m. N.E. Wākinkera.

6 Sikandar was the name of the young king of Bījāpūr.

7 Khāfī K. II. 322.

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the sentence for the record writer and sent it to be inserted in the records, viz., "It was taken by the help of the son (farzand) void of duplicity, Ghāzīu-d-dīn K. Bahādur Fīrūz Jang." After that he took the fort of Ibrāhīmgarha *alias* Īkar which afterwards received the name of Fīruzgarha. He did good service in the siege of Haidarabad and was wounded. After it was taken he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. Afterwards, he took the fort of Adoni, which received the name of Imitiyāzgarha, after severe fighting, from Sīdī Mas'aud Bījāpūri who was one of the high officers of 'Ādil Shah, and in the 32nd year added it and its territory to the imperial domains. In the same year he went off from Bījāpūr to extirpate Sambhā. As plague broke out and many who escaped from death lost their intellects, their eyes, their ears or their speech, the Khān too lost his eyesight. Though he in accordance with precedent[1] did not come into the Presence yet there was no change in his leadership. In the 42nd year Santā the robber, who had defeated the armies of Islām and had slain or made prisoners of royal officers, and who had fled after the taking of Ginjī, and gone towards Satāra, was, on account of an old grudge, defeated thoroughly by Dahīnā Jādū, and was wandering about in a miserable condition. By chance Nāgobā[2] Miyān a Mahratta out of enmity cut off his head. He wanted to take it to Dahina Jadū, but on the way it fell into the hands of Fīrūz Jang's troops. The Khān sent the head to court along with Khwāja Bābāī Tūrānī who, in reward for his good tidings, received the title of Khūsh Khabar Khān. Fīrūz Jang received a thousand thanks and praises. In the 43rd year he was appointed to the affair of Islāmgarh *alias* Deogarha, and took it. After that he was appointed to guard the residence at Islāmpūrī. At the time the victorious imperial standards returned from the taking Khelna to Bahādurgarha,[3] there was a review of the army w

1 It was an order of Jahangir that blind men should not come before him.

2 Nāgoji Manai in Elliot VII. 360, where the story is told at length according to the narrative of Khāfī K.

3 Also called Birgānw, Khāfī K. II. 539 and Elliot VII. 383 ar
Presumably Ghāzīu-d-dīn did
sonally appear at the revi
count of his blindness. T
is taken from the Maasir A

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Fīrūz Jang had drawn up and sent off from his quarters. It covered four measured *kos*.

They say that no general ever made such a display of troops. He also presented every kind of *peshkash*. After the king had looked at them, he confiscated much of the artillery and wrote[1] a letter of reproof to Prince Bīdār Bakht, saying, "You with double allowances have not such an establishment of guns, etc. as Fīrūz Jang has. He has all the things that he should have, or rather that he should not have." In the 48th[2] year Fīrūz Jang pursued Nīma Scindiah as far as Mālwa, and underwent great fatigue. He received the title of Sipah Sālār (commander-in-chief) But for some reason the expedition was stopped. At the time of Aurangzeb's death he was in the province of Berar and stationed at Elichpūr. Though he had much loyalty and many connexions with Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah, yet that prince on account of innate pride did not cultivate him, and did not take with him so great a leader.

They say that when Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah left Aḥmadnagar after ascending the throne, Ẕūlfiqār K. waited upon him in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. He asked him to state what was proper to be done. Ẕūlfiqār represented that the proper course was to follow the example of Aurangzeb and to leave the women-folk in Daulatabad, and he also pointed out that the king's men were very badly equipped. They should be given two months' pay from the treasury in the seraglio in order that they might provide themselves with materials for the campaign. Also that the march should not be by the pass of Fardapūr, but by Dewal [illegible]hiyāt[3] (?) so that Fīrūz Jang might join them. The prince, who [illegible]s, as it were, mad with arrogance, replied that to leave the [illegible] men would be proper if he had an adversary like Dārā Shikoh. [illegible]f new M'uaẓẓam's nature, and had reliance on his own men. The

[illegible] of o[illegible]

1 K[illegible]sir A. 469. This was in the [illegible]r.

2 Do[illegible]y. 8th year, but apparently the 1672, in [illegible]. p. 483. Khāfī K. II. 456 was defeat[illegible]he.

4 He was [illegible] pursuit by Fīrūz Jang of father who w[illegible]y the 42nd year.

3 The Deola Khatra of Jarrett II. 205. Said by Jarrett to be the Ketamá of the maps. Perhaps it is Deulghāt. Fardapūr is near the Ajanta Caves.

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king's (Aurangzeb) men had nothing to do except to give good wishes and to be safe. Why should he leave the straight road for the sake of a blind man? What help would come from him? In fact, if we regard outward circumstances, a great mistake was made, and there was much want of planning in not taking a leader like Fīrūz Jang with him. He would have been a bond of union. Especially would all the Moghuls and Tūrānīs have followed him. When Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah crossed the Narbada he wrote to Fīrūz Jang that he should come from Berar to Burhānpūr and stay there.

After the accession of Bahādur Shah he was made governor of Gujarat, and in the fourth year he died[1] a natural death in Aḥmadabad. His body was conveyed to Delhi and buried near the Ajmīrī gate in the tomb and khānqa which he had made. He was easily first among the officers of Tūrān. He was of a pleasant disposition and dignified, victorious, and a master of tactics. His good fortune was wonderful. In former reigns it has rarely happened that princes have kept a blind servant at the head of their armies. He was of sound judgment and always occupied himself with great things. While marching, or in the council room, he preserved the same rules and regulations. As to what is reported, namely, that the king became acquainted with some of his secret desires and hinted to the physicians at the time of his eye trouble that they should deprive him of his eyesight, it does not bear the mark of truth. Aurangzeb was very choleric and vindictive. If he had found any such designs in Fīrūz Jang, he would not have left him in such glory. Fīrūz Jang's good intentions had become impressed on the king's mind. So much so was this that when at the last, Fīrūz Jang repeatedly showed connivance and slackness in the matter of punishing the Mahrattas and some out of enmity represented the matter to the king, he in re wrote: "Alas for Khān Fīrūz Jang that he should have come to such a state to this and that it has come to pass that he has accused of favouring infidels (Kafrān N'aamat, also disl which is like being twice an infidel."

1 Khāfī K. II. 681. He died in 1122 or A.D. 1710.

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At first, in accordance with the commands of the king, he married the daughter of the very learned S'aad Ullah K. After her death he successively married two daughters of her brother Ḥifẓ Ullah K. *alias* Mīyān K. He had no children by either of them.[1]

(AMĪRU-L-UMARĀ) GHĀZĪU-D-DĪN K. BAHĀDUR FĪRŪZ JANG.

Eldest son of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and full brother of Nāṣir Jang. His real name was Mīr Muḥammad Panāh. He was the son-in-law of Qamaru-d-dīn K., vizier. His father left him in early years at the court of Muḥammad Shah, and there he grew up. He was first the bakhshī of the aḥadīs. In the year 1153, 1740, when his father, who had been made Mīr Bakhshī on the death[2] of the Khān Daurān, went to the Deccan, he became his father's deputy in that high appointment (of Bakhshī). On his father's death, S'adāt K. was in the time of Aḥmad Shah Mīr Bakhshī for nearly three years. Afterwards that office and the title of Amīru-l-Umarā were conferred on Ghāzīu-d-dīn. After the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang his heart inclined towards the Deccan. By chance, at the time that the ambassador of the Durrānī Shah had arrived, Ṣafdar Jang at a hint from the king took with him Mulhar Rāo Holkar by the promise of a large sum and came to court. Before he came, Jāvīd K. had agreed to the messages of the Shah and had sent away the ambassador. Ṣafdar Jang was perplexed[3] and did not know how to pacify Holkar. The Amīr-ul-Umarā made an arrangement with Holkar and got him to agree to the subaḥdārī of the Deccan being established in the name of the Amīru-l-Umarā (i.e. himself) and to his (Holkar's) having to insist on payment of the stipulated sum. Accordingly he left for the Deccan with the title of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. After-

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1 K[illegible]'s biography may be compared with Irvine's notice A.S.B.J. for [illegible]

2 Do[illegible] 63. Fīrūz Jang died on 8th [illegible]

3 Apr[illegible] It is curious that this [illegible] 1672, in [illegible] does not mention that by [illegible] was defeat[illegible] life he was the father of [illegible]

4 He was [illegible]k Āṣaf Jāh. father who w[illegible]

2 The Khān Daurān Khwāja Aṣim was killed in 1739. See Maaṣir I. 822.

3 Cf. Siyaru. M. III 327. Ghāziu-d-dīn arranged with the Vizier that if he would give him his patents for the viceroyalty he would satisfy the Mahrattas' demands.

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wards a sanad of the province of Khāndes for the Mahrattas executed by him with his own seal, and then with the hopūr, to their helping him, he in the height of the rains traversed the n and slush of Mālwa and reached Burhānpūr. Afterwards he c to Aurangabad and halted for seventeen days. Then he sudden died.[1] He had eaten and gone to repose himself when he cam out and vomited and died, in 1165, 1752. He was imbued with learning, and at the end he had plucked up a spirit. His son is Ghāzīu-d-dīn K. the 3rd, who had the title of Imādu-l-mulk and of whom a separate account has been given.

(RAJAH) GOPĀL SING GAUR.

His ancestors held the zamindāri of Andarkhi (?) in the province of Allahabad, and were servants of the Orcha Rajahs. His grandfather Bihar Singh was killed by Mulūk Cand the manager of Mālwa—who acted for Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah—in the time of Aurangzeb, because he was a source of sedition. Mulūk Cand cut off his head and sent it to the emperor. After this, his father Bhagwant Singh, the son of Bihār Singh, was also killed in battle by Mulūk Cand. His family left their home. Gopāl Singh accompanied Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. When he returned to the Deccan from Upper India with the intention of giving battle to Mubāriz K., Gopāl distinguished himself on the battle-day, and after the victory received a suitable rank and a fief, and the charge of the fort of Qandhar in Bīdar—which is a distant place and is a strong fortress. In the time of Shah Jahan it was taken from the Deccanis by Khān Daurān. Since that time up to the time of writing, the fort has been mostly in the possession of himself and his descendants. He died in 1162, 1749.

After his death, though Dalpat Singh his eldest son died his lifetime, there remained other sons, of whom the eldest

1 Siyaru-l-M. III. 329. He died in October, 1752, and according to Grant-Duff II. 62, he was poisoned by his stepmother, the mother of Niẓām 'Alī. See also Sīyaru-l-M. III. 324, note. There is an account of Ghāzīu-d-din in the Khazana 'Āmrā, 50. Newāl K. ed. He died Hajja 1165, 5th October, 17 lām 'Alī's account has b duced in Maasir III. 883 sc are two lives of Ghāzīu-d-

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59 Bishan Singh, yet at his own wish the fort and the heredi- jagir were assigned to Ajai Cand his second son. Narpat ma;h the third son, who was Ajai's full brother, was joined with her The first got his father's title, and became distinguished, Ḥd in the battle which took place with Roghanāth Rāo on the tink of the Southern Ganges [1] he was with the Nizāmu-d-daula ṣaf Jāh. He stood firm and was killed. His eldest son held the hereditary fort and at the time of writing has the title of Rajah Gopāl Singh Hindūpat Mahindar. His two other sons Rajah Tej Singh and Rajah Padm Singh held *manṣabs* and fiefs, and afterwards held the fort of Kaulās in the province of Haidarabad. The second gradually attained to the high rank and title of Maharajah. For some time he was appointed to manage the Sarkār of Bīr, and afterwards he held the government of Nāndair in the province of Bīdar, and the governorship of the fort of Māhwar in Berar. He died two or three years ago. His sons Kuar Durjan Singh and Jūdha Singh attained suitable *manṣabs* and fiefs, and are in service.

ḤABSH KHĀN.

Sīdī Miftāh Abyssinian was one of the old servants of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty, and was honoured and trusted by that family. He was for a long time governor of the fort of Ūdgīr which is a very strong fortress and built of stone and lime. When from the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan the territory of the Niẓām Shah was trodden by the imperial armies, gradually all the forts and estates were conquered by the imperial servants and the ynasty was altogether ended. 'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr, in order to t possession of Ism'aīl, his brother's son, who was imprisoned in igīr, made use of every stratagem and endeavoured by craft to e over Sīdī Miftah, but failed.

This Ism'aīl [2] was the son of Darvesh Muḥammad the eldest tra f Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah, and the sister's son of Muḥammad Quṭbu-mulk. When Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah was on his death- 1626) he showed his testament (or perhaps explained his

1 K

2 Do

3 Ap Gang Kafn but the variant Dakhin Gang, i.e. the Godavery, is pre- 1672, in was defeat āhnāma I, Part II, p. 219.

4 He wa father who w

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wish) to Daulat a *Kalāwant* (musician) slave, whom he fully tr
and whom he had made governor of the fort of Bījāpūr, t
effect that his second son Muḥammad should succeed him. W
Muḥammad ascended the throne, he blinded Darvesh Muḥamm
and the wives of the latter secretly sent Ism'āīl, who was then s
years of age, to Niẓām Shah in order that he might be safe from th
clutches of his enemies. Niẓām Shah, for fear lest the coming o
Ism'aīl should become known and the 'Ādil Shah be displeased, did
not see Ism'aīl but sent him to Sīdī Miftāḥ. He kept him in prison
for ten years, and without submitting to 'Adil Shah he made
strong the fort and maintained his independence.

In the 9th year, the month of Moḥarram of 1046, 1636, the Khān Daurān Bahādur set[1] about besieging the fort, and when the mines had been driven near the fort, the garrison lost courage. Sīdī Miftāḥ became alarmed and sent a message to Khān Daurān to the effect that if they would include him among the royal servants he would surrender the fort. Khān Daurān accepted his request, and then he brought forward other wishes which were not suitable and commenced fighting.

They say that during the siege many of the materials of the defence had been expended and so Sīdī Miftāḥ devised a plan. To Khān Daurān he proposed submission and a desire to enter service, and appointed a day for waiting upon him. Meanwhile he opened the gates of the fort so that his men frequented the royal camp and brought back to the fort what they wanted. On the day appointed for submission he closed the gates and made war Khān Daūran then contrived to set fire to a mine which had bee carried to the foot of the *sher ḥājī*[2] bastion. Though the stabili of the citadel was not much affected, yet Sīdī Miftāḥ had foresight to see that there was no help but to submit, and c out to the commander. After a siege of three months and odd d he surrendered the fort and made over Ism'aīl the grands 'Ibrāhīm Ādil Shah.

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[1] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 218-19. This was the Khān Daurān No. 2 of Beale, and his name was Khwāja Sābir. See Maaṣir U. I. 749 and 754.

[2] The name for an out Elliot VII. 23 and the B 182, col. a.

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Sīdī Miftāḥ obtained from the emperor the rank of 3000 with two-horse and three-horse troopers, and the title of Ḥabsh n (the Abyssinian K.) and was treated with favour. He also eived a good assignment (tankhwāh). He was always enrolled ong the auxiliaries of the Deccan, and the governors of the Dec- n never failed to honour him. He too, though his figure and nanners were strange, was of great physical strength and was not devoid of refinement. He was very fond of learned men and men of piety, and helped them, and spent money on deserving persons. He was also a zealous servant. In the 29th year Prince Aurangzeb, the governor of the Deccan, appointed him and all the other leaders of the Deccan, to accompany M. Khān the governor of Berar, against the zamindar of Deogarh. And when the prince proceeded to Golconda in the 30th year, Sīdī Miftāḥ took part in the affair and did good service. He had much faith in Bābā Fīrūz who was a dervish in the town of Pāthrī, and every year and every month defrayed the expenses of the Shaikh's monastery (*Khānqāh*). When the said Bābā died, the Khān built his tomb in Pāthrī, which still is a shrine visited by people. He held in fief the pargana of Waklūr in the Sarkār of Nāndair. He made it his home, and settled many Arab Saiyids there and helped them in various ways. He also sent for many valuable books from Arabia, and stretched forth the arm of liberality. His son Aḥmad K. also obtained high rank. He was a young man of a noble presence, and was much patronized by Shah 'Ālam Bahādur when he was viceroy of the Deccan. He bought the zamindari of the pargana above mentioned and united t with his jagir. He died in Aurangzeb's reign. His sons tained a small rank. The villages of the pargana were assigned other men. For a time they knocked at the door of turbulence distinguished themselves by their presumption. In the time e present emperor (Muḥammad Shah) 'Iwaẓ[1] K. Bahādur a Jang besieged their residence and took and imprisoned usain, who was the elder of them. Afterwards by the order m-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jah he was released and went to his own His sons held the zamindari after him.

[1] Maasir II. 832.

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HĀDĪ DAD KHĀN.

Brother of Rashīd Khān Anṣārī. In the time of Shah Ja he rose to the rank of 500. In the 8th year he was appoi along with Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Ban In the 9th year, when the Deccan became the abode of t sovereign, and three armies were appointed under the charge o three generals to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the lands of 'Ādil K., he was joined with Khān Daurān. In the 11th year his rank was 1000 with 1000 horse, and in the 22nd ar, when his brother Rashīd K. died, his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse, and he was appointed in his brother's room to govern Telingāna—which consisted of Nāndair and other conquered districts, and his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Khān. In the 29th year he received a flag and a drum. In the same year he, in accordance with the orders of the king and the suggestions of Prince Aurangzeb, proceeded to Deogarha to collect the tribute due by Kīsar Singh the son of Kokha zamindar of Deogarha. M. Khān the governor of Elichpūr went from another direction. The zamindar became troubled and arranged with the governor of Elichpūr and came before the prince with the tribute. In the 30th year he in accordance with orders proceeded to Golconda with prince Muḥammad Sultan. After the arrival of Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the batteries, and at the time of the prince's return he was sent off to Nāndair In the same year, 1066, 1656, he died, and was buried in Nandair. Though he had thirty[1] (?) sons, yet Ilhām Ullah the son of Rashīd K., his brother, was the best for preserving his property. The king (Shah Jahan) gave him th rank of 1000 with 500 horse. His son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm held up the thirtieth[2] year the rank of 500 with 120 horse.

ḤAIDAR 'ALĪ KHAN BAHĀDUR.

They say that his ancestry goes back to 'Abdullah Ṣāḥ Medina—may God's mercy be upon him!—who was one of the

[1] So in text, but the MSS. seem to read *basī* "many" instead of *se* thirty.

[2] This life is by 'Abdu-l-Hayy. Steingass marks *sī ām* as unsupported by examples as meaning the 3 But it occurs here and also nāma II. 12. This 30th presumably means the 3 Aurangzeb.

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of the Qoresh tribe. In the beginning of 1165, 1752, he acd great authority and became superintendent (*matṣadī*) of the rs of Mysore. He afterwards conquered many cities and forts unfurled the flag of power. His dominions yielded six krors rupees and extended from Karpa (Cuddaph) to Mangalore[1] (i.e. om E. to W.) and from Calicut to Dhārwār (i.e. from S. to N.), which is an extensive country. He acquired it by his strength of arm and held it firmly. When the hatwearing English came to his count he sent his cavalry to the Pāyinghāt[2] of the Carnatic and attac nd pillaged. Then he made an advantageous peace. Afterwards when there were signs of treachery in the house of the Mahrattas he in the first place looked after the strengthening of his thanas and gradually took the whole of their territory up to the river Kishna. Afterwards he besieged the fortress of Cital (Chitaldroog)—which was a zamindari place—and took it. At the time of writing, which is 1193, 1779, he has made a raid upon Karpa (Cuddapah) and taken possession of the forts of Sidhūṭ,[3] Kinjī (Ginji) Kot, etc., and seized 'Abdu-l-Āakīm K. Mīyāna, the governor there, and carried him off to Seringapatam. He has much treasure and a large income, and has collected many jewels. Still too he sends money to men and recruits them. He has a quick-firing (?) park of artillery and makes it a rule that when he has encamped, musketeers are placed round the camp in watches so that no stranger can enter without an order.[4]

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1 Text Kozpāl, and there are variants. Mangalore is meant, of which the ative name is Kodiyal. It was Ḥaidar lī's naval base.

2 The text has *az* "from" but B. M. . 6665 has *dar* "into" and so has MS. No. 628.

he Sidhout of I.G. XXII. 357. It eastern taluq of Cuddapah.

the table of contents at p. 47, graphy is omitted. Evidently e has been revised by 'Abdul it mentions 1193, 1779, as writing, but it would seem dy of the biography had by his father. In B.M. , 470 and Add. 6565 and in I.O. MS. 628 the biography is different from that in text. It says nothing about Ḥaidar's alleged descent from 'Abdullah of Medina, but says his father was Ḥusāmu-d-dīn and that his ancestors were Qāẓīs of pargana Gohīr in Haidarabad and that he was at first an infāntry-jamadar in the fort of Kolār. Afterwards he entered the service of the Raja of Seringapatam. Ḥaidar succeeded his father in this employment, and eventually imprisoned and put the Rajah to death. The MSS. biographies say nothing about Kozpāl, which is a place I cannot find, but mention Haidar's taking Chitaldrug. The word in text after topkhana

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